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ORIGINES ECCLESIASTICÆ;
OR, THE
ANTIQUITIES
OF
THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH,
AND
OTHER WORKS,

OF THE
REV. JOSEPH BINGHAM, M.A.
FORMERLY FELLOW OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, OXFORD;
AND AFTERWARDS RECTOR OF HEADBOURN WORTHY, AND HAVANT,
HAMPSHIRE.

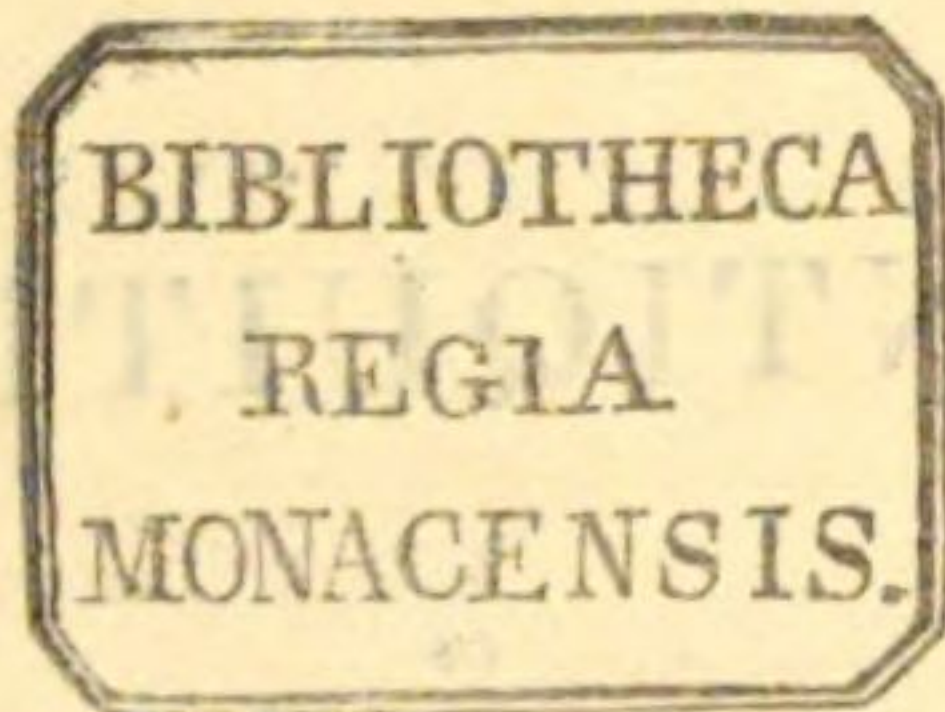
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AND A BIOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT OF THE AUTHOR.

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CHAPTER I

OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

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THE ANTIQUITIES
OF THE
CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

BOOK IX.

A GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE ANCIENT CHURCH;
OR, AN ACCOUNT OF ITS DIVISION INTO PROVINCES,
DIOCESES, AND PARISHES: AND OF THE FIRST ORIGINAL
OF THESE.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE STATE AND DIVISION OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE, AND
OF THE CHURCH'S CONFORMING TO THAT IN MODELLING
HER OWN EXTERNAL POLITY AND GOVERNMENT.

SECT. I.—*The State of the Roman Empire in the Days of
the Apostles.*

HAVING thus far spoken of churches, as they signify the material buildings, or places of convention, set apart for Christian worship, I come now to consider them in another notion, as they are put to signify any number of Christian people within a certain district, as in a parish, diocese, province, patriarchate; which are names that we frequently meet with in ancient writers, though they are not all equally of the same antiquity: and, therefore, I shall here inquire both into the nature and original of them. Something has already been said upon this head, in speaking of the several officers of the Church that were placed in those districts, as patriarchs, metropolitans, bishops, and presbyters, so far as was necessary

to explain the powers and duties of those ministers in the Church. Yet there are many things to be noted further, which could not then come under consideration; for which reason, I now make them the subject of a peculiar inquiry. And here, to understand the state and division of the Church aright, it will be proper to take a short view of the state and division of the Roman empire; for it is generally thought by learned men, that the Church held some conformity to that in her external polity and government, both at her first settlement, and in the changes and variations that were made in after ages. In the time of the apostles, every city among the Greeks and Romans was under the immediate government of certain magistrates within its own body, commonly known by the name of βουλὴ, or *senatus*, its ‘common council, or senate,’ otherwise called *ordo* and *curia*, ‘the states and court of the city:’ among which there was usually one chief or principal above the rest, whom some call the *dictator*, and others the *defensor civitatis*; whose power extended not only over the city, but all the adjacent territory, commonly called the προάστεια, ‘the suburbs,’ or lesser towns belonging to its jurisdiction. This was a city in the civil account, a place where the civil magistrate and a sort of lesser senate was fixed, to order the affairs of that community, and govern within such a precinct.

SECT. II.—*The State of the Church conformable to it.*

Now, much after the same manner, the apostles, in first planting and establishing the Church, wherever they found a civil magistracy settled in any place, there they endeavoured to settle an ecclesiastical one, consisting of a senate or presbytery, a common council of presbyters, and one chief president above the rest, commonly called the προεστὼς, or ‘the apostle,’ or ‘bishop,’ or ‘angel of the church;’ whose jurisdiction was not confined to a single congregation, but extended to the whole regions or district belonging to the city, which was the προάστεια, or παροικία, or, as we now call it, ‘the diocese of the Church.’ According to this model, most probably, St. Paul directed Titus to ordain elders in Crete κατὰ πόλιν, ‘in every city;’ that is, to settle an ecclesiastical senate and

government in every place where there was before a civil one ; which, from the subsequent history of the Church, we learn, was a bishop and his presbytery, who were conjunctly called the elders and senate of the Church. The cities of the empire had also their magistrates in the territory or country round them ; but these were subordinate to the magistrates of the city, and generally chosen by them, as learned men^a have observed out of Frontinus *de Limitibus Agrariis*, and other Roman antiquaries. In like manner, every city Church had spiritual officers in all towns and villages belonging to the city region : and these depending on the mother Church both for the exercise of their power and their institution, they being both subordinate and accountable to the city Church, as the subordinate magistrates were in the civil disposition.

SECT. III.—*The Division of the Roman Empire into Provinces and Dioceses.*

Another division of the Roman empire was into provinces and dioceses. A province was the cities of a whole region subjected to the authority of one chief magistrate, who resided in the metropolis, or chief city of the province. This was commonly a prætor, or a proconsul, or some magistrate of the like eminence and dignity. A diocese was still a larger district, containing several provinces within the compass of it, in the capital city of which district a more general magistrate had his residence ; whose power extended over the whole diocese, to receive appeals, and determine all causes that were referred to him for a new hearing from any city within the district : and this magistrate was sometimes called an *eparchus*, or *vicarius*, of the Roman empire, and particularly a *præfectus augustalis* at Alexandria. When first this division was made, it is not so certainly agreed among learned men ; but it is generally owned, that the division of provinces is more ancient than that of dioceses. For the division into dioceses began only about the time of Constantine, but the cantoning of the empire into provinces was long before ; by some referred to Vespasian, by others reckoned still more ancient, and coeval to the first establishment of the Christian Church.

^a Dr. Maurice's *Dioces. Episcop.* p. 390.

SECT. IV.—*The same Model followed by the Church.*

However this was, it is very plain that the Church took her model, in setting up metropolitical and patriarchal power, from this plan of the state; for, as in every metropolis, or chief city of each province, there was a superior magistrate above the magistrates of every single city, so, likewise, in the same metropolis, there was a bishop, whose power extended over the whole province, whence he was called the metropolitan, or primate, as being the principal bishop of the province: and in all places, therefore, the see of this bishop was fixed to the civil metropolis, except in Afric, where the primate was commonly the senior bishop of the province, as has been shown in^b another place. In like manner, as the State had a *vicarius* in every capital city of each civil diocese, so the Church, in process of time, came to have her exarchs, or patriarchs, in many, if not in all the capital cities of the empire.

SECT. V.—*This evidenced from the Civil Notitia of the Empire.*

This will appear plainly from the civil *Notitia* of the empire, when compared with the ecclesiastical; which, because it not only gives light in this matter, but is of singular use in many other respects to all that study ecclesiastical history, I will here insert it out of the book called *Notitia Imperii*^c, said to be written about the time of Arcadius and Honorius, where the whole empire is divided into thirteen dioceses, under four præfecti-prætorio, and about a hundred and twenty provinces contained in them, in the manner and form following:—

The Præfectus-Prætorio Orientis^d, and under him five Dioceses, viz, the Oriental, Egyptian, Asiatic, Pontic, and Thracian Dioceses.

I. In the Oriental diocese are contained fifteen provinces:—

1. Palestina. 2. Phœnice. 3. Syria. 4. Cilicia. 5.

^b Book ii. chap. xvi. sect. vi.

^c Inscriptio libri sic habet: *Notitia Dignitatum utriusque Imperii, Orientis scilicet et Occidentis, ultra Arcadii Honoriiue tempora, et in eam G. PANCIROLI I. V. D. commentarium, Genevæ 1623, fol.*

^d Vid. libr. modo citat. part. i. p. 10.

- Cyprus. 6. Arabia. 7. Isauria. 8. Palæstina Salutaris. 9. Palæstina Secunda. 10. Phoenice Libani. 11. Euphratensis. 12. Syria Salutaris. 13. Osrhoene. 14. Mesopotamia. 15. Cilicia Secunda.
- II. In the diocese of Egypt, six provinces:—1. Libya Superior. 2. Libya Inferior. 3. Thebais. 4. Ægyptus. 5. Arcadia. 6. Augustanica.
- III. In the Asiatic diocese, ten provinces:—1. Pamphylia. 2. Hellespontus. 3. Lydia. 4. Pisidia. 5. Lycaonia. 6. Phrygia Pacatiana. 7. Phrygia Salutaris. 8. Lycia. 9. Caria. 10. Insulæ Cyclades.
- IV. In the Pontic diocese, eleven provinces:—1. Galatia. 2. Bithynia. 3. Honorias. 4. Cappadocia Prima. 5. Paphlagonia. 6. Pontus Polemoniacus. 7. Hellenopontus. 8. Armenia Prima. 9. Armenia Secunda. 10. Galatia Salutaris. 11. Cappadocia Secunda.
- V. In the diocese of Thrace, six provinces:—1. Europa. 2. Thracia. 3. Hæmimontis. 4. Rhodope. 5. Mœsia Secunda. 6. Scythia.

The Præfectus-Prætorio of Illyricum^e, and under him two Dioceses, Macedonia and Dacia.

- VI. In the diocese of Macedonia, six provinces:—1. Achaia. 2. Macedonia. 3. Creta. 4. Thessalia. 5. Epirus Vetus. 6. Epirus Nova, and Pars Macedoniæ Salutaris.
- VII. In the diocese of Dacia, five provinces:—1. Dacia Mediterranea. 2. Dacia Ripensis. 3. Mœsia Prima. 4. Dardania. 5. Pars Macedoniæ Salutaris, and Prævalitana.

The Præfectus-Prætorio of Italy^f, and under him three Dioceses, viz. Italy or the Italic Diocese, Illyricum, and Africa.

- VIII. In the Italic diocese are contained seventeen provinces:—1. Venetiæ. 2. Æmylia. 3. Liguria. 4. Flaminia and Picenum Annonarium. 5. Tuscia and Umbria. 6. Picenum Suburbicarium. 7. Campania. 8. Si-

^e Ibid. p. 40.

^f Ibid. part. ii.

cilia. 9. Apulia and Calabria. 10. Lucania and Bruttii. 11. Alpes Cottiae. 12. Rhætia Prima. 13. Rhætia Secunda. 14. Samnium. 15. Valeria. 16. Sardinia. 17. Corsica.

IX. In the diocese of Illyricum, six provinces:—1. Pannonia Secunda. 2. Savia. 3. Dalmatia. 4. Pannonia Prima. 5. Noricum Mediterraneum. 6. Noricum Ripense.

X. In the diocese of Africa, six provinces:—1. Byzacium. 2. Numidia. 3. Mauritania Sitifensis. 4. Mauritania Cæsariensis. 5. Tripolis. 6. Africa Proconsularis.

The Præfectus-Prætorio Galliarum^g, and under him three Dioceses, viz. Hispania, Gallia, Britannia.

XI. In the Spanish diocese, seven provinces:—1. Bætica. 2. Lusitania. 3. Gallicia. 4. Tarraconensis. 5. Carthaginensis. 6. Tingitana. 7. Baleares.

XII. In the Gallican diocese, seventeen provinces:—1. Viennensis. 2. Lugdunensis Prima. 3. Germania Prima. 4. Germania Secunda. 5. Belgica Prima. 6. Belgica Secunda. 7. Alpes Maritimæ. 8. Alpes Penninæ et Graiæ. 9. Maxima Sequanorum. 10. Aquitania Prima. 11. Aquitania Secunda. 12. Novem Populi. 13. Narbonensis Prima. 14. Narbonensis Secunda. 15. Lugdunensis Secunda. 16. Lugdunensis Tertia. 17. Lugdunensis Senonia.

XIII. In the Britannic diocese, five provinces:—1. Maxima Cæsariensis. 2. Valentia. 3. Britannia Prima. 4. Britannia Secunda. 5. Flavia Cæsariensis.

Thus far the *Notitia* of the empire.

SECT. VI.—*Compared with the most ancient Accounts of the Division of Provinces in the Church.*

Now, though we have no *Notitia* of the Church so ancient as this (for that of Leo Sapiens^h, which is exhibited hereafter, is of later date), yet by comparing the broken fragments that

^g Ibid. pp. 12, 13.

^h Apud Leunclav. in Jure Græco-Romano, tom. i. p. 88.

remain in the acts and subscriptions of the ancient councils with this *Notitia* of the empire, and conferring both with the later *Notitiæ* of the Church, it plainly appears that the Church was divided into dioceses and provinces much after the same manner as the empire, having an exarch, or patriarch, in almost every diocese, and a metropolitan, or primate, in every province. The most probable account of which, conformed to the aforesaid civil *Notitia*, is presented in the following table, according as the division of the Church seems to have stood in the latter end of the fourth century.

I. *In the Oriental Diocese: Patriarch of Antioch.*

Provinces.	Metropoles.
1. Palæstina Prima.	1. Cæsarea.
2. Phœnice.	2. Tyrus.
3. Syria.	3. Antiochia.
4. Cilicia Prima.	4. Tarsus.
5. Cyprus.	5. Constantia.
6. Arabia.	6. Bostra.
7. Isauria.	7. Seleucia.
8. Palæstina Salutaris.	8. Jerusalem, or Ælia.
9. Palæstina Secunda.	9. Scythopolis.
10. Phœnice Libani.	10. Emissa.
11. Euphratensis.	11. Hierapolis.
12. Syria Salutaris.	12. Apamea.
13. Osrhoene.	13. Edessa.
14. Mesopotamia.	14. Amida.
15. Cilicia Secunda.	15. Anazarbus.

II. *In the Diocese of Egypt: Patriarch of Alexandria.*

Provinces.	Metropoles.
1. Libya Superior.	1. Ptolemais.
2. Libya Inferior.	2. Dranieon.
3. Thebais.	3. Antinoe, or Lycopolis.
4. Ægyptus.	4. Alexandria.
5. Arcadia.	5. Oxirinchus.
6. Augustanica.	6. Pelusium.

III. *In the Diocese of Asia : Exarch of Ephesus.*

Provinces.	Metropoles.
1. Pamphylia.	1. Perga or Sida.
2. Hellespont.	2. Cyzicus.
3. Lydia.	3. Sardes.
4. Pisidia.	4. Antiochia.
5. Lycaonia.	5. Iconium.
6. Phrygia Pacatiana.	6. Laodicea.
7. Phrygia Salutaris.	7. Synada.
8. Lycia.	8. Myra.
9. Caria.	9. Aphrodisias, or Stauro- polis.
10. Insulæ Cyclades.	10. Rhodus.
11. Asia Proconsularis.	11. Ephesus:

IV. *Diocese of Pontus : Exarch of Cæsarea.*

Provinces.	Metropoles.
1. Galatia.	1. Ancyra.
2. Bithynia.	2. Nicomedia.
3. Cappadocia Prima.	3. Cæsarea.
4. Cappadocia Secunda.	4. Tyana.
5. Honorias.	5. Claudiopolis.
6. Paphlagonia.	6. Gangra.
7. Pontus Polemoniacus.	7. Neocæsarea.
8. Hellenopontus.	8. Amasea.
9. Armenia Prima.	9. Sebastia.
10. Armenia Secunda.	10. Melitene.
11. Galatia Salutaris.	11. Pessinus, al. Justinianopo- lis.

V. *Diocese of Thrace : Exarch of Heraclea first, afterward Constantinople.*

Provinces.	Metropoles.
1. Europa.	1. Heraclea.
2. Thracia.	2. Philippopolis.
3. Hæmus Mons.	3. Adrianopolis.
4. Rhodope.	4. Trajanopolis.
5. Mœsia Secunda.	5. Marcianopolis.

Provinces.	Metropolises.
6. Scythia.	6. Tomi. But the Bishop of Tomi is rather to be reckoned an autocephalus than a metropolitan, because he had no suffragan bishops under him.

VI. *In the Diocese of Macedonia: Exarch of Thessalonica.*

Provinces.	Metropolises.
1. Achaia.	1. Corinthus.
2. Macedonia.	2. Thessalonica.
3. Creta.	3. Gortyna.
4. Thessalia.	4. Larissa.
5. Epirus Vetus.	5. Nicopolis.
6. Epirus Nova.	6. Dyrrachium.

VII. *Diocese of Dacia: Exarch, perhaps, first at Sardica, afterwards at Acrida or Justiniana Prima, erected by Justinian.*

Provinces.	Metropolises.
1. Dacia Mediterranea.	1. Sardica.
2. Dacia Ripensis.	2. The same.
3. Mœsia Prima.	3. The same.
4. Dardania.	4. Scupi.
5. Prævalitana.	5. Acrida.

VIII. *The Diocese of Italy is by some reckoned but one Diocese, by others divided into two: the Diocese of Italy, and Prefecture of Rome.*

In the Italic Diocese: Exarch of Milan.

Provinces.	Metropolises.
1. Flaminia and Picenum Annon.	1. Ravenna.
2. Venetia and Histria.	2. Aquileia.
3. Æmylia.	3. Ravenna.
4. Liguria.	4. Mediolanum, Milan.

Provinces.	Metropolises.
5. Alpes Cottiae.	5. Milan.
6. Rhætia Prima.	6. Milan.
7. Rhætia Secunda.	7. Milan. Others, Rhætio- polis; called Augusta Tiberii, now Ratisbon.

In the Roman Prefecture: Patriarch of Rome.

Provinces.	Metropolises.
1. Picenum Suburbicarium.	1. Rome.
2. Campania.	2. Rome. Others, Capua.
3. Tuscia and Umbria.	3. Rome.
4. Apulia and Calabria.	4. Rome.
5. Bruttii and Lucania.	5. Rome.
6. Samnium.	6. Rome.
7. Valeria.	7. Rome.
8. Silicia.	8. Syracuse.
9. Sardinia.	9. Calaris.
10. Corsica.	10. Uncertain. Others say Rome.

IX. In the Diocese of Illyricum Occidentale: Exarch of Sirmium.

Provinces.	Metropolises.
1. Pannonia Prima, or Su- perior.	1. Laureacum.
2. Pannonia Secunda.	2. Sirmium.
3. Savia.	3. Sirmium. Others, Vin- domana.
4. Dalmatia.	4. Salona.
5. Noricum Mediterraneum.	5. Some say Salzburg.
6. Noricum Ripense.	6. Some say Laureacum; others leave these two uncertain.

X. In the Diocese of Africa: Exarch of Carthage.

Provinces.	Metropolises.
1. Africa Proconsularis.	1. Carthago.
2. Byzacium.	2. Civil metropolis, Adru-

Provinces.

Metropoles.

metum; but the ecclesiastical followed the see of the senior bishop: so in all the rest.

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| 3. Numidia. | 3. Cirta Julia, or Constantina. |
| 4. Tripolis. | 4. Tripolis. |
| 5. Mauritania Sitifensis. | 5. Sitifi. |
| 6. Mauritania Cæsariensis. | 6. Cæsarea. |

XI. *In the Diocese of Spain: Exarch uncertain.*

Provinces.

Metropoles.

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| 1. Bætica. | 1. Hispalis. |
| 2. Lusitania. | 2. Emerita Augusta. |
| 3. Gallicia. | 3. Bracara. |
| 4. Tarraconensis. | 4. Tarraco. |
| 5. Carthaginensis. | 5. Carthago Hispanica. |
| 6. Tingitana. | 6. See of the senior bishop. |
| 7. Insulæ Baleares. | 7. Uncertain; some say Palma. |

XII. *In the Diocese of Gallia: Exarch uncertain.*

Provinces.

Metropoles.

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| 1. Viennensis. | 1. Arelate. Others say Vienna. |
| 2. Lugdunensis Prima. | 2. Lugdunum. |
| 3. Germania Prima. | 3. Treveri. Since Mentz. |
| 4. Germania Secunda. | 4. Treveri. Since Cologne. |
| 5. Belgica Prima. | 5. Treveri. |
| 6. Belgica Secunda. | 6. Rhemi. |
| 7. Alpes Maritimæ. | 7. Ebrodunum. |
| 8. Alpes Penninæ and Graiæ. | 8. Vienna. |
| 9. Maxima Sequanorum. | 9. Vesontio. Besançon. |
| 10. Aquitania Prima. | 10. Bituriges. Bourges. |
| 11. Aquitania Secunda. | 11. Burdigala. |
| 12. Novem Populorum. | 12. Elusa, or Augusta Ausciorum. |

Provinces.	Metropoles.
13. Narbonensis Prima.	13. Narbo.
14. Narbonensis Secunda.	14. Aquæ Sextiæ. Aix.
15. Lugdunensis Secunda.	15. Rothomagus. Rouen.
16. Lugdunensis Tertia.	16. Turones. Tours.
17. Lugdunensis Senonia.	17. Senonæ. Sens.

XIII. *In the Diocese of Britain: Exarch of York, if any.*

Provinces.	Metropoles.
1. Maxima Cæsariensis, which was at the first all from the Thames to the northern borders.	1. Eboracum. York.
2. Flavia Cæsariensis, taken out of the former, and containing all from the Thames to the Humber.	2. York.
3. Britannia Prima. All on the south of Thames.	3. London.
4. Britannia Secunda, or all beyond Severn.	4. Caerleon.
5. Valentia, beyond the Picts' Wall.	5. York.

This, in the main, was the state and division of the Church into provinces, and exarchates, or metropolitical and patriarchal dioceses, in the latter end of the fourth century: from which it appears, that a very near correspondence was observed between the Church and State in this matter, both in the Western and Eastern Empire.

SECT. VII.—*This evidenced further from the Rules and Canons of the Church.*

And this may be evidenced further both from the rules and canons, and the known practice of the Church in this case; for when any provinces were divided in the State, there commonly followed a division in the Church also; and when any city was advanced to a greater dignity in the civil account,

it usually obtained a like promotion in the ecclesiastical. So when controversies arose about primacy between two Churches in the same province or district, the way to end the dispute was to inquire which of them was the metropolis in the State, and order the same to be the metropolis in the Church; of all which there are manifest proofs in ancient history. It was by this rule that the bishop of Constantinople was advanced to patriarchal power in the Church, who before was not so much as a metropolitan, but subject to the primate of Heraclea, in Thrace; and this very reason is given by two general councils, which confirmed him in the possession of this new acquired power. The first of Constantinople decreedⁱ, that he should have the next place of honour after the bishop of Rome; because Constantinople was New Rome; which was thus again confirmed and ratified in the Council of Chalcedon, which says, "Forasmuch as we think it proper to follow the decrees of the holy fathers, and allow the canon made by those hundred and fifty bishops, assembled under the Emperor Theodosius, in the royal city of Constantinople, we ourselves order^k and decree the same concerning the privileges of the

ⁱ Conc. Constant. c. iii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 947.) Τὸν μέντοι Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐπίσκοπον ἔχειν τὰ πρεσβεῖα τῆς τιμῆς μετὰ τὸν τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπίσκοπον, διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὴν νέαν Ῥώμην.

^k Conc. Chalced. c. xxviii. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 770.) Πανταχοῦ τοῖς τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων ὅροις ἐπόμενοι, καὶ τὸν ἀρτίως ἀναγνωσθέντα κανόνα τῶν Ῥν' Θεοφιλεστάτων ἐπισκόπων γνωρίζοντες, τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ἡμεῖς ὀρίζομεν καὶ ψηφίζομεθα περὶ τῶν πρεσβείων τῆς ἁγιωτάτης ἐκκλησίας Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, νέας Ῥώμης. Καὶ γὰρ τῷ Θρόνῳ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης, διὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην, οἱ πατέρες εἰκότως ἀποδεδώκασιν τὰ πρεσβεῖα· καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ σκοπῷ κινούμενοι οἱ Ῥν' Θεοφιλέστατοι ἐπίσκοποι, τὰ ἴσα πρεσβεῖα ἀπένειμαν τῷ τῆς νέας Ῥώμης ἁγιωτάτῳ Θρόνῳ, εὐλόγως κρίναντες, τὴν βασιλεία καὶ συγκλήτῳ τιμηθεῖσαν πόλιν, καὶ τῶν ἴσων ἀπολαύουσιν πρεσβείων τῇ πρεσβυτέρῳ βασιλίδι Ῥώμῃ, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς, ὡς ἐκείνην, μεγαλύνεσθαι πράγμασι, δευτέραν μετ' ἐκείνην ὑπάρχουσιν· καὶ ὥστε τοὺς Ποντικῆς, καὶ τῆς Ἀσιανῆς, καὶ τῆς Θρακικῆς διοικήσεως μητροπολίτας μόνους, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς βαρβαρικοῖς ἐπισκόπους τῶν προειρημένων διοικήσεων χειροτονεῖσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ προειρημένου ἁγιωτάτου Θρόνου τῆς κατὰ Κωνσταντινούπολιν ἁγιωτάτης ἐκκλησίας· δηλαδὴ ἐκάστου μητροπολίτου τῶν προειρημένων διοικήσεων, μετὰ τῶν τῆς ἐπαρχίας ἐπισκόπων, χειροτονουῖντος τοὺς τῆς ἐπαρχίας ἐπίσκοπους, καθὼς τοῖς θείοις κανόσι διηγόρευται· χειροτονεῖσθαι δὲ, καθὼς εἴρηται, τοὺς μητροπολίτας τῶν προειρημένων διοικήσεων παρὰ τοῦ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἀρχιεπισκόπου, ψηφισμάτων συμφώνων, κατὰ τὸ ἔθος, γενομένων, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀναφερομένων.

most holy Church of the said city, which is New Rome. For our forefathers gave Old Rome her privileges in regard that she was the royal city, and those hundred and fifty bishops were moved with the same consideration to grant equal privileges to the episcopal throne of New Rome; judging it but reasonable, that the city which was honoured with the royal seat of the empire and senate, and enjoyed the same privileges with Old Rome in all matters of a civil nature, should also be advanced to the same dignity in ecclesiastical affairs, and be accounted the second in order after her." Accordingly they determined now, that the three whole dioceses of Asia, Pontus, and Thrace, should be settled under the jurisdiction of this new patriarch of Constantinople; which plainly shows, they had a particular regard to the model of the State, in settling the bounds and limits of jurisdiction in the Church. The Council of Antioch assigns this for the reason of paying deference to metropolitan bishops in general, because "they were placed in the metropolis of the province¹, whither all men that had business or controversies had recourse;" and, therefore, if any dispute happened, as sometimes there did, between two bishops in the same province about metropolitanical power, each laying a claim to it, the way to end this controversy was to inquire, which of their sees was the true metropolis in the State, and adjudge the same to have the true legal right and privilege in the Church. By this rule the Council of Turin^m determined the controversy about presidency betwixt the two Churches of Arles and Vienna, decreeing, that that bishop should be the primate,

¹ Conc. Antioch. c. ix. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 565.) Τοὺς καθ' ἐκάστην ἐπαρχίαν ἐπισκόπους εἰδέναι χρὴ, τὸν ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει προεστῶτα ἐπίσκοπον, καὶ τὴν φροντίδα ἀναδέχεσθαι πάσης τῆς ἐπαρχίας, διὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει πανταχόθεν συντρέχειν πάντα τοὺς πράγματα ἔχοντας· ὅθεν ἔδοξε καὶ τῇ τιμῇ προηγῆσθαι αὐτὸν, μηδὲν τε πράττειν περιττὸν τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐπισκόπους ἄνευ αὐτοῦ, κατὰ τὸν ἀρχαῖον κρατήσαντα τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν κανόνα, ἢ ταῦτα μόνα, ὅσα τῇ ἐκάστου ἐπιβάλλει παροιμία, καὶ ταῖς ὑπ' αὐτὴν χώραις.

^m Conc. Taurin. c. ii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1156.) Illud inter episcopos urbium Arelatensis et Viennensis, qui de primatus apud nos honore certabant, a sancta synodo definitum est, ut qui ex eis comprobaverit suam civitatem esse metropolim, is totius provinciae honorem primatus obtineat; et ipse juxta canonum praeceptum ordinationum habeat potestatem.

who could prove his city to be the metropolis of the province. It sometimes happened, that an ambitious spirit would petition the emperor to grant him the honour and power of a metropolitan in the Church, when yet the province to which he belonged had but one metropolis in the State; which was so contrary to the foresaid rule of the Church, that the Great Council of Chalcedonⁿ made it deposition for any bishop to attempt it. But, on the other hand, if the emperor thought fit to divide a province into two, and erect a new metropolis in the second part, then the Church many times allowed the bishop of the new metropolis to become a metropolitan in the Church also. By this means Tyana, in Cappadocia, came to be a metropolitical see, as well as Cæsarea, because the province was divided into two by imperial edict. And the like happened upon the division of many other provinces, Galatia, Pamphylia, &c., as may be seen in the *Notitia* of the Church, which follows in the end of this Book. The canons of the Church were made to favour this practice in the erection of new bishoprics also; for the Council of Chalcedon^o has another canon, which says, that if the imperial power made any innovation in the precincts, or parishes, belonging to any city, then the state of the Church precincts might be altered in conformity to the alterations that were made in the political and civil State, which canon is repeated and confirmed in the Council of Trullo^p. So that if any place was advanced to the privilege of a city, and governed by a civil magistracy of its own, which was not so before, it might then also be freed from the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of its former bishop, and

ⁿ Conc. Chalced. c. xii. (tom. iv. p. 762.) Ἦλθεν εἰς ἡμᾶς, ὥς τινες παρὰ τοὺς ἐκκλησιαστικοὺς θρονοὺς προσδραμόντες δυναστείαις, διὰ πραγματικῶν βασιλικῶν τὴν μίαν ἐπαρχίαν εἰς δύο κατέτεμον, ὥς ἐκ τούτου δύο μητροπολίτας εἶναι ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ· ὥρισε τοίνυν ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος, τοῦ λοιποῦ μηδὲν τοιοῦτον τολμᾶσθαι παρὰ ἐπισκόπων [οἱ, ἐπισκόποι]· ἐπεὶ τὸν τούτῳ ἐπιχειροῦντα ἐκπίπτειν τοῦ οἰκείου βαθμοῦ.

^o Ibid. c. xvii. (ibid. p. 764.) Εἴ τις ἐκ βασιλικῆς ἐξουσίας ἐκαινίσθη πόλις, ἢ αὐθις καινισθείη, τοῖς πολιτικοῖς καὶ δημοσίοις τύποις καὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν παροικιῶν ἡ τάξις ἀκολουθείτω.

^p Conc. Trull. c. xxxviii. (Labbe, vol. vi. p. 1159.) Τὸν ἐκ τῶν πατέρων τιθέντα κανόνα καὶ ἡμεῖς παραφυλάττομεν, τὸν οὕτω διαγορεύοντα· εἴ τις ἐκ βασιλικῆς ἐξουσίας, κ. τ. λ. Ut in Conc. Chalced. tantum loco παροικιῶν, hic legitur πραγμάτων.

be governed by one of its own. Thus, when Maiuma, in Palestine, a dependent on Gaza, was advanced by Constantine to the privilege of a city, and governed by a magistracy of its own; that was presently followed with the erection of a new bishop's see, which continued ever after, notwithstanding that Julian, in spite to Christianity, disfranchised the city, and annexed it to Gaza again. Sozomen is our author for this; and he adds further^a, that in his time the bishop of Gaza, upon a vacancy of Maiuma, laying claim to it as only an appendage of his own city, and pleading, that one city ought not to have two bishops, the cause came to an hearing before a provincial synod, which determined in favour of the Maiumitans, and ordained them another bishop; for they thought it not proper, that they who, for their piety, had obtained the privilege of being made a city, and were only deprived of their right by the envy of a pagan prince, should lose their other rights, which concerned the priesthood and the Church. So it always continued an episcopal see, and has its place among the rest in the *Notitia* of the Church. The like may be observed of Emmaus, which at first was but a village belonging to the diocese and city of Jerusalem; but being afterward rebuilt by the Romans, and called Nicopolis, from their great victories over the Jews, it became a city and a bishop's see; under which character the reader may also find it in the *Notitia* of the Church. These are evident proofs, that in settling the limits of dioceses and other districts, and modelling the external polity of the Church, a great regard was had to the rules of the State, and many things ordered in conformity to the measure observed in the Roman empire.

^a Sozom. lib. v. c. iii. (Aug. Taur. vol. ii. p. 169. C.) Τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐπισκόπων τις τῆς Γαζαίων πόλεως, τετελευτηκότος τοῦ προεστῶτος τῆς Μαΐουμιτῶν ἐκκλησίας, ἐσπούδασεν ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς κλήρους ὑφ' ἑαυτὸν ποιῆσαι, μὴ θεμιτὸν εἶναι λέγων, μιᾶς πόλεως δύο ἐπισκόπους προεστάναι· ἀντειπόντων δὲ τῶν Μαΐουμιτῶν, διέγνω ἡ τοῦ ἔθνους σύνοδος, καὶ ἕτερον ἐχειροτόνησεν ἐπίσκοπον· πάντως προσήκειν δοκιμάσασα, τοὺς δι' εὐσέβειαν δικαίων πόλεως ἀξιωθέντας, διὰ δὲ κρίσιν Ἑλληνιστοῦ βασιλέως ἄλλως πράξαντας, ἐν ἱερῶσύναις καὶ τάξει ἐκκλησιῶν, μὴ χρῆναι ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τῶν δοθέντων γερῶν.

SECT. VIII.—*Yet the Church not tied precisely to observe this Model, but used her Liberty in varying from it.*

Yet these being matters only of conveniency and outward order, the Church did not tie herself absolutely to follow that model, but only so far as she judged it expedient and conducive to the ends of her own spiritual government and discipline; and therefore she did not imitate the state model in all things. She never had one universal bishop, in imitation of a universal emperor; nor an Eastern and Western pontificate, in imitation of an Eastern and Western empire; nor four grand spiritual administrators, answering to the four great ministers of state, the præfecti-prætorio in the civil government; not to mention any other forms or ministers of state affairs, multitudes of which may be seen in the *Notitia* of the empire. Nay, in those things wherein she followed the civil form, her liberty seems to have been preserved both by the laws of Church and State; and nothing of this nature was forced upon her, but as she thought fit to order it in her own wisdom and discretion. This may be collected from one of Justinian's Novels, where, having divided the two Armenias into four provinces, he adds^r, that as to what concerned the state of the Church, his intent was to leave every thing in its ancient form, and make no alterations in the rights of the old metropolitans, or their power of ordaining their suffragans, &c. And this appears further from the answer of Pope Innocent, bishop of Rome, or one under his name,

^r Justin. Novel. xxxi. c. ii. Τὰ μέντοι περὶ τὰς ἱερωσύνας, μένειν κατὰ τὸ πρότερον βουλόμεθα σχῆμα, οὐδὲν οὐδὲ περὶ τὸ μητροπολιτικὸν δίκαιον, οὐδὲ περὶ τὰς χειροτονίας τοῦ πράγματος, ἀμειβομένου ἢ καινιζομένου, ἀλλὰ τῶν πρότερον χειροτονουμένων καὶ νῦν ἐχόντων τὴν τῆς χειροτονίας ἐξουσίαν, καὶ τῶν προτέρων μητροπολιτῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐαυτῶν μερόντων τάξεως· ὥστε μηδὲν τόγε ἐπ' αὐταῖς καινισθῆναι.— Id. Novel. xxviii. c. ii. Πᾶσαι αἱ τρισκαίδεκα πόλεις ἐπαρχίας ἔστωσαν μιᾷς, ἀφαιρουμένης μὲν οὐδετέρας αὐτῶν μητροπόλεων (Ἀμασείας τε φαμέν καὶ Νεωκαισαρείας) τοῦ τῆς μητροπόλεως ὀνόματος· τῶν δὲ Θεοφιλεστάτων αὐτῶν ἐπισκόπων τῶν μὲν μητροπολιτῶν ἐνταυθοῖ χειροτονουμένων· τῶν δὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦς τεταγμένων, ὁμοίως ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν τὰς μητροπόλεις ἐχόντων [καθὰ καὶ μέχρι νῦν ἦν] χειροτονουμένων· οὐδὲν γὰρ τῶν περὶ τὴν ἱερωσύνην αὐτῶν καινίζομεν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐπὶ μιᾷς ἐπαρχίας καὶ ὁ πάλαι χρόνος, καὶ οὗτος ὁ νῦν κατακοσμηθεὶς ὑφ' ἡμῶν, οἶδε πολλὰς τοιαύτας καταστάσεις ἐν τοῖς Θεοφιλεστάτοις ἐπισκόποις τυγχανούσας.

given to Alexander, of Antioch, who had put the question^s, “Whether upon the division of a province, and the erection of two civil metropoles in it by a royal decree, there ought also to be two metropolitan bishops in the Church?” To this he answers, “That there was no reason the Church should undergo alterations upon every necessary change that was made in the civil State, or have her honours and dignitaries multiplied or divided according to what the emperor thought fit to do in his own affairs.” This shows that the Church was at liberty, in this matter, to follow the model and divisions of the civil State or not, as she judged most expedient for herself; and when any alterations of this nature were made, they were generally done by the direction or consent of a provincial or general council, or the tacit consent and approbation of the Church.

SECT. IX.—*An Account of the Ecclesiæ Suburbicariæ in the District of the Roman Church.*

Whilst we are upon this head, relating to the ancient division of the Church, it comes properly to be inquired, what the primitive writers mean by the term *ecclesiæ suburbicariæ*, ‘suburbicary churches,’ in the district of the Roman Church. Ruffinus, in his translation and abstract of the Nicene Canons, gives us the sixth of them in these words^t, “The ancient custom of Alexandria and Rome shall still be observed, that the one shall have the care or government of the Egyptian; and the other, that of the suburbicary churches.” A great many questions have been raised by learned men in the last age concerning this, which I shall not clog this discourse with, but only resolve two questions, which are most material for a reader to know. 1. What was

^s Innocent. Epist. xviii. ad Alex. Antioch. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1269.) Quod sciscitaris, utrum divisio imperiali judicio provinciis, ut duæ metropoles fiant, sic duo metropolitani episcopi debeant nominari; non vere visum est ad mobilitatem necessitatum mundanarum Dei ecclesiam commutari, honoresque aut divisiones perpeti, quas pro suis causis faciendas duxerit imperator.

^t Ruffin. Hist. lib. i. c. vi. Ut apud Alexandriam, et in urbe Roma, vetusta consuetudo servetur, ut vel ille Ægypti, vel hic suburbicariarum ecclesiarum, sollicitudinem gerat.

the extent of this district? 2. Whether it was the limits of his metropolitical or patriarchal power? To know what was the extent of this district, we cannot take a surer way, than to consider what is meant by the 'suburbicary regions' in other places. For this is a term that often occurs in the Theodosian Code^u, where Gothofred^x, and our learned Dr. Cave^y, and many others, take it to signify the district of the

^u Cod. Theod. lib. xi. tit. i. de Annona, leg. ix. Tabulariorum fraudes se reseccasse, per suburbicarias regiones, vir clarissimus Anatolius consularis, missa relatione, testatus est. Plura vid. apud Gothofr. in h. l.

^x Gothofr. in Cod. Theod. lib. xi. tit. i. de Annona, leg. ix. At quibus Italia sic dicta limitibus coerceretur, quod sane sciri interest: hac enim jam ratione sciri poterit, quos intra fines suburbicariæ constiterint. Procedat igitur principibus illis, quos dixi, omnibus, prior Constantinus M. lib. ii. sup. de Integr. Restit. ad Bassum PP. 'Placuit post completum xx. et v. annum, ex eo quo vicesimi et sexti anni in urbe Roma usque ad anni tricesimi extremum diem spatia prorogari, et intra centesimum urbis Romæ milliarius, si tamen ab his iudicibus, qui Romæ sunt, fuerit iudicandum. Per omnem vero Italiam, usque ad finem anni vicesimi et noni. In cæteris omnibus provinciis, usque ad completum annum vicesimum et octavum.' Nempe vides, ut Constantino M. Juniore, principes suburbicas seu urbicarias regiones Italiæ opponunt, exorto jam 'suburbicariarum' nomine; ita ante exortum hujus nominis a Constantino M. centesimum ab urbe Roma et Italiam opponi. Quare oportet suburbicarias regiones et centesimum idem esse.—Sane et Constantinus M. ut altius adhuc adsurgamus: non aliter Dio, lib. lii. p. 548. *τὴν τε Ἰταλίαν*, inquit, *πᾶσαν ὑπὲρ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑπτακοσίους ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως σταδίου οὖσαν*. Nam eo loco, 750 stadia præcise efficiunt centum milliaria, quod alibi a me ostensum est. Immo non aliter in Epistola D. Severi ad Fabium Cilonem, P. U., ut refert Ulpianus, lib. i. in pr. π. de Off. P. U. 'Omnia omnino crimina,' inquit, 'præfectura urbis sibi vindicavit: nec tantum ea quæ intra urbem admittuntur, verum ea quoque quæ extra urbem intra Italiam, Epistola D. Severi ad Fabium Cilonem præfectum-urbi missa, declaratur.' Quo loco vox 'intra' exclusive accipienda, ut alibi pluribus ostendo: quod, hactenus non perspectum, facit, ut hic locus cum altero ejusdem Ulpiani pugnare vulgo crederetur, quo non nisi centesimum præfecti-urbis administrationi tribuit: quum tamen eadem sit sententia: centesimum enim ab urbe ad Italiam decurrit, seu inter urbem et Italiam jacet. Quare verissimum, 'regiones suburbicarias' et centesimum idem esse: contra Italiæ appellatione, cum his suburbicariæ opponuntur, venisse provincias omnes ultra centesimum submotas, etc.

^y Cave's Ancient Church Government, c. iii. p. 114, seq. Though men of learning may, by tricks and subtlety, entangle and perplex an argument, yet two things are plain beyond all just exception. First, that the jurisdiction of the city-præfect reached an hundred miles about Rome. Secondly, that the urbicary and suburbicary regions lay chiefly, and, in all likelihood, entirely within that compass, and derived that title from their vicinity to the city, and their immediate dependence upon the government of its provost. And I cannot

præfectus urbis, or ‘jurisdiction of the provost of Rome,’ which was a circuit of about a hundred miles next to Rome; as it is evident from the ancient law, which says, his government extended not only to Rome, but to a hundred miles^z round it, where the limits of his jurisdiction ceased. Which is noted also by Cassiodore^a and Dio^b, who instead of *centesimus lapis*, uses the phrase of seven hundred and fifty stadia, or furlongs, which is not much short of the legal computation. Others reckon the *regiones suburbicariæ* to be the same ten provinces of the Italic diocese, which were under the *vicarius urbicus*, who, with the other *vicarius* of Italy, divided the Italic diocese between them: so that the Roman *vicarius* had seven provinces in Italy (mentioned before in the *Notitia*), and the three islands of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, under his jurisdiction; which they reckon the suburbicary provinces of Rome. So our learned Mr. Brerewood^c, and Sirmond^d, and Du Pin, and some others, who extend the ecclesiastical

but a little wonder, that Sirmond, who more than once grants the præfect of Rome to have had jurisdiction within an hundred miles, should yet as often deny, that he had any provinces under his government, as if there had been no provinces within that compass, when they are expressly called the “Suburbanæ Provinciæ” in the Theodosian Code, and the ordinary judges in those parts commanded to return all greater causes to the tribunal of the city-præfect, and this in contradistinction to the course of other provinces, which were to be accountable to the prætorian præfect.

^z Digest. lib. i. tit. xii. leg. i. sect. iv. Si quid intra centesimum milliarium admissum sit, ad præfectum-urbi pertinet: si ultra ipsum lapidem, egressum est præfecti-urbi notionem.

^a Cassiodor. Form. lib. vi. p. 207, edit. Colon. Allobrog. 1656, 4to. (p. 129, edit. Paris. 1589, folio.) Ditioni tuæ non solum Roma commissæ est (quamvis in illa contineantur universa), verum etiam intra centesimum milliarium potestatem te protendere, antiqua jura voluerunt: ne tantæ civitatis judicem muralis agger includeret, quum Roma omnia possideret.

^b Dio, lib. lii. p. 548, edit. Francof. 1592, 8vo. (p. 480. A. B. edit. Hanov. 1606, folio.) Πολίαρχος δὴ τις ἐκ τῶν προηκόντων καὶ ἐκ τῶν πάντα τὰ καθήκοντα προπεπολιτευμένων ἀποδεικνύσθω· οὐχ ἵνα ἀποδημησάντων που τῶν ἱππάρχων ἄρχῃ, ἀλλ’ ἵνα τὰ τε ἄλλα ἀεὶ τῆς πόλεως προστατῇ, καὶ τὰς δίκας, τὰς τε παρὰ πάντων ὧν εἶπον ἀρχόντων ἐφεσίμους τε καὶ ἀναπομπίμους, καὶ τὰς τοῦ θανάτου, τοῖς δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει, πλὴν ὧν ἂν εἴπω, καὶ τοῖς ἔξω αὐτῆς μέχρι πεντήκοντα ἑξακοσίων σταδίων οἰκοῦσι, κρίνῃ.

^c Brerewood, of Patriarch. Gov. quæst. i. p. 99.

^d Sirmond. Censur. Conjectur. lib. i. c. iv. (tom. iv. opp. pp. 33–35, edit. Paris. 1696.)

jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome to all those ten provinces, under the inspection of the *vicarius urbis*. Either of these opinions may be admitted, as having at least their arguments of probability to defend them: whereas, they who confine the suburbicary churches to a single diocese, or extend them so far as to include all the provinces of the Western empire, run into contrary extremes, for which there is no ground, either in the Nicene Canon itself, or any other part of the history of the Church in that age. For it is evident the canon speaks of the power of the three great bishops, Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch, as extending further than a single diocese: but that the authority of the bishop of Rome in those days extended over the whole Western empire, is not once so much as hinted in the Nicene Canon, but is contrary to all the common senses of suburbicary churches, and refuted by the known distinction between Italic and Roman churches, or provinces, and the constant opposition that was made by the African churches, and those of Britain, Milan, and others, to the least pretences of patriarchal power over them. From which it is rational to conclude, that the notion of suburbicary churches ought not to be extended beyond the limits either of the *præfectus urbis*, which was a hundred miles about Rome; and, as Dr. Cave and some others think, was also the limits of the pope's metropolitical power: or at most not beyond the limits of those ten provinces which were immediately subjected to the civil disposition and jurisdiction of the *vicarius urbis*, viz. 1. Campania, 2. Tuscia and Umbria. 3. Picenum Suburbicarium. 4. Valeria. 5. Samnium. 6. Apulia and Calabria. 7. Lucania and Bruttii. 8. Sicilia. 9. Sardinia. 10. Corsica. Which Dr. Cave^e supposes to have been the exact and proper limits of the pope's patriarchal power,

^e Cave's Ancient Church Government, c. v. p. 256. But you will say, Where, then, shall we find the Roman patriarchate? Certainly within much narrower limits. And here nothing can offer itself with so much rational probability, as that his patriarchal jurisdiction was concurrent with that of the *vicarius urbis*, or the 'lieutenant of Rome,' as his metropolitical was with that of the *præfectus urbis*, or 'city provost.' Now, the *vicarius urbis* had ten provinces under his government, four consular, viz. Campania, Tuscia, and Umbria, Picenum Suburbicarium, (the suburbicary, as well as other provinces, being in some cases, especially that of tribute, under the inspection of the

as he thinks the other were the bounds of his metropolitan jurisdiction.

SECT. X.—*This most probably the true ancient Limits of the Bishop of Rome's both Metropolitan and Patriarchal Jurisdiction.*

But it matters not much, I think, whether we call this district of these ten provinces, the bishop of Rome's metropolitan or patriarchal dioceses, or provinces. For, after all the disputes that have been raised about this matter, these seem to have been in a great measure the true ancient limits both of his metropolitan and patriarchal power. Many, I know, will take this for a paradox: but I have shown it to be true^f in the case of the bishop of Alexandria, the bounds of whose jurisdiction were the same, viz. the six provinces of the Egyptian diocese, both when he was a metropolitan and patriarch; and why then might not the case be the same with the bishop of Rome, whose privileges are prescribed as a model for the bishop of Alexandria, by the Council of Nice, whose words^g are these: “Let ancient customs prevail in Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis; let the bishop of Alexandria have authority over all, because the same is customary with the bishop of Rome: in like manner, at Antioch, and in other provinces, let the privileges be secured to the Churches.” Some think the bishop of Rome was only a metropolitan when this canon was made, as Launoy, Bishop Beveridge, Bishop

prætorian præfect, and his lieutenant), and Sicilia; two correctorial, Apulia with Calabria, and Lucania Bruttiorum; four præsidial, Samnium, Sardinia, Corsica, and Valeria. This was the ‘urbicary diocese,’ distinct from the ‘Italic diocese,’ the metropolis whereof was Milan. Within these bounds the bishops of Rome, especially after the times of the Nicene Council, took upon them to exercise jurisdiction, to call synods, ordain metropolitans, and despatch other Church affairs. Hence they had their usual synod, which was a kind of council in ordinary to the bishop of Rome, and met upon all important occasions.

^f Book ii. chap. xvii. sect. xi.

^g Conc. Nicæen. c. vi. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 31.) Τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθνη κρατεῖτω, τὰ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ Λιβύῃ καὶ Πενταπόλει, ὥστε τὸν Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπίσκοπον πάντων τούτων ἔχειν τὴν ἐξουσίαν· ἐπειδὴν γὰρ τῷ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐπισκόπῳ τοῦτο σύνηθές ἐστιν· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐπαρχίαις, τὰ πρεσβεῖα σώζεσθαι ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις.

Stillingfleet, Dr. Cave : according to whose sentiments it must follow, that the suburbicary churches were the district or subject of his metropolitical power. Mr. Brerewood^h, and Spalatensis, after St. Jerome, think he was properly a patriarch ; and I have shown elsewhereⁱ, that there are some reasons to countenance their opinion : but then the limits of his patriarchal power were still the same (according as it was at Alexandria ;) and the ten provinces of the Roman diocese were the legal bounds of his jurisdiction. And so Du Pin^k, amongst the Romanists, makes no scruple ingenuously to confess ; exempting Germany, Spain, France, Britain, Africa, Illyricum, and seven of the Italic provinces, from any subjection to the jurisdiction of the Roman patriarch in those first and primitive ages.

SECT. XI.—*Some evident Proofs of this.*

This is contrary to the general stream and current of the Romish writers, one of which is so angry with Du Pin upon this account, that he treats him with all the scorn and bitterness imaginable for making such a bold concession, and endea-

^h Brerewood, of Patriarchal Power, quæst. i.

ⁱ Book ii. chap. xvi. sect. viii.

^k Du Pin, de Disciplin. Ecclesiast. Dissert. i. n. xiv. (p. 92, Paris. 1688, 8vo.) (p. 89, Paris. 1691, 4to.) Restat inquirendum, quæ fuerint provinciæ et ecclesiæ suburbicariæ, et quinam illarum limites. Hoc autem in primis circa istam quæstionem statuendum videtur, et pro certo supponendum, ecclesias suburbicarias provinciis respondere suburbicariis. Quemadmodum enim ecclesiæ Ægyptiæ, Asiaticæ, Illyricanæ, Orientales, eæ sunt ecclesiæ, quæ in istis diocesisibus erant sitæ ; ita etiam ecclesiæ suburbicariæ aliæ esse non possunt ab iis, quæ provinciis suburbicariis continebantur. Tota ergo quæstio de ecclesiarum suburbicarum limitibus ex provinciarum suburbicarum limitibus pendet. Provinciæ autem suburbicariæ aliæ dici non possunt, quam illæ, quæ circa Romam adjacebant : quæ urbs dicitur *ἀντρονομαστικῶς*. Docet id vel ipsum nomen, quod regiones ab urbe non longe positas significat, tum etiam imperatoriarum legum auctoritas, in quibus provinciæ suburbicariæ appellantur eæ, quæ circa Romam adjacebant ; et procul dissitis ab urbe regionibus, ut Africae, Galliae, et Hispaniae, opponuntur : patetque vel ex una lege Codicis Theodosiani, (lib. viii. tit. v. leg. xxxiv.) ubi statuitur, ut decretum, in gratiam Africae proconsularis latum, locum etiam habeat in provinciis suburbicariis. Ferri igitur minime potest illorum opinio, qui provinciarum suburbicarum nomine, vel universum imperium, vel saltem occidentem universum designari volunt.

vours to answer¹ both what he and Bishop Stillingfleet had advanced against the pope's pretence to patriarchal power over the whole Western empire ; but with what success the reader may easily judge, from these few instances, which are evident proofs of the sense that has been given of the extent and limits of the pope's patriarchal jurisdiction. 1. Ruffinus, who was an Italian, and presbyter of Aquileia, and therefore could not be ignorant of the bounds of the pope's patriarchal power, in interpreting the sixth canon of the Council of Nice confines his jurisdiction to the^m suburbicary provinces ; and other ancient versions, published by Sirmond and Justellus, agree with his interpretation. 2. The other seven provinces of Italy, which properly constitute the Italic diocese as distinct from the Roman provinces, with Milan, their metropolis, at the head of them, were not anciently subject to the jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome ; for Milan is frequently styled the metropolis of Italy by Athanasiusⁿ and Theodoret^o, taking Italy in its strict and peculiar notion, as distinct from the provinces subject to Rome. The bishop of Milan was never ordained by the bishop of Rome (which yet he must have been, had he been subject to his patriarchal power), but by the bishop of Aquileia, as the bishop of Aquileia and other places were ordained by Milan ; which is evident from the Epistle^p of Pope

¹ Schelstrate's Dissertation of Metropolitcal and Patriarchal Power against Stillingfleet, Lond. 1688.

^m Ruffin. Histor. Eccles. lib. i. c. vi. See before, sect ix.

ⁿ Athanas. Epist. ad Solitar. tom. i. p. 831, edit. Par. 1627, (p. 363. D. edit. Par. 1698.) 'Εξ ὧν εἰσιν οἱ νῦν λαμπρᾷ χρησάμενοι τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ, ἄνδρες εὐλαβεῖς, καὶ ἐπίσκοποι ἀγαθοὶ, Παυλῖνος ὁ ἀπὸ Τιβέρων, τῆς μητροπόλεως τῶν Γαλλιῶν, ἐπίσκοπος, καὶ Λουκίφερ ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς μητροπόλεως τῆς Σαρδινίας ἐπίσκοπος, Εὐσέβιος τε ὁ ἀπὸ Βερκέλλων τῆς Ἰταλίας, καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ ἀπὸ Μεδιολάνων· ἔστι δὲ καὶ αὕτη μητρόπολις τῆς Ἰταλίας.

^o Theodor. lib. ii. c. xv. (Aug. T. p. 81.) 'Ο μὲν ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Ῥώμης Λιβέριος, καὶ Παυλῖνος ὁ τῆς μητροπόλεως τῶν Γαλλιῶν, καὶ ὁ Διονύσιος ὁ τῆς μητροπόλεως τῆς Ἰταλίας.

^p Pelag. Ep. xvii. (tom. v. Conc. p. 805. E.) Is mos antiquus fuit, ut quia pro longinquitate vel difficultate itineris ab apostolico onerosum illis fuerat ordinari, ipsi se invicem Mediolanensis et Aquileiensis ordinare episcopi debuissent ; ita tamen ut in ea civitate, in qua erat ordinandus episcopus, alterius civitatis pontifex occurrere debuisset.

Pelagius, and De Marca^a does not pretend to deny it. The like has been observed by learned men concerning Ravenna and other places in Italy, which frequently contested the point of superiority and subjection with the bishops of Rome; of which Dr. Cave^r gives the reader a particular historical account for many ages successively, too long to be here inserted. 3. For the African provinces (which are pretended to be part of the Pope's patriarchal dominions), they had always an exarch, or patriarch, of their own, the primate of Carthage, who was

^a Marc. de Concord. Sacerdot. lib. vi. c. iv. n. vii. (Bamberg. 1788, vol. iii. p. 31.) Ambrosii Mediolanensis episcopi electio et ordinatio, quæ facta est a synodo totius Italiae, decreto imperatoris Valentiniani coacta, evincit, nihil juris per illas tempestates Romano Pontifici competitivisse in ordinatione metropolitani Mediolanensis; a qua manus abstinuit per multum ævi, sero usurpata ejus ordinatione. Colligi id abunde potest ex Epistola Pelagii I. anno 555, in sede Petri præsentis: qui docens, episcopos Aquileiensem et Mediolanensem consuevisse invicem sibi manus imponere, quando alterutra harum sedium pastore proprio viduata erat, insinuare tamen nititur, hanc consuetudinem introductam esse vitandis sumtibus, qui electo incumbent, si Romam pro ordinatione accedere cogeretur; quum vera hujus instituti ratio in eo consistat, quod quum Mediolanum esset caput dioceseos Italiae, ut constat ex Concilio Aquileiensi, ordinatio metropolitæ Aquileiensis ad episcopum Mediolanensem optimo jure pertinebat; primatis vero Mediolanensis ordinatio ad Aquileiensem episcopum, quod primus esset inter metropolitanos synodi generalis dioceseos Italiae. Ex epistola tamen quadam Gregorii I. colligitur, jam ævo ejus, id est 58 annis post Pelagium invaluisse, ut necessarius esset summi pontificis consensus ad hoc, ut episcopis provinciæ Mediolanensis libera esset ordinatio metropolitani. Verba ejus minime ambigua sunt, ad exarchum Italiae scribentis de electione episcopi Mediolanensis. Ait enim, se (ut consuetudinem servet) missurum esse ministrum ecclesiæ Romanæ, qui electum ab episcopis comprovincialibus, sicut vetus mos exigit, cum adsensu quoque pontificis Romani, faciat consecrari. Distinguit autem illic accurate jus canonicum episcoporum comprovincialium, quod veteri mori adscribit, ab ecclesiæ Romanæ possessione, quam simpliciter 'consuetudinem' appellat, absque ullo epitheto: quæ consuetudo haud dubie introducta erat post schisma ecclesiarum Mediolanensis et Aquileiensis. 'Necesse fuit pro servanda consuetudine,' inquit Gregorius, 'militem ecclesiæ nostræ dirigere, qui eum, in quo omnium voluntates atque consensum concorditer convenire cognoverit a suis episcopis, sicut vetus mos exigit, cum nostro tamen adsensu faciat consecrari.' Idem ad Joannem subdiaconum, cui harum rerum executionem commissit, scribens ita loquitur: 'Tunc eum a propriis episcopis, sicut antiquitatis mos obtinet, cum nostræ auctoritatis adsensu faciat consecrari: quatenus hujusmodi servata consuetudine et apostolica sedes proprium vigorem retineat, et a se concessa aliis sua jura non minuat.'

^r Cave's Ancient Church Government, c. v. tot. pp. 201—266.

absolute and independent^s of any other, as Justinian declares in one of his Novels. And it is plain the African Councils always thought so; for, as they never sent to Rome for ordinations, so they prohibited all appeals thither upon any account whatsoever; which is evident, beyond all contradiction, from the Council of Milevis^t, which orders every African clerk that appeals from the sentence of his own bishop, or a synod of select judges, to appeal to none but African synods, or the primates of the provinces: and if any presumed to appeal beyond seas, meaning to Rome, he should be excluded from all communion in the African churches. This decree was further confirmed by several acts of their general synods, made upon the famous case and appeal of Apiarius, an African presbyter, whom Zosimus, bishop of Rome, pretended to restore to communion, after he had been deposed by an African Council. Zosimus alleged for himself a pretended decree of the Council of Nice, giving him authority to receive appeals; but this the African fathers proved to be a forgery, by sending for authentic copies of the Nicene decrees from Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria, where no such thing appeared. Upon this, the African fathers write a very sharp letter to Pope Celestine (for Zosimus and Boniface, his successor, were both dead, whilst this controversy was depending); where, among other things, they desire him, that he would not, for the future, give ear to any that came from Afric, nor admit those to communion whom they had excommunicated; which he might easily perceive to be prohibited by the Council of Nice, according to

^s Justin. Novel. cxxxi. c. iv. Καὶ τὸν ὁμοίον τρόπον τὸ δίκαιον τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης, ὅπερ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ Ἰουστιανῆς Καρχηδόνοϋ τῆς Ἀφρικῆς διοικήσεως δεδώκαμεν, ἐξ οὗπερ ὁ Θεὸς ταύτην ἡμῖν ἀποκατέστησε, φυλάττεσθαι κελεύομεν.

^t Conc. Milevit. II. c. xxii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1542.) Placuit, ut presbyteri, diaconi, vel ceteri inferiores clerici, in causis quas habuerint, si de judiciis episcoporum suorum questi fuerint, vicini episcopi eos audiant: et inter eos quicquid est, finiant adhibiti ab eis ex consensu episcoporum suorum. Quod si et ab eis provocandum putaverint, non provocent, nisi ad Africana concilia, vel ad primates provinciarum suarum. Ad transmarina autem, [*Roma intelligitur*] qui putaverit appellandum, a nullo intra Africam in communionem suscipiatur.

whose decrees, both the inferior clergy and the bishops themselves were committed to the judgment of their own metropolitans; for the Nicene fathers very justly and wisely conceived, that all controversies ought to be ended in the places where they arose. And it was very unreasonable, in itself, to think that God should enable a single person to examine the justice of a cause, and deny his grace to a vast number of persons assembled in council. Therefore, upon the whole matter, they desire him henceforth to forbear sending any of his clerks into Afric, to execute his sentence there, lest they should seem to introduce the smoky pride of the world into the Church of Christ:—with abundance more to the same purpose, which the reader may find at large inserted^u among the Canons of the African Code. From which it is as plain as the sun at noon-day, that in the time of St. Austin, the pope could lay no just claim to patriarchal power over any of the African Churches. 4. Baluzius has further demonstrated, for the Gallican Churches (in his excellent Preface to Antonius Augustinus's Book, *De Emendatione Gratiani*), that, for eight hundred years, the French synods never allowed of any appeals from their own determinations to the pope. They always ordained their own metropolitans, as is evident from the second Synod of Orleans^x (an. 533); and many times stoutly resisted the encroachments of the popes: for which I refer the reader to the foresaid Baluzius and Dr. Cave^y, the particulars being too long to be

^u Cod. Can. African. c. cxxxv.—cxxxviii. (tom. ii. Conc. p. 1144, seq.)

^x Conc. Aurel. II. c. vii. (tom. iv. Conc. p. 1781.) In ordinandis metropolitanis episcopis antiquam institutionis formulam renovamus, quam per incuriam omnimodis videmus amissam. Itaque metropolitanus episcopus a comprovincialibus episcopis, clericis, vel populis electus, congregatis in unum omnibus comprovincialibus episcopis ordinetur, ut talis Deo propitio ad gradum hujus dignitatis accedat, per quem regula ecclesiæ in melius aucta plus floreat.

^y Cave's Ancient Church Government, c. v. pp. 219, 220. I shall only remark, that when Hincmar, archbishop of Remes, deposed Rothald, bishop of Suessons, for great misdemeanours, Rothald appealed to Rome; and Pope Nicolaus espoused his cause, wrote sharply to Hincmar, and cited him to appear, and answer what he had done, at Rome. But Hincmar would not stir, but published a large apologetic to the pope, wherein he justifies his act; and though he gives good words and great deference to the see apostolic, yet stoutly contends, that he ought to be content with a general care and inspection, and not interrupt the ordinary rights of metropolitans; and that it was

inserted here. 5. Lastly, For the Britannie churches, it is evident, that, for six hundred years, they never acknowledged any dependence upon Rome. When Austin the monk came into England, and pleaded with the British bishops (seven in number) for subjection to the bishop of Rome, and conformity to the Roman rites, in the observation of Easter and some other things, he was answered positively^z, that they owed no obedience to the pope of Rome, but were under the government of the bishop of Caerleon upon Usk, who was their overseer under God: and for the business of the paschal controversy, they were so far from paying any deference to the Roman custom, that they continued their ancient practice of observing Easter on a different Sunday from Rome for some ages after, notwithstanding all the arguments that the pope or his party could urge against them. For which reasons they were treated as schismatics by the agents and emissaries of Rome; which is an evident demonstration that they did not then acknowledge any thing of the pope's patriarchal power over them. All this is clear from Bede^a, who repeats it in several places; and William of Malmesbury^b, and Stephen Heddius^c, and Eadmerus^d, and other writers of the life of Wilfrid, archbishop of York (a great zealot for the Romish cause against the British customs), tell us the very same story. For, they say, "Wilfrid refused to receive ordination from the Scottish or British bishops, or from any ordained by them, because the apostolical

infinitely reasonable, that the criminal should be referred to the judgment of his own province.

^z Spelman, Conc. Britan. an. 601, tom. i. p. 108. Responsio ita habet: Notum sit et absque dubitatione vobis, quod nos omnes sumus, et quilibet nostrum, obedientes et subditi ecclesiæ Dei, et Papæ Romæ, et unicuique vero et pio Christiano, ad amandum unumquemque eorum verbo et facto fore filios Dei: et aliam obedientiam, quam istam, non scio debitam ei, quem vos nominatis esse patrem patrum, vindicari et postulari; et istam obedientiam nos sumus parati dare et solvere ei, et cuique Christiano continuo. Præterea nos sumus sub gubernatione episcopi Caërlegionis super Osca, qui est ad supervidendum sub Deo super nobis, et faciendum nos servare vitam spiritualem.

^a Bed. Histor. Gent. Anglor. lib. ii. c. ii. et xix. lib. iii. c. xxv. lib. v. c. xvi. et xxii.

^b Malmsbur. de Gestis Pontific. Anglor. lib. iii.

^c Steph. Heddius, de Vit. Wilfrid. c. xii.

^d Eadmer. Vit. Wilfrid.

see had rejected their communion." So that, as Bishop Stillingfleet has observed^e out of these authors, "It is plain the British and Scottish churches stood excommunicate at that time by the Church of Rome, because they would not submit to her rites and customs about Easter, and her pretended power over them." A great deal more has been alleged by our learned antiquaries, Mr. Brerewood^f, Mr. Watson^g, Dr. Cave^h, and Bishop Stillingfleetⁱ, to shew the ancient liberty

^e Stillingfleet's Answer to Cressy, p. 309. Mr. Cressy confesseth that the Scots, Picts, and Britons, in all matters of faith, agreed with the Saxon, that is, the Roman Church: but it is plain withal, that the great zealot for the Church of Rome, Wilfrid, refused to receive orders among them, and gives this the reason of it,—“because the apostolical sees did not allow them communion with it:” for, speaking of the British and Scottish bishops, he saith, ‘Quos nec apostolica sedes in communionem recepit, nec eos qui schismaticis consentiunt.’ It seems, then, the British and Scottish churches stood excommunicated at that time by the Church of Rome; and therefore he desires to go into France, ‘ut sine controversia apostolicæ sedis, licet indignus, gradum episcopalem merear accipere;’ so that the pope would neither allow their Churches nor their ordinations. So William of Malmesbury saith, “that they would neither be ordained by the Scottish bishops, nor by any ordained by them; because the apostolical see had rejected their communion.” But what was it, I beseech Mr. Cressy, that unchurched the British and Scottish Christians, and nulled their ordinations, and made them deserve excommunication? Why, forsooth, they had not the right tonsure among them; and they did not keep Easter on the right Sunday: these are all the material differences Mr. Cressy will allow for the causes of so much severity.

^f Brerewood, of Patriarchal Government, qu. iii.

^g Watson, de Eccles. Britan. Antiqua Libertate, thes. ii.

^h Cave's Ancient Church Government, c. v. p. 244. From Afric let us sail into Britain, and see how things stood in our own country, the first nation of the whole Western world that received the Christian faith; it being planted here (as Gildas, an author of untainted credit, and no inconsiderable antiquity, informs us, and he speaks it too with great assurance), ‘tempore summo Tiberii Cæsaris,’ in the latter time of Tiberius's reign, which he admits to have been the very last year of his life (he died March the 16th, A. D. 37). It was five or six years before it is pretended St. Peter ever came to, or founded any Church at, Rome. Christianity, though struggling with great difficulties, and but lukewarmly entertained by some, yet, as Gildas assures us, made shift to keep its head in the following ages, as is evident from some passages in Origen, Tertullian and others, and from the known story of King Lucius, the first Christian king . . . Religion being settled, that Church-government grew up here, as in other countries, by bishops and then metropolitans, or superior bishops, there can be no just cause to doubt.

ⁱ Stillingfleet, Orig. Britan. c. v. (London 1840. p. 366.) It remains only,

and independency of the Britannic churches, which I shall not here repeat, but only consider an exception or two, which are made by Schelstrate, in his Dissertation concerning the patriarchal power of the bishop of Rome, in answer to Bishop Stillingfleet's *Antiquities of the British Church*.

that we consider the liberty or independence of the British churches ; of which we can have no greater proof than from the carriage of the British bishops towards Augustin the monk, when he came with full power from the pope to require subjection from them. And this material point relating to the British Churches, I shall endeavour to clear from all the objections which have been made against it. In order thereto, we are to understand, that Augustin the monk, by virtue of the pope's authority, did challenge a superiority over the bishops of the British Churches ; which appears not only by Gregory's answer to his interrogations, but by the scheme of the ecclesiastical government here, which Gregory sent to him, after he had a fair prospect of the conversion of the Saxons, which was at the same time that he sent Melitius, Justus, Paulinus, and Rufinianus, with the archiepiscopal pall, to him. There he declares, that there were to be two archbishops' sees, one at London (which, out of honour to Ethelbert or Augustin, was fixed at Canterbury, or rather by Ethelbert's own authority), and the other at York, which had been a metropolitan see in the British times, and both these archbishops were to have twelve suffragan bishops under them. The bishop of London was to be consecrated by his own synod, and to receive the pall from the pope ; but Augustin was to appoint the first bishop of York, who was to yield subjection to him for his time, but afterwards the sees were to be independent on each other. But by all this it should seem, that he had authority given him only over those bishops, who were consecrated by him and the archbishop of York ; what, then, becomes of those bishops in Britain who were consecrated by neither, and such they knew there were ? Concerning these, Gregory gives a plain answer : " that they were all to be subject to the authority of Augustin, and to govern themselves, in life, and doctrine, and Church offices, according to his direction." Augustin, being furnished with such full power, as he thought, desires a meeting with the British bishops, at a place called Augustinsac, as Bede saith, in the confines of the Wiccii and the West Saxons. Where this place was, is very uncertain, and not at all material : Camden could find nothing like it ; and the conjectures of others since have no great probability, either as to Austric, or Haustake, or Ossuntree ; but, at this place, the British bishops gave Augustin a meeting ; where the first thing proposed by him was, that they would embrace the unity of the Catholic Church, and then join with him in preaching to the Gentiles ; for, saith he, " they did many things repugnant to the unity of the Church ;" which was, in plain terms, to charge them with schism ; and the terms of communion offered did imply submission to the Church of Rome, and, by consequence, to his authority over them. But the utmost that could be obtained from them, was only that they would take further advice, and give another meeting, with a greater number. And then were present seven bishops of the Britons, and many learned men, chiefly of the monastery of Banchor, where

SECT. XII.—*The contrary Exceptions of Schelstrate, relating to the Britannic Church, considered.*

He says,^k “The manuscript set out by Sir H. Spelman, containing the answer of Dinothus to Austin, is spurious and forged; for the style manifestly discovers it to be modern;” which is a weighty argument indeed from a person who was so competent a judge of the British style, in which that manuscript was written, that he professes he did not understand even the English tongue, without the help of an interpreter. And how, then, should he be able to judge of a British writing by its style, without knowing a syllable of the language? “But,” he adds, “the matter of it also discovers it to be a forgery; for it is manifest there was no archbishop of Caerleon upon Usk at that time, as the writing pretends; but that the metropolitan jurisdiction had, for above a hundred years before, been transferred to Menevia.” As if it was not as manifest to all the world, that the archbishop of Menevia, or St. David’s, might retain the title of Caerleon, though the see was removed, because Caerleon was the original seat; as well as the bishop of the Isle of Man now retains the title of *Episcopus Sodorensis*, because Sodora and all the Hebrides, or islands on the west of Scotland, were once part of his diocese, though now for many ages they have been separated from it. Or, to give an instance nearer Rome, we are told by geographers^l, that Ostia and Porto still give title to two bishops, one whereof is always a senior cardinal, and the other dean of the college of cardinals; though both places are now in such

Dinoth was then abbot; and the result of this meeting was, “that they utterly refused submission to the Church of Rome, or to Augustin as archbishop over them.” And for the account of this, we are beholden to Bede, whose authority is liable to no exception in this matter.

^k Schelstrat. Dissert. c. vi. p. 130.

^l Ferrarius, in Baudrand. voce *Ostia*, p. 22. Ostia, colonia et urbs Latii episcopalis, ad ostia Tiberis, e regione Portus urbis, prorsus a Saracenis eversa, ab urbe Roma 16 mill. pass. distans. Manet episcopatus, qui Cardinali seniori, a quo Pontifex Maximus coronatur, tribuitur, &c. — Id. in voce *Portus Augusti*. Portus Augusti, qui et Romanus, Porto, urbs Hetruriæ prorsus excisa, apud Ostia Tiberis, contra Ostiam urbem etiam extinctam 2 mill. pass. distantem, ab urbe Roma 16 mill. pass. in meridiem. Manet episcopatus, unus e sex, qui Cardinalibus antiquioribus conferuntur.

ruins that there is scarce an inhabitant in either. We shall see hereafter, in the fifth chapter of this book, that many times three or four ancient Italian bishoprics were united into one, as Holstenius^m has observed of Tarquina, Cornetum, and Gravisca; in which case no absurdity is committed, whichever of the titles the bishop of the united diocese was called by. Why, then, must it be an objection against the validity of this testimony that it calls the bishop of Menevia by the title of Caerleon, when that was the original title? But, secondly, he says, "It appears from Bede, that the question was not concerning the primacy of the Roman bishop, but about Austin's metropolitical jurisdiction over them." But how, then, came the British bishops to be reckoned schismatics, if the pope's authority was no ways concerned in the dispute? Would they be schismatics for rejecting Austin's metropolitical jurisdiction, had he unwarrantably usurped that power of his own head; and, without a legal commission from some superior, obtruded himself upon them? It is plain, therefore, the one was included in the other; and the rejecting Austin was rejecting the power that sent him. But they also contested the pope's supremacy in another respect, refusing to comply with the Romish rites and usages in the observation of Easter, the administration of baptism, St. Peter's tonsure, and some other customs; which was an argument that, as they had no dependence upon the Church of Rome heretofore, nor much communication with her, but rather with the Eastern churches; so now they intended not to submit to her dictates, but to follow their own ancient customs as a free Church, and independent of her. Can any one suppose that, had the British bishops looked upon the pope as invested with a legal supremacy over them, they would have scrupled complying with directions in such matters, as the observation of Easter and the like, when such things were but the smallest part of the patriarchal jurisdiction? Even our author himself, when he comes to consider the matter a little further, is not

^m Holsten. Annot. in Geogr. Carol. a S. Paulo, p. 48, ad voce *Tarquinii*. [*Tarquinii*, vulgo *Tarquera*.] *Tarquina*, &c. *Episcopatus hic Cornetum translatus, ut et Graviscanus*.

so hardy as to stand by his own assertion, but comes to call them names at last with Baronius and others of his own party; telling usⁿ that “after the Saxons had broken in upon them, they deserted the doctrines and rites of the Catholic Church, and receded as schismatics from the centre of ecclesiastical communion; and that it ought to be concluded that God was willing to show the falsehood of the schismatical Church of Britain, by the miracle which he wrought upon Austin’s intercession.” This is home to our point, and gives up the cause in question, which is, whether the British Church owned the pope’s supremacy at the coming of Austin hither. which our author, after some small bickerings with his learned adversary, is forced to deny, and join issue with him; and then betakes himself to their last and common refuge, ill names and miracles; which, being no arguments in this case, I shall not stand to give them any answer, but only inquire into one thing more,—How it appears that the Britons had deserted any doctrine relating to the pope’s patriarchal power, upon the coming of the Saxons? To evidence this, our author must give us very plain proofs, that, before that time, the British Church always owned the bishop of Rome’s patriarchal jurisdiction over them. And this, indeed, is the pretended design of his whole dissertation. But his proofs amount to no more than a few slight conjectures, by which he would be thought to have demonstrated these four things,—1. That St. Peter was the founder of the British Church^o; which any one that reads Bishop Ussher *de Primordiis*^p, will as readily attribute to St. Paul or twenty others: so little reason is there for grounding the pope’s patriarchal power upon the first conversion of the British Church. 2. He argues from ancient tradition that patriarchal power is an apostolical institution; and that, thereby^q, the British Church was made subject to the Roman, whoever was the first converted of it. But this tradition is involved in greater obscurity, and pro-

ⁿ Schelstrat. Dissert. c. vi. p. 106.

^o Ibid. c. i. et ii.

^p Usser. de Antiquit. Eccles. Britan. c. i. tot.

^q Schelstrat. Dissert. c. iii.

ceeds upon more precarious proofs than the former. 3. He says, "The British bishops in the Council of Arles owned the pope's^r patriarchal power over them, and all the Western world." 4. And lastly, That this power, in this full extent and latitude, is both acknowledged and confirmed^s by the sixth canon of the Council of Nice. How far the Council of Nice allowed or confirmed this power, has been already shown in discoursing of the suburbicary Churches. So that the only thing remaining, is to examine what weight there is in his argument from the Council of Arles. This council was summoned by Constantine, and not by the pope, against the Donatists (an. 314). Here were present three British bishops,—Eborius, from York; Restitutus, from London; and Adelphius, from Lincoln (Colonia Lindi), as I shall show hereafter it probably ought to be read. Now, in their synodical epistle to Pope Sylvester, there is a passage, but by all acknowledged to be a very corrupt one, which speaks something of his holding the greater^t dioceses. Which our author interprets to mean his having a patriarchal power over all the great dioceses of the Western empire,—Macedonia, Dacia, Illyricum, Italy, Africa, Spain, France, and Britain. But one question may be here asked, which will spoil all this flourish of a comment: Did the African fathers, many of which were present at this Council, so understand the words, 'greater dioceses?' If they did, how came it to pass, that within an age after, they so stiffly opposed three popes successively, and vindicated their own liberties in this very point (as we have seen before^u they did), denying them absolutely all power of receiving appeals from any of the African Churches? Had St. Austin and all the rest of them forgot what their forefathers had so lately subscribed at Arles, that Africa was one

^r Schelstrat. Dissert. c. iv.

^s Ibid. c. v.

^t Conc. Arelat. I. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1426. A 9.) Placuit etiam antequam a te, qui majores diœceses tenes, per te potissimum omnibus insinuari. Schelstrate and Perron correct it thus: Placuit etiam hæc juxta antiquam consuetudinem a te, qui majores diœceses tenes, et per te potissimum omnibus insinuari.

^u See sect. xi.

of the pope's larger dioceses? Or had they been harassed out of their senses, like the poor Britons, by some Saxon invasion, and were now run into schism; as the other are reproachfully and falsely said to have done? Nothing of all this can be pretended in the present case; and, therefore, that is demonstration to me that neither the African fathers, nor the Britons, nor any others then present in council, took the words 'greater dioceses,' in the sense which this author puts upon them. So that whatever meaning they must have, it is plain this cannot be their meaning. And then all the argument which our author has built upon this supposition, in order to subject the Britons to the pope, at once falls to the ground. I will not now stand disputing with him whether the word 'diocese' was never, about this time, taken in any author for one of the great dioceses of the Roman empire. He says Constantine^w so uses it in one place, speaking of the Asiatic and Pontic dioceses. And, if that will do him any service, I can help him to another; for Constantine also speaks of a civil officer, called *Καθολικὸς διοικήσεως*, or 'Rationalis of the diocese^x;' where, I agree with Valesius, we are to understand one of the great dioceses of the Roman empire. Nay, I have said before, that I think there were patriarchs, too, in the Church at that time; and that they had the great dioceses of the Roman empire divided among them. But does it hence follow, that because the word 'diocese' is sometimes so used, that therefore it must needs signify so in this place, when there is plain demonstration to the contrary? All the world knows, that about the same time the name 'diocese' was given to single episcopal Churches also; and they, too, were called 'greater dioceses' in opposition to the *tituli* or

^w Euseb. de Vit. Constant. lib. iii. c. xix. (Aug. T. 1747. p. 529. D 6.) Τούτου ἕνεκεν ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος καλῶς ἔχειν ἅπαντες ἡγήσαντο· καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ ἀγχινοίᾳ ἀρέσειν ὑπeschόμην· ἵν' ὅπερ δ' ἂν κατὰ τὴν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν τε καὶ Ἀφρικὴν, Ἰταλίαν τε ἅπασαν, Αἴγυπτον, Σπανίαν, Γαλλίαν, Βρεττανίαν, Λιβύαν, ὅλην Ἑλλάδα, Ἀσιανὴν τε διοίκησιν καὶ Ποντικὴν, καὶ Κιλικίαν, μὲν καὶ συμφώνως φυλάττεται γνώμη, ἀσμένως τοῦτο καὶ ἡ ὑμετέρα προσδέξεται σύνεσις.

^x Ibid. lib. iv. c. xxxvi. (p. 584. A 9.) Ἀπεστάλη δὲ γράμματα παρὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἡμερότητος πρὸς τὸν τῆς διοικήσεως καθολικόν, ὅπως ἅπαντα τὰ πρὸς ἐπισκευὴν αὐτῶν ἐπιτήδεια παρασχεῖν φροντίσειεν.

‘parishes,’ which were *quasi diœceses*, ‘the lesser diœceses,’ under them, as the Pontifical words it^y in the Life of Pope Marcellus, who was one of Sylvester’s predecessors. So that Sylvester’s holding greater diœceses, may mean no more than his being a metropolitan, or having several episcopal diœceses under his jurisdiction, to whom he was to signify, according to custom, the time of keeping Easter, and other things decreed in the Council. Or if we suppose him to have been a patriarch at that time, then his ‘greater diœceses’ may signify those ten suburbicary provinces, which were the ancient bounds of his patriarchal jurisdiction. But, whatever meaning they have, it is certain they cannot be understood in our author’s sense of the great diœceses of the Roman empire; because it were absurd to think that Africa should acknowledge itself to be one of the pope’s diœceses, which never was reckoned among the suburbicary provinces; and what is more, always resolutely opposed the pope’s pretences to the least shadow of power over it, claiming an absolute and independent power within itself in all matters of ecclesiastical cognizance and jurisdiction. And the case of the Britannie Church being the same with that of Afric, it follows that it was as independent of Rome as the other was, notwithstanding any pretended confession of subjection made by its bishops in the Council of Arles; upon which our author lays the main strength of his cause, though there is nothing in it, when fairly canvassed and examined, as I doubt not I have made it appear to every unprejudiced reader. I was the more willing to consider here some of the chief exceptions of this celebrated writer against the liberties of the Britannie Church, because I know not whether any one else has made a reply to them; and these strictures will serve to suggest at once to the reader the true grounds upon which our ancient liberties were founded, and the contrary pretences, which would subject us to the power of the bishop of Rome, as patriarch of the Western empire, though the Britannie diocese had as just title to be independent at that time, as Rome

^y Pontifical. Vit. Marcelli, (Labbe, vol. i. p. 946. C.) Hic fecit cœmeterium Via Salaria, et viginti quinque titulos in urbe Roma constituit, quasi diœceses, propter baptismum et poenitentiam multorum, qui convertebantur ex paganis, et propter sepulturas martyrum.

itself, or Afric, or any other diocese in the empire. I make no further inquiry here into the bounds of other patriarchs or metropolitans, or their dioceses, because no such momentous disputes have been raised about them; and they may be easily learned from the *Notitia* of the Church, here subjoined in the latter part of this book. Therefore I proceed, in the next place, to examine the ordinary extent of the ancient episcopal dioceses: or, as we now call them, ‘diocesan Churches.’

CHAPTER II.

A MORE PARTICULAR ACCOUNT OF THE NUMBER, NATURE, AND EXTENT OF DIOCESES, OR EPISCOPAL CHURCHES, IN AFRICA, EGYPT, AND OTHER EASTERN PROVINCES.

SECT. I.—*Dioceses anciently called Παροικίαι, Parœchiæ.*

It is evident, from what has been discoursed in the last chapter, that the most ancient and apostolical division of the Church was into dioceses, or episcopal Churches; that is, such precincts or districts as single bishops governed with the assistance of their presbyters; but yet we are to make a little further inquiry into the nature and extent of these, because great errors have been committed by some late writers about them. There are who pretend, that a diocese, for the three first ages, was never more than such a number of people as could meet, and ordinarily did meet, in a single congregation. Others extend the limits of ancient dioceses further than this at first, to include a city and the whole region about it; but then they reckon, that, upon the general conversion of heathens to Christianity, such dioceses ought to have been divided into single congregations, and a new bishop and clergy set over every one. There is no difference betwixt these two opinions, save only this, that the one wholly mistakes the Church’s first and primitive model, and the other quarrels with her practice. But the truth of the matter was, that the Church, in settling the bounds of dioceses, went by another rule,—not that of single assemblies or congregations, but the

rule of government in every city, including not only the city itself, but the suburbs, or region lying round about it, within the verge of its jurisdiction: which seems to be the plain reason of that great and visible difference which we find in the extent of dioceses, some being very large, others very small, according as the civil government of each city happened to have a larger or lesser jurisdiction. There are two things, indeed, that commonly impose upon unwary readers in this matter; one is, that the ancient name of an episcopal diocese, for three hundred years, is commonly *παροιμία*, which they mistake for a 'parish church,' or 'single congregation;' whereas, as learned men^a have rightly observed, it signified then not the places or habitations near a church, but the towns or villages near a city, which, together with the city, was the bishop's *παροιμία*, or, as we now call it, his 'diocese,' the bounds of his ordinary care and jurisdiction. That thus it was, appears evidently from this, that the largest dioceses, such as those of Rome, Antioch, and Alexandria, which had many particular churches in them, were called by the same name, as the reader may find a hundred passages in Eusebius^b, where he uses the word *παροιμία*, when he speaks of those large and populous cities, which had many particular churches in them. The city of Alexandria, in the time of Alexander and Athanasius, was divided into several districts, called *laura*, in every one of which there was a church, with a presbyter fixed upon it; and yet all these were but one *παροιμία*, as Alexander calls it in his circular epistle^c against Arius. The reader may see the word so used by Epiphanius^d, St. Jerome^e,

^a Brerewood, of Patriarchal Government, q. i. p. 102.

^b Euseb. lib. i. c. i. p. 3. A 4. "Ὅσα τε καὶ πηλίκᾳ πραγματευθῆναι κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν ἱστορίαν λέγεται, καὶ ὅσοι ταύτης διαπρεπῶς ἐν ταῖς μάλιστα ἐπισημοτάταις παροιμίαις ἠγήσαντό τε καὶ προέστησαν.—Id. lib. ii. c. xxiv. p. 75. Νέρωνος ὀγδοὸν ἄγοντος τῆς βασιλείας ἔτος, πρῶτος μετὰ Μάρκον τὸν ἀπόστολον καὶ εὐαγγελιστὴν, τῆς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ παροιμίας, Ἀννιανὸς τὴν λειτουργίαν διαδέχεται.

^c Alex. Epist. Encycl. apud Socrat. lib. i. c. vi. (Aug. T. 1747. p. 9. D 8.) Ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ παροιμίᾳ, ἐξῆλθον νῦν ἄνδρες παράνομοι καὶ Χριστομάχοι, κ. τ. λ.

^d Epiph. Epist. ad Joan. Hierosolym. (vol. ii. p. 313.) Ad meæ parœciæ videbantur ecclesiam pertinere, &c.

^e Hieron. Epist. liii. ad Ripar. (Bened. fol. vol. i. p. 720.) Miror sanctum episco-

the Councils of Antioch^f, Ancyra^g, and many others in after ages, when it is certain episcopal dioceses were something larger than parish Churches, as those are taken to signify single congregations ; so that nothing can be plainer than the use of the word *παροικία*, for a diocese, to the fourth century.

SECT. II.—*When the Name ‘Diocese’ began first to be used.*

And now, about this time, the name, ‘diocese,’ began to be used likewise ; for the Council of Arles, which was held in the beginning of the fourth century, writing to the bishop of Rome, says, that he did *maiores dioceses tenere*^h, ‘possess greater dioceses ; which though Schelstrate and other Romish writers interpret ‘patriarchal dioceses,’ to aggrandize the pope’s jurisdiction, yet it is more probable, as Dr. Caveⁱ ob-

pum, in cujus parochia esse presbyter dicitur [Vigilantius,] acquiescere furori ejus, &c.

^f Conc. Antioch. c. ix. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 565. B 6.) "Ἐκαστον ἐπίσκοπον ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ παροικίας, διοικεῖν τε κατὰ τὴν ἐκάστῳ ἐπιβάλλουσιν εὐλάβειαν, καὶ πρόνοιαν ποιεῖσθαι πάσης τῆς χώρας τῆς ὑπὸ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πόλιν.

^g Conc. Ancyran. c. xviii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1461.) Εἰ τινες ἐπίσκοποι κατασταθέντες, καὶ μὴ δεχθέντες ὑπὸ τῆς παροικίας ἐκείνης, εἰς ἣν ὠνομάσθησαν, ἐτέραις βούλονται παροικίαις ἐπιέναι, καὶ βιάζεσθαι τοὺς καθεστῶτας, καὶ στάσεις κινεῖν κατ’ αὐτῶν, τούτους ἀφορίζεσθαι.—Aug. Ep. cclxi. [al. cclxii.] (Bened. vol. ii. p. 777.) Fussala dicitur Hipponensi territorio confine castellum : antea ibi numquam episcopus fuit ; sed simul cum contigua sibi regione ad parœciam Hipponensis ecclesiæ pertinebat.—Basil. Ep. cclxiv. Περιοδεύόντων ἡμῶν τὴν παροικίαν, κ. τ. λ.

^h Conc. Arelat. I. Epist. Synod. (tom. i. Conc. p. 1426.) Vid. supra sub lit. (t).

ⁱ Cave’s Ancient Church Government, c. iii. pp. 129, 130. When the synod at Arles, in their letter to Pope Sylvester, say, that he did *maiores dioceses tenere* (a passage frequently quoted by the writers of the Roman Church), ‘possess greater dioceses ;’ besides that the place, as Salmasius observes, is very corrupt, and affords no current sense, it is plain that the word ‘diocese’ there cannot be understood of patriarchal dioceses (Constantine not having yet made the division of the empire, nor dioceses come up in a civil, much less in an ecclesiastical sense), and must therefore be meant of single bishoprics, in the modern use of the word, and which was not unusual in those days, as is evident from the Code of the African Church, and the conference between the Catholics and Donatists at Carthago, where nothing is more common and obvious than the usage of the word ‘diocese’ for a single episcopal see. The places are too numerous to be reckoned up.

serves, that it means only single bishoprics : though I grant Constantine might have made the division of the empire into civil dioceses, from whence patriarchal dioceses took their name in the following ages. The word is used frequently for a single diocese in the African Councils, as where it is said^k, “ A bishop shall not leave his principal seat, and betake himself to any other Church in the diocese.” So, likewise, often in the African Code, and the Collation of Carthage. From which it appears, that the words *parochia* and *diæcesis* were of the same import in those times ; and the calling of a diocese by the name of *parochia*, does not make it a whole congregation.

SECT. III.—*What meant by the Προάστεια, or ‘Suburbs of a City.’*

Another thing that imposes upon men in this matter, is the ambiguity of the names *προάστεια* and *suburbia*, ‘the suburbs of a city,’ which, in the modern acceptation, signifies no more than the houses or habitations next adjoining without the walls of a city ; but anciently it denoted all the towns or villages which lay round the city in a certain district, which were therefore reckoned as belonging to that city, though many times at several miles’ distance from it. Thus Canopus was twelve miles distant from Alexandria : and yet, in the Acts of the Council of Chalcedon, we find it called by one Athanasius^l the *προάστειον*, or ‘suburbs of that city.’ So Sozomen^m calls Daphne the suburbs of Antioch, though it was

^k Conc. Carth. V. c. v. (tom. ii. Conc. p. 1216.)—Cod. Can. Afric. c. cxvii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1025.) Οἰαιδὴποτε ἐκκλησίαι ἐν διοικήσει καθεστῶσαι.—Can. cxviii. Περὶ τοῦ, πῶς μεταξὺ ἀλλήλων μερίζονται τὰς διοικήσεις οἱ ἐπίσκοποι, κ. τ. λ.—Can. cxix. Περὶ τοῦ, εἰάν τινα διοίκησιν ἐξ αἱρέσεως ἐλευθερώσῃ ἐπίσκοπος, καὶ περὶ τριετίαν κατάσχῃ, μηδένα ταύτην ἀναζητεῖν.—Can. cxxiii. “Ὡστε τὸν καταφρονοῦντα τῆς ἰδίας διοικήσεως ἐπίσκοπον στερεῖσθαι τῆς κοινωνίας.

^l Conc. Chalced. act. iii. (tom. iv. p. 408. E 8.) Οὕτως οὖν καταλαβομένου ἐμοῦ τοῦ Ἀθανασίου τὴν Μετάνοιαν, προάστειον δὲ τοῦτο τῆς μεγίστης Ἀλεξανδρείας, ὃ ποτε Κάνωπος καλούμενον ὅπερ προάστειον ἄνωθεν, καὶ ἐκ παλαιᾶς συνηθείας, ἐτύγχανε πρὸς ἀνάπαυσιν τῶν καταφύγων.

^m Sozom. lib. v. c. xix. Δάφνη τὸ ἐπίσημον τῆς Ἀντιοχείας προάστειον, κομᾷ μὲν ἄλσει κυπαρίσσων πολλῶν.

forty furlongs, or five miles' distance from it. And Pancirolⁿ notes of the famous suburbs of Constantinople, called "Εβδομον, or Septimum, that it was so denominated from its being seven miles off from the city at first; though afterward, by the strange growth and increase of that city, it came to be reckoned a more immediate part of it. So there was in the suburbs of Carthage, a place called Decimum, because it was ten miles distant from the city, as Procopius^o informs us. And some think the *Ager Sexti*, in which Cyprian suffered martyrdom, was so named from its being six miles off from the city: for the Roman Martyrology puts *Sextum Milliare* instead of *Ager Sexti*. Now, in all such suburbs as these, there were particular assemblies, distinct from those of the city churches, as appears from what Eusebius^p observes out of the epistle of Dionysius of Alexandria; who says, when he was banished to Colluthion, a place in the region of Marrotes, that he should still hold particular assemblies, as they were used to do in those suburbs that were something more remote from the city. So that these ancient words, *παροικία* and *προάστεια*, when taken in their true, ancient, and primitive sense, do not make a bishop's diocese to be only a single parish in the modern sense, but a city with all the towns or villages within the region or district to which the city magistrate extended his jurisdiction; for that Justellus^q has shown, out of good authors, is

ⁿ Pancirol. Com. in Notit. Imper. lib. i. c. lxxii. Erat id suburbium Constantinopolis, ut Procopius, lib. i. de *Ædificiis Justiniani*, memorat. Alterum, ait, templum D. Theodoro *ædificavit* in suburbio, quod *Hebdomon*, id est, Septimum appellatur. . . . Prope Septimum Samuelis prophetæ ossa ab Arcadio Augusto translata et condita fuisse D. Hieronymus *adversus Vigilantium*, Martyrologium, 20 August. et alii Niceph. lib. xiv. c. x. testantur. Ibidem, id est, septimo ab urbe lapide, Theodosius Magnus in basilica magnifice exstructa, D. Joan. Baptistæ caput condidit, ut D. Prosper in *Chronicis*.

^o Procop. *Vandalic*. lib. i. c. xvii. "Ὅπως τῶν πολεμίων ἐν στενοῖς γινομένων ἀμφὶ τὸ τῆς πόλεως προάστιον, ὃ Δέκιμον καλοῦσιν, ἀμφοτέρωθεν ξυνιόντας, κυκλώσασθαι τε αὐτοὺς, καὶ σαγηνεύσαντας διαφθεῖραι . . . ἐκ δὲ Γράσσης ἐξαναστάντες, τεταρταῖα ἐς Δέκιμον ἀφικόμεθα, σταδίοις ἐβδομήκοντα Καρχηδόνος ἀπέχον.

^p Euseb. lib. vii. c. xi. p. 295. A 4. Ὡς ἐν προαστείοις πορρωτέρω κειμένοις, κατὰ μέρος ἔσονται συναγωγαί.

^q Justel. Not. in Cod. Can. p. 82. Civitatis nomine non tantum urbs mœnibus cincta significatur, sed et regio seu territorium civitati adscriptum. Sic Dio

the difference between πόλις and κώμη, 'a city' and 'a village.' A city is a place that is governed by a magistracy and laws of its own, and exercises authority over the region or territory that lies about it; but a village is a dependent only on a city, and has no magistrates of its own, but such as belong to the city, whereof it is a dependent. According to which notion an episcopal Church was generally a city and a whole region, of the very same extent with the power of the civil magistrate, whose bounds, for the most part, were the bounds of the bishop's diocese; though the rule was not so universal, but that it admitted of some particular exceptions. And from hence it will appear, that though there was a great difference in the extent of the dioceses, as there was in city regions and districts, and many of them were but small in comparison of others, yet they were generally so large as to admit both of a bishop and a presbytery in the city Church, and presbyters and deacons in the country regions.

SECT. IV.—*Dioceses not generally so large in Nations of the first Conversion, as in those converted in the Middle Ages of the Church.*

To clear this whole matter (which is of great use, upon several accounts, towards understanding rightly the state of

Chrysostomus, Orat. xxxiv. inter cetera, quæ Cæsarem Tarsensibus concessisse narrat, χώραν nominat: κάκεινος ὑμῖν, inquit, παρέσχε χώραν, νόμους, τιμὴν, ἐξουσίαν, κ. τ. λ. Xiphilinus de Byzantio, a Severo imperatore diruto et in vici formam redacto, loquens, τὴν πόλιν τε, inquit, καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτῆς Περινθίῳις ἔχαρίσατο, καὶ αὐτῇ ἐκεῖνοι οἱ κώμη χρώμενοι. Jurisconsulti territorium civitatis vocant. Pomponius, 'Territorium est universitas agrorum intra fines cujusque civitatis, intra quos,' ut ait Siculus Flaccus, 'juris dicendi jus erat.' Hinc judicis territorium l. fin. ff. de Jurisdic. Nec vero in republica tantum, sed etiam in ecclesia, civitates regiones ac territoria sua habuerunt, quæ passim in Conciliis et in Historia Ecclesiastica, παροικιῶν nomine significantur. Justinianus, lib. xxvi. c. de Episcop. Aud. ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ πόλει ἢ τῇ παροικίᾳ, et lib. xxxv. c. de Episcop. et Cler. κὰν τολμήσῃ τις ἀφελῆσθαι πόλιν τοῦ ἰδίου ἐπισκόπου ἢ τῆς περιουκίδος αὐτῆς, ἀτιμοῦται. Sic territorium episcopi in Conc. Aurel. I. can. xix. et Aurel. III. c. xix. Conc. Vassensi, can. iii. Wormat. c. lx. et in Actis Concilii Constantinopolitani sub Menna, territorium Apamearum.—Conc. Antioch. c. ix. (tom. ii. Conc. p. 565. B 6.) "Ἐκαστον ἐπίσκοπον ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ παροικίας, διοικεῖν τε κατὰ τὴν ἐκάστῃ ἐπιβάλλουσαν εὐλάβειαν, καὶ πρόνοιαν ποιῆσθαι πάσης τῆς χώρας τῆς ὑπὸ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πόλιν.

the ancient Church), I will here make a particular inquiry into the extent both of the largest and narrowest dioceses, and distinctly consider the state of each : for, though they differed much in extent, yet they all agreed in the same species of government ; the essence of which consisted not in being confined precisely to such or such limits, for that was but accidental to the constitution. The same species of government is still preserved in most parts of the Church ; and yet any one that will allow himself the liberty of making just observations, may easily discern a difference between some of the first conversions and those that followed in the middle ages of the Church ; for, in the former, it is evident dioceses were generally more numerous, and not so large as in the latter. The whole extent of Asia Minor, from the Hellespont to the river Euphrates, is estimated, by the best geographers, at 630 miles ; the breadth, from Sinus Issicus, in Cilicia, to Trebisonde, at 210 ; yet there were almost 400 dioceses in this tract of land, as the reader may satisfy himself, from the *Notitia* of the Church in the end of this Book. But now, if we look into any middle age conversions, we shall find the number of dioceses very small in comparison of these, and their extent very great : for, in Germany, which is computed above twice as large as Asia Minor (being 840 miles in length, and 740 in breadth), there are but 40 bishoprics ; in all Belgium, but 18 ; in Denmark, but 15 ; in Swedeland, but 10 ; in Russia, 21 ; in Poland, 30 ; as Dr. Heylin and other geographers have computed them : and our number in England, being also a later conversion, bears no proportion to those of Asia Minor, though the isle of Great Britain is not much inferior to it in bigness. I leave the curious and the learned to inquire into the reasons of this difference, whilst I go on to show the different extent of dioceses in the primitive Church, where we shall meet with some very large, others very narrow, but the same species of episcopacy preserved in all, and none confined absolutely to a single congregation.

SECT. V.—*A particular Account of the Dioceses of Afric.*

I shall begin with the dioceses of Afric, which some, by mistake, have reckoned the least bishoprics in the world ;

whereas, upon a just computation, they will appear to be far larger than many others. The whole extent of Afric (comprehending the six Roman provinces, Tripolis, Byzacena, Africa Proconsularis, Numidia, and the two Mauritaniae) is computed by Procopius^r to be 90 days' journey in length; which, reckoning as he does, that a day's journey was 210 *stadia*, or twenty-six miles and a quarter, amounts to above 2360 miles: the breadth was in some places 200, and in others 500 miles; which makes it, by computation, twice as big as Germany or France. Now, there were in this compass, in St. Austin's time, about 466 bishoprics, as appears both from the Collation of Carthage^s, and the Abstract of St. Austin^t, and the *Notitia* of the African Church, made about 50 years after St. Austin's death, and published by Sirmondus. The present dioceses in France, if compared with these, will appear to be as large again, and those of Germany much larger: yet the African bishoprics, as a learned man^v rightly calculates, might, one with another, notwithstanding, be reckoned to contain, each of them, threescore or fourscore towns and villages. It is certain, at least, that many of them were of a very large extent. St. Austin's diocese of Hippo was about forty miles long; for he himself tells us^w, "that Fus-sala, a place in his diocese, which he erected into a new bishop-

^r Procop. Vandal. lib. i. c. ii. p. 177. Ἐπέβαλλε τῷ μὲν τὸ τῆς ἐσπέρας ἔχοντι κράτος, Λιβύης τὰ πλεῖστα διήκοντα ἐς ἐννευήκοντα ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν. . . . μιᾶς δὲ ἡμέρας ὁδὸς ἐς δέκα καὶ διακοσίους διήκει σταδίου.

^s Collat. Carth. die i. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1414.) n. ccxiii. Efficiuntur omnes (Donatistarum episcopi) ducenti septuaginta novem. Num. ccxiv. Catholicæ partis episcopi secundum subscriptionem huic brevi insertam, efficiuntur ducenti sexaginta sex, exceptis his, quos dicunt necdum subscripsisse.

^t Aug. Brevic. Collat. die i. c. xiv. (Bened. vol. ix. p. 550. F.) Quibus recitatis, quæsit de numero episcoporum partis utriusque. Respondit Officium, nomina Donatistarum episcoporum esse ducenta septuaginta novem, adnumeratis etiam illis, pro quibus absentibus alii subscripserant, computato et illo defuncto. Catholicorum autem omnium præsentium nomina esse constitit ducenta octoginta sex. Viginti enim non subscripserant, etc.

^u Notit. Afric. apud Sirmond. Miscell. tom. i. p. 429—446, qua ultima pagina computatione facta Sirmondus, 'Et sic fiunt,' inquit, 'omnes episcopi diversarum provinciarum numero 466.'

^v Maurice's Defence of Dioces. Episc. p. 163.

^w Aug. Epist. ccix. ad Cælestin. (Bened. vol. ii. p. 777. D 7.) Ab Hippone memoratum castellum millibus quadraginta sejungitur.

ric, was forty miles distant from him." Some other churches in his diocese are also mentioned in his epistles^x and other writings, which Bishop Stillingfleet^y has collected together: to which the reader may add other epistles^z, where he men-

^x Aug. Ep. lxxiv. p. 848. Mallianensem quemdam subdiaconum, Victorinum, apud nos constitit esse Manichæum, etc. . . . eum coërcitum pellendum de civitate [Malliana sive Meliane] curavi. — It. Ep. cciii. p. 31. Mutugennam ipse perrexi; et eum quidem miserum videre non potui, etc. — It. Ep. ccxii. p. 880. Illud sane moneo, quia dignaris, quoniam et salus et existimatio tua carissima nobis est, et ipsi Germanicianenses pertinent ad curam humilitatis nostræ, etc. — It. Ep. ccxxxvi. p. 154. Convictus atque confessus est, die jejunii natalis Domini, quo etiam Gippitana ecclesia, sicut ceteræ jejunabant, etc. . . . Et quum me rogaret, ut ad presbyterum fundi Armemanensis in campo Bullensi, unde ad nos devenerat, causa ejus insinuata, litteras darem, &c. — It. de Cura pro Mortuis, c. xii. (tom. iv. opp. edit. Basil. 1569, p. 888. C.) Homo quidam, Curma nomine, municipii Tulliensis, quod Hipponi proximum est, etc.

^y Stillingfleet's Unreasonableness of Separation, part iii. sect. ix. (Lond. 1681. p. 251.) Let Mr. Baxter now judge, whether their bishoprics were like our parishes, as he confidently affirms. St. Augustine mentions the 'municipium Tulliense' not far from Hippo; where there was a presbyter and clerks under his care and government. . . . It seems the Donatists were very troublesome in some of the remoter parts of the diocese of Hippo: whereupon St. Augustine sent one of his presbyters to Cæcilian, the Roman president, to complain of their insolence, and to crave his assistance, which he saith he did, "lest he should be blamed for his negligence, who was the bishop of that diocese." And can we think all these persons had presential and local communion with St. Augustine, in his church at Hippo? While he was yet but a presbyter at Hippo, in the absence of the bishop, he writes to Maximinus, a Donatist bishop, a sharp letter, for offering to rebaptize a deacon of their Church, who was placed at Mutagenna; and he saith, "he went from Hippo to the place himself, to be satisfied of the truth of it." At the same place lived one Donatus, a presbyter of the Donatists, whom St. Augustine would have had brought to him against his will, to be better instructed, as being under his care, but the obstinate man rather endeavoured to make away himself: upon this he writes a long epistle to him. In another epistle he gives an account that there was a place called Fussala, which, with the country about it, belonged to the diocese of Hippo, where there was abundance of people, but almost all Donatists; but by his great care in sending presbyters among them, those places were all reduced; but because Fussala was forty miles distant from Hippo, he took care to have a bishop placed among them; but, as appears by the event, he had better have kept it under his own care: for, upon the complaints made against their new bishop, he was fain to resume it, as appears by a presbyter of Fussala, which he mentions afterwards. However, it appears that a place forty miles' distance was then under the care of so great a saint and so excellent a bishop as St. Augustine was.

^z Aug. Ep. ccxxxvi. (Bened. vol. ii. p. 154.) Insinuo prudentiæ tuæ, Abundantium quemdam in fundo Strabonianensi pertinente ad curam nostram ordinatum

tions the churches of Subsana, Turres, Ciza, Verbalis, Fundus Strabonianensis, and Gippitanus, as parts of his episcopal care also. In Hippo itself there were several churches, three of which are occasionally mentioned by St. Austin; one called *Ecclesia Pacis*^a, another *Basilica Leontii*^b, and a third, *Ad Viginti Martyres*^c, 'the church of the Twenty Martyrs;' whose memory was famous at Hippo^d, as being, in all probability, African martyrs, and of that particular Church whereof St. Austin was bishop. In the other Hippo, called *Hippo Diaretorum* for distinction sake, the African Canons^e speak of several churches. And in the Collation of Carthage, we often meet with complaints of the Catholic bishops, that the Donatists had set up anti-bishops, not only in their cities, but in other places^f of their dioceses; and the Donatist bishops return the charge, telling the Catholics particularly,

fuisse presbyterum.—Ibid. Die jejunii natalis Domini, quo etiam Gippitana ecclesia, sicut ceteræ jejunabant.—It. Ep. ccl. p. 150. Ordinatus est apud Subsanam subdiaconus Timotheus, præter meum consilium et voluntatem. . . . Certus sum, Christum habitare in corde tuo: per quem te obsecro, ut ipsum consulas, tuæ menti sibi subditæ præidentem, utrum homo, qui in ecclesia meæ dispensationi credita jam legere cœperat, et non semel, sed iterum et tertio, apud Subsanam, et presbytero Subsanensis ecclesiæ comitatus, et apud Turres, et apud Cizan, et apud Verbalis legerat, non fuisse lector possit aut debeat judicari.

^a Aug. Ep. cx. (p. 788.) Quum Augustinus episcopus una cum Religiano et Martiniano cœpiscopis suis consedisset in ecclesia Pacis Hipponensium regionum, etc.

^b Ibid. Serm. xi. de Diversis (vol. v. p. 1064.) Inscriptio sic habet: 'Sermo habitus eodem die in ecclesia Leontiana, de monitis baptizatorum.'

^c Aug. Serm. x. de Diversis, cujus inscriptio hæc est: 'Sermo habitus ad Martyres Viginti,' &c.

^d Ibid. de Civitat. Dei, lib. xxii. c. viii. (Bened. vol. vii. p. 668.) Erat quidam senex Florentius Hipponensis noster, homo religiosus et pauper, sartoris se arte pascebat, casulam perdiderat, et unde sibi emeret non habebat: ad Viginti Martyres, quorum Memoria apud nos est celeberrima, clara voce, ut vestiretur, oravit, &c.

^e Cod. Can. Afric. c. lxxviii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1095.) Ἦρεσέν ἵνα ἐπειδὴ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῶν ἐν Ἰππῶνι φροντιστῶν ἡ ἐγκατάληψις οὐκ ὀφείλει ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀμεληθῆναι καὶ ἐπειδὴ αἱ ἐκεῖ ἐκκλησίαι καταδέχονται παρὰ τῶν τὴν αἵκον τοῦ Αἰκυντίου κοινωνίαν παραιτησαμένων, κ. τ. λ.

^f Collat. Carth. die i. c. clxxxi. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1319.) Alypius episcopus ecclesiæ Catholicæ dixit: Scriptum sit, istos omnes in villis vel in fundis esse episcopos ordinatos, non in aliquibus civitatibus.

that at Constantina^g they had not only set up a bishop in the city, but another in the middle of the diocese; and that at Milevis they had done the same, making one bishop in the place, another at Tunca, a city in the same diocese, and a third at Ceramussa. From which it is easy to conclude, that those dioceses were then so large, as not only to have a country region, but sometimes more cities than one within their district. The like may be inferred from that canon^h of the African Councils, which says, "No bishop shall leave his principal cathedral, and reside in any other church of his diocese." That manifestly implies, that their dioceses had other churches in the country beside the city cathedral in them: and, indeed, instances of this kind would arise, without number, to any one that would make a curious search into the history and antiquities of the African Church. I shall only add two things more relating to it: 1. That Carthage is well known to have had a great number of churches belonging to its diocese in the fourth century. Mr. Sirmondⁱ, in his Notes upon St. Austin's

^g Ibid. c. lxxv. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1370.) Petilianus episcopus dixit: . . In plebe mea, id est, civitate Constantinensi, adversarium habeo Fortunatum. In medio autem diocesis meae, nunc institutum habeo, immo ipsi habent, nomine Delphinum. Pervidet jam hinc praestantia tua, duos in unius plebe fuisse imaginarie constitutos, ut et numerum augeant, et tamen plebium numerus non idem sit, qui sit illarum scilicet personarum. Et hoc argumenti est maximi, ut videantur nos hoc genere superare, si duo contra unum sint constituti vel tres. Nam etiam in plebe praesentis sanctissimi collegae ac fratris mei, Adeodati, id est, in civitate Milevitana, ita commissa res est, ut unum ibidem habeat adversarium; alterum in Tuncensi civitate, qui ad hujus scilicet plebem antiquitus pertinet, et ante biennium esse videtur constitutus; tertius vero sit in loco, qui dicitur Ceramussa.

^h Conc. Carth. V. c. v. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1216.) Nemini sit facultas, relicta principali cathedra, ad aliquam ecclesiam in dioecesi constitutam se conferre.

ⁱ Sirmond. not. in Serm. xiv. a se edit. tom. x. p. 251. (Opp. Sirmondi, tom. i. p. 337. A.) De basilica Restituta dictum est ad serm. iv. In eadem habitum etiam fuisse sermonem cii. de Diversis, indicat inscriptio. Tertius praeterea de Diversis, qui est de verbis psalmi, 'Confitemini Domino, quoniam bonus,' et tractatus in Psalmum lv. ille in Codice S. Germani, hic in nostro, Carthaginensi habiti dicuntur in basilica Restituta. Neque in hac solum, quae primaria erat, sed in aliis etiam Carthaginensibus basilicis habiti ab eo sermones memorantur: ut in basilica Fausti, xii. et cxxii. de diversis; in basilica Leontiana, xi. de diversis; in basilica Celerinae, xcvi. de tempore; in basilica Novarum, xc. de tempore; in basilica Petri regionis tertiae, ccli. de tempore; in basilica Pauli regionis sextae, xxiv. de diversis.

Sermons, gives us the names of seven of them, which are mentioned in the titles of his Sermons; viz. the cathedral church, called *Basilica Major et Restituta*, *Basilica Fausti*, *Basilica Leontiana*, *Basilica Celerinæ*, *Basilica Novarum*, *Basilica Petri* in the third region, and *Basilica Pauli* in the sixth region. To which Bishop Stillingfleet^k adds two churches without the city; one where St. Cyprian suffered martyrdom; and another, where his body was buried, at a place called Mappalia; both which are mentioned by Victor Uticensis. Dr. Maurice^l who examined a little further, adds still to those within the city the church called *Florentia*, and *Basilica Gratiani*, and *Theodosiani*, and *Honoriani*, and *Tricillarum*: and, doubtless, there were many others not mentioned; since Victor^m reckons about 500 clergy belonging to the Church of Carthage. The other thing I would note concerning the African Church is that in Tripolis, one of the six provinces of the Roman Africa, there were but five bishops; which we learn both from the canons of the Africanⁿ Councils, and the ancient *Notitia* of that Church, which names their sees, Leptis Magna, Cæea, Tacapa, Sabrata, and Girberis; from three of which there were bishops in the Council under Cyprian, at Carthage; and the presence of no more was required, because of the paucity of them. But now this was a large tract of ground, as Blondel^o himself proves, out of

^k Stillingfleet's Unreasonableness of Separation. (Lond. 1681. p. 249.) "Without the city there were two great churches," saith Victor, "one where Cyprian suffered martyrdom; and the other where his body was buried, at a place called Mappalia."

^l Maurice's Defence of Dioces. Episc. p. 51.

^m Vict. de Persecut. Vandal. lib. v. (tom. viii. Bibl. Patr. Max. Lugdun. 1671, p. 694. F.) Tunc etiam Eugenio pastore jam in exilio constituto, universus clerus ecclesiæ Carthaginis cæde inediaque maceratur, fere quingenti vel amplius.

ⁿ Conc. Carth. III. c. xxxix. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1173. A 5.) In Tripoli (ut adseritur) episcopi sunt quinque tantummodo. Vid. Cod. Can. Eccles. c. xlix. (ibid. p. 1073.)

^o Blondel. Apol. p. 185, ex Ptolem. lib. iv. c. iii. In Tripolitana provincia Chuzim, Sumucim, Pisindam, Sydidenim, Azuim, Gerisam, Iscinam, Amunclam, Buttam, aliasque urbes fuisse docet Ptolemæus, quinque tamen nec plures episcopatus, nempe Leptimagnensem, Cæensem, Tacapensem, Sabratensem, et Girberisem, ex Concilio tertio Carthaginensi, Africanarumque sub Hunerico rege ecclesiarum Notitia habuisse constat.

Ptolemy, who names many other cities, Chuzis, Sumucis, Pisinda, Sydedenis, Azuis, Gerisa, Iscina, Amuncla, Butta, and others. So that, whether we compare the whole extent and dimensions of Afric with the number of dioceses contained therein, or consider any particular province or diocese by itself, it plainly appears that every bishop had a city, and a region, or large territory, for his diocese; some two cities or more; and none so small a people, as to deserve the name that some have bestowed upon them, of country parishes, or single congregations.

SECT. VI.—*Of the Dioceses of Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis.*

Out of the African provinces let us pass into those of the Egyptian diocese, as it is called in the civil account of the Roman empire, under which are comprehended all the regions of Libya, Pentapolis, and Egypt, from Tripolis to the Red Sea. These countries altogether are justly computed by a learned man^p, to be three times as great as England; yet they never had above a hundred bishops in them all. For Alexander and Athanasius, who were very competent judges, reckon scarce so many. Athanasius^q says, there was ἐγγύς ἑκατὸν ‘near a hundred,’ in Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis; and Alexander^r uses the same expression in his circular epistle against Arius, saying, “that he and the rest of the bishops of Egypt and Libya, being near a hundred met together in council, had condemned Arius and his followers.” And after this the *Notitiæ* of the Church reckon no more. That which the reader will find at the end of this Book, has but ninety-seven, excluding those of Tripoli, which have been spoken of before; and others, in Carolus a Sancto Paulo, never exceed a hundred and one. So that the number of dioceses seems to have continued near the same without

^p Maurice’s Defence of Dioces. Episc. p. 71.

^q Athan. Apol. ii. p. 778. (p. 123. C. edit. Paris. 1698.) Πρῶτον μὲν ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ χώρᾳ συναγομένη ὑπὸ ἐπισκόπων ἐγγύς ἑκατόν.

^r Alex. Epist. Encycl. apud Socrat. lib. i. c. vi. (Aug. T. 1747, p. 11. A 4.) Ταῦτα λέγοντας τοὺς περὶ Ἀρειον, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀναισχυνητοῦντας, αὐτοὺς τε καὶ τοὺς συνακολουθήσοντάς αὐτοῖς, ἡμεῖς μὲν μετὰ τῶν κατ’ Αἴγυπτον ἐπισκόπων καὶ τῆς Λιβύης, ἐγγύς ἑκατὸν ὄντων, συνελθόντες ἀνεθεματίσαμεν.

alteration for several ages. Carolus a Sancto Paulo has collected their names out of the ancient writers, and subscriptions of councils, and other monuments of the Church, which I shall here subjoin, as I shall for all other countries as we pass on, that such readers as please to compare the names with the maps of ecclesiastical geography, which I have caused to be published, with some corrections, to attend this work, may the better understand the extent of dioceses, and the true ancient state and geography of the Church. The Egyptian patriarchate was sometimes divided into three provinces, sometimes into six, sometimes into nine; but the limits of the whole were the same, including Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis. Carolus a Sancto Paulo follows the largest division, and so makes seven provinces in Egypt, reckoning the dioceses in this order.

In Ægyptus Prima.

1. Alexandria. 2. Hermopolis Parva. 3. Metelis. 4. Coprithis. 5. Sais. 6. Letus, al. Latopolis. 7. Naucratis, al. Naucratis. 8. Andromena, or Andropolis. 9. Nicium. 10. Onuphis. 11. Tava. 12. Cleopatri. 13. Mareotis. 14. Schedia and Menelaïtes. 15. Phthenegus, al. Phthenoti Nomus. 16. Nitria.

In Augustamnica Prima.

1. Pelusium. 2. Heraclea in Sethræte Nomo. 3. Tanis. 4. Rhinocorura. 5. Thmuis. 6. Ostracina. 7. Phacusa. 8. Cassium. 9. Aphnæum, which he thinks Antonine's Itinerary calls Daphnis. 10. Hephæstus. 11. Panæphysus. 12. Gerus. 13. Thennesus. 14. Sela.

In Augustamnica Secunda.

1. Leontopolis. 2. Atribis. 3. Onium, al. Ilium. 4. Babylon. 5. Bubastus. 6. Pharbæthus. 7. Heliopolis. 8. Scennæ Mandrorum. 9. Thou. 10. Antithou.

In Ægyptus Secunda.

1. Cabasa. 2. Phragonea. 3. Pachneumunis. 4. Elearchia. 5. Diospolis. 6. Sebennythus. 7. Cynus, or Cynopolis Inferior. 8. Busiris. 9. Paralus. 10. Xoes. 11. Butus.

In Arcadia.

1. Oxyrynchus. 2. Heraclea Superior. 3. Arsinoe, al. Civitas Crocodilorum. 4. Theodosiopolis. 5. Aphroditopolis. 6. Memphis. 7. Clisma. 8. Nilopolis. 9. Parallus. 10. Thamiate, now called Damiata. 11. Cynopolis Superior; which, as Holstenius observes, is in the *Notitia* of Hierocles made the metropolis of this province.

In Thebais Prima.

1. Antinoe. 2. Hermopolis Major. 3. Cusa. 4. Lycopolis. 5. Oasis Magna. 6. Hipsele. 7. Apollinis Civitas Parva. 8. Antæum. 9. Panopolis.

In Thebais Secunda.

1. Ptolemais. 2. This, or Thinis. 3. Coptus. 4. Tentyra; Holstenius corrects it, Teuchira, from the Greek. 5. Maximianopolis. 6. Latopolis. 7. Hermes, al. Hermonthes. 8. Diospolis Magna, al. Thebais Magna. 9. Therenunthis. 10. Phylæ. 11. Thoi. 12. Ombi. 13. Tathyris. 14. Diospolis Parva.

In Libya Cyrenaica, otherwise called Pentapolis.

1. Ptolemais, where Synesius was bishop. 2. Sozusa. 3. Lemandus. 4. Cyrene. 5. Teuchyra. 6. Berenice. 7. Ticeia, al. Pisila. 8. Aptuchi Fanum. 9. Erythra. 10. Barce. 11. Hydrax. 12. Disthis. 13. Palæbisca. 14. Olbia; to which Holstenius adds Boræum.

In Libya Marmarica, al. Libya Secunda.

1. Darnis. 2. Parætonium. 3. Antipyrgus. 4. Antiphra. 5. Marmarica. 6. Zagylis, or Zagula, which Holstenius observes to be sometimes corruptly read Gazula. 7. Zygris.

Beside these, Carolus a S. Paulo reckons seven others in Egypt of uncertain position:—Vantena, Gavœa, Flagonita, Cotenopolis, Gazula, Elesma, and Psynchus. But Holstenius rightly observes, that five of these are but corruptions of

others named before. Vantena is put for Antinoë; Flagonita for Fragonitæ; Elesma for Clisma; Gazula for Zagula; and Psynchus for Oxyrynchus. And I observe that Paralus, and perhaps one or two more, seem to be named twice; so that we cannot reckon the whole number of dioceses much above a hundred in these nine provinces. Now, to make a tolerable estimate of the largeness and extent of these dioceses, we must consider a little the state of these countries, together with the extent of them. And, by this means, we shall find this observation to be true (which I am also to make upon Palestine, Asia Minor, and Italy), that here were some of the largest and some of the smallest dioceses in the world, under the same form of episcopal government. In Libya and Pentapolis, the dioceses seem to have been very large; for the whole number in both provinces was but twenty-two. And yet these provinces were of greater extent, as appears from what Pliny^s delivers out of Eratosthenes, that “from Alexandria, in Egypt, to Cyrene, in Pentapolis, was five hundred twenty-five miles,” the greatest part of which must be divided among these bishoprics, which is some ground to conjecture that they were of the largest size. Berenice was the most western border of Pentapolis, from whence to Arsinoë or Teuchyra, the next neighbouring seat, Pliny^t reckons forty-three miles, and from Arsinoë to Ptolemais, twenty-two; and it is certain several others lay at greater distances from each other. But some may fancy, perhaps, they were small inconsiderable dioceses for all this; because Synesius^u, speaking of his own city, Ptolemais, the metropolis of Pentapolis, says it was but a small city. To obviate this, I will note a few things out of Synesius concerning the cities and dioceses of this region. That Ptolemais, where Synesius was bishop,

^s Plin. lib. v. c. vi. (Paris. 1543—68.) Eratosthenes a Cyrenis Alexandriam, terrestri itinere, dxxv. m. prodidit.

^t Ibid. lib. v. c. v. p. 67. Berenice in Syrtis extimo cornu est, quondam vocata Hesperidum supra dictarum, vagantibus Græciæ fabulis. Nec procul ante oppidum fluvius Lethon, lucus sacer, ubi Hesperidum horti memorantur. Abest a Lepti cclxxxv. m. passuum. Ab ea Arsinoë, Teuchira vocitata, xliii. m. passuum. Et deinde Ptolemais, antiquo nomine Barce, xxii. m. passuum.

^u Synes. Ep. lviii. Εἰ δὲ τις ὡς μικροπολίτην ἀποσκευαλίσει τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, κ. τ. λ.

had a territory and country churches in its diocese, is evident from Synesius himself, who, writing to his presbyters upon his first consecration, desires them to pray for him, and enjoin the people, both in the city and country churches ^v, both publicly and privately, to pray for him likewise. This is evident proof, that though Ptolemais itself might not be a very large city, yet it had a diocese of some extent, and village churches in the circuit of it. In another place he complains, that all the churches ^w of Ampelitis, that were under him, were burned down and destroyed. There were two regions of this name in Pentapolis, one belonging to Cyrene, the other to Ptolemais: and it is probable there were in both of them towns and villages depending respectively upon those mother churches. Indeed, Carolus a Sancto Paulo, out of Synesius, speaks of one or two dioceses in this province, which seem to be less; for Hydrax and Palæbisca were but villages, once belonging to the diocese of Erythros, from which they were separated in the time of the Emperor Valens, and had a distinct bishop of their own. But there was none before him, nor any after, for it was united by Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria ^x, to Erythros again; so that it rather proves the largeness of the dioceses, that they were of such an extent as to admit of others being taken out of them. In another place, Synesius ^y speaks of the *Olbiatæ*, whom he styles *δῆμος κωμήτης*, ‘a country people,’ and says they had a bishop. But a learned man observes^z rightly, that this may signify a people or nation living in many villages, of which sort there were several in the region of Pentapolis, and other parts of Afric, where there were but few

^v Ibid. Ep. xi. (Paris. 1640. p. 171. B. 4.) Αὐτοί τε οὖν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ χεῖρας ἱκέτιδας ἄρατε πρὸς Θεόν, καὶ τῷ τε ἐν ἄστει δῆμῳ, καὶ ὅσοι κατ’ ἀγροὺς ἢ κωμητικὰς ἐκκλησίας ἀυλίζονται, τὰς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν εὐχὰς, καὶ κοινῇ καὶ καθ’ ἓνα πᾶσι παρεγγυήσατε.

^w Ibid. Catast. p. 302. Οὐ παρὰ τούτων αἱ πανταχοῦ τῆς ὑφ’ ἡμᾶς Ἀμπελίτιδος ἐκκλησίαι πυρίκανστοι, καὶ ἐρείπια.

^x Synes. Epist. lxxvii. ad Theophilum, (p. 210. C 4. Paris. 1640.) Παλαίβισκα καὶ Ὑδραξ εἰς τὴν ἀρχαίαν τάξιν ἐτάχθησαν, καὶ πρὸς τὸ Ἐρυθρον ἀνελήφθεις, δόγματι, φασί, τῆς σεβασμίας σου κεφαλῆς.

^y Ibid. Ep. lxxvi. (p. 222.) Ὀλβιάταις οὗτοι δὲ δῆμός εἰσι κωμήτης, ἐδέησεν αἰρέσεως ἐπισκόπου, τοῦ μακαριωτάτου πατρὸς Ἀθάμαντος τῷ μακρῷ βίῳ τὴν ἱερωσύνην συγκαταλύσαντος.

^z Maurice’s Defence of Dioces. Episc. p. 60.

cities; for, as he shows out of Pomponius Mela and Pliny, these country people generally inhabited in great numbers together, and were under the denomination of little nations, though they dwelt in 'cottages,' or *mapalia*, as they called them, in the language of those countries; so that though a bishop's seat was in a village, he might have a large region for his diocese, as we shall find in pursuing the history of other nations. In the neighbouring province of Libya, Zygyus was a village and a bishop's seat; yet, as the same learned person^a observes out of Ptolemy^b, it was such a village as had a territory along the sea-side: and the whole sea-coast of Libya was divided between that and two or three other such villages or cities, call them which you please. For there were but seven dioceses in all this Libya, which extended three hundred miles along the sea-shore; so that the bishops' sees were at least fifty miles from each other. And yet, perhaps, being a desert country, and inhabited by very barbarous people, the dioceses might be less than many others, if computed by the number of Christians, rather than the extent of ground: as if we compare them with some in Egypt, their next neighbours. In Egypt, the dioceses cannot be reckoned so large as those of Libya and Pentapolis, because here were eighty bishoprics, and yet the extent of Egypt was not more than the other two; but the country was infinitely more populous, and so capable of more bishoprics in a less compass. Dr. Heylin computes the length of it to be only five hundred sixty-two miles, and the breadth one hundred and sixty: which comes pretty near the computation of Pliny^c, who reckons it five hundred eighty-six miles long, and one hundred and seventy broad, from Pelusium to Canopus. This divided into

^a Ibid. p. 61.

^b Ptolem. lib. iv.

^c Plin. lib. v. c. ix. p. 69. Adhæret Asia, quam patere a Canopico ostio ad Ponti ostium Timosthenes, xxvi. xxxviii. m. passuum tradidit. Ab ore autem Ponti ad os Mæotis, Eratosthenes xv. xlv. m. passuum. Universam vero cum Ægypto ad Tanain, Artemidorus et Isidorus, lxxxviii. m. passuum. Maria ejus complura ab accolis traxere nomina: quare simul indicabuntur. Proxima Africæ incolitur Ægyptus, introrsus ad meridiem recedens, donec a tergo prætendantur Æthiopes. Inferiorem ejus partem Nilus, dextra lævaque divisus, amplexu suo determinat, Canopico ostio ab Africa, ab Asia Pelusiaco, clxx. m. passuum intervallo.

eighty dioceses will allow above thirty miles length and breadth to every diocese ; which is a competent space for an episcopal diocese consisting of many towns or parishes, but too large for any single congregation. We may judge of the extent of some of these dioceses by that of Alexandria, which had first a great many churches, with presbyters fixed upon them, in the city itself, in the time of Alexander and Athanasius, as Epiphanius^d more than once informs us, naming beside the great church, commonly called Cæsarea, those of Dionysius, Theonas, Pierius, Serapion, Perseæ, Dizyas, Mendidius, Annianus, Abias, and Baucalis, where Arius was presbyter. Then, again, it had the large region of Mareotes belonging to it ; for Athanasius^e says, “ there never had been either bishop or *chorepiscopus* in all that region, but only presbyters, under the bishop of Alexandria : and that they were fourteen in number (besides thirteen deacons), some of which had two villages, and others more, within their respective parishes. Canopus also was once in this diocese, being reckoned one of the suburbs of Alexandria (as has been noted before), though a large place, and twelve miles distant from it. Nicopolis, also, was in this diocese, which Strabo equals^f to a city ; so that there must be particular assemblies in the remoter suburbs of this diocese, which could not possibly meet with the mother Church. We have not so particular an account of any other diocese in Egypt ; but from this we may make some

^d Epiphan. Hæres. lxxviii. Meletian. n. iv. (vol. ii. p. 719. D.) Ἦν οὗτος, ἐν Βαυκάλῃ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ οὕτω καλουμένην Ἀλεξανδρείας, πρεσβύτερος.—Ibid. Hæres. lxxix. n. ii. (vol. ii. p. 718. B. 4.) Εἰσὶ πλείους τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, σὺν τῇ νῦν κτισθείσῃ τῇ Καισαρείᾳ καλουμένην. . . Ἀλλαι δὲ εἰσι πλείους, ὡς ἔφην, Διονυσίου καλουμένην ἐκκλησίᾳ, καὶ ἡ τοῦ Θεωνᾶ, καὶ ἡ Πιερίου, καὶ Σεραπίωνος, καὶ ἡ τῆς Περσαίας, καὶ ἡ τοῦ Διζύας, καὶ ἡ τοῦ Μενδιδίου, καὶ ἡ Ἀννιανοῦ, καὶ ἡ τῆς Βαυκάλεως, καὶ ἄλλαι.

^e Athan. Apol. ii. p. 802, edit. Paris. 1627, (p. 260. D. edit. Paris, 1698.) Ὁ Μαρεώτης, καθὰ προεῖπον, χώρα τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐστὶ, καὶ οὐδέποτε τῇ χώρᾳ γέγονεν ἐπίσκοπος οὐδὲ χωρεπίσκοπος· ἀλλὰ τῇ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπισκόπῳ αἱ ἐκκλησίαι πάσης τῆς χώρας ὑπόκεινται· ἕκαστος δὲ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἔχει τὰς ἰδίας κώμας μεγίστας, καὶ ἀριθμῷ δέκα πρὸς καὶ πλέονας.

^f Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 795, edit. Paris. 1620. (p. 1145. C. edit. Amstelod. 1707.) Διὰ δὲ τοῦ Ἰπποδρόμου διελθόντι ἡ Νικόπολις ἐστίν, ἔχουσα κατοικίαν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ πόλεως οὐκ ἐλάττω· τριάκοντα δὲ εἰσὶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας στάδιοι.

estimate of the rest, since it appears that a competent territory of twenty or thirty miles might be allowed to every diocese, upon a rational computation. Nor is it any just exception to this, that here were sometimes bishops' seats in villages as well as cities: for many villages were equal to cities, and had also large territories belonging to them. As Strabo particularly notes of Schedia, which was but a village in his time^g, yet such an one as might compare with a city; and in Athanasius's time it seems to have been advanced into a city, or was at least the head of a *nomus*, or 'region,' called Menelaïtes; for Athanasius styles Agathodaëmon^h bishop of Schedia and Menelaïtes together. So that, though we find, in the Greek *Notitia* of this province, several bishoprics denominated from villages, as Vicus Psaneos, and Cotrideos, Rhicomerium, Pariana, and Anassa, yet we are not to imagine the bishops of these places were pastors only of a private village, but that they had each a larger territory, after the example of Schedia, for their jurisdiction. In the diocese of Arsinoë, it is plain, there were country parishes in the middle of the third century; for Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, speaks of them in one of his epistles, where he discourses of Nepos, the millenary, who was bishop of the place. "After his death," he says, "he went into the region of Arsinoë; and, having called together the presbyters and teachers of the country villagesⁱ, he held a conference with them for three days together about Nepos's opinions, which (it seems) had infected some of their Churches, and drawn them into factions and schisms." The like observation is made by Cassian^j upon

^g Ibid. lib. xvii. p. 800. (1152. A.) Διέχει τετράσχοινον τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἡ Σχεδία, κατοικία πόλεως.

^h Athan. Epist. ad Antioch. p. 580, edit. Paris. 1627. (p. 776. C. edit. Paris. 1618.) Ἔστι δὲ ἕκαστος τῶν προειρημένων ἐπισκόπων, πρὸς οὓς ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ἐγγράφη, Εὐσέβιος πόλεως Βιργέλλω τῆς Γαλλίας. . . . Οἱ δὲ ἐπιστείλαντες, ὅ τε πάπας Ἀθανάσιος καὶ οἱ παρατυχόντες σὺν αὐτῷ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, αὐτός τε Εὐσέβιος καὶ Ἀστέριος, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ, Γάϊος Παρατονίου τῆς ἑγγίστα Λιβύης. . . . Ἀγαθοδαίμων Σχεδίας καὶ Μενελαίτου, κ. τ. λ.

ⁱ Dionys. apud Euseb. lib. vii. c. xxiv. (p. 308. A 3.) Συγκαλέσας τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους καὶ διδασκάλους τῶν ἐν ταῖς κώμας ἀδελφῶν.

^j Cassian. Collat. xi. c. iii. Sumto baculo et pera, ut illic cunctis viam ingredientibus monachis moris est, ad civitatem nos suum, id est Panephyssim, itineris dux ipse perduxit. Cujus terras, immo etiam contiguæ regionis plurimam

Panæphysus, in the province of Augustamnica Prima, that it had many towns and villages under it, till they were swallowed up with the inundation of the sea and an earthquake. And Carolus a Sancto Paulo rightly observes, out of Athanasius^k, that Phragonea, in Ægyptus Secunda, had the whole *nomus* of Elearchia for its diocese. And excepting Thennesus, in the province of Augustamnica, which Cassian^l seems to make an island, without any territory about it, it may be generally affirmed of all the Egyptian cities, that they had their *προάστεια*, or ‘country towns and villages,’ about them, some more, some less; where, as Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, words it^m, they “had their holy assemblies, distinct from those of the mother Churches.”

Yet, not to put a fallacy upon my readers, I must observe one thing, which will much diminish the largeness of those dioceses in one part of Egypt; that is, that as it was the most populous country in the world in some parts of it, so it was absolutely desert and uninhabited in others. The cities were generally placed pretty near the banks of the Nile; but on both sides, within ten or twenty miles from them, were

partem quondam opulentissimam, siquidem ex ea cuncta, ut fama est, in regiones cibos subministrabantur, repentino terræ motu excussum mare transgressis limitibus occupavit, atque ita collapsis ferme omnibus vicis optimas olim terras salsis plaudibus supertexit.

^k Car. a Sancto Paulo, p. 281, edit. Paris. 1641. (p. 271, edit. Amstel. 1711.) Elearchia civitas Ægypti dicitur in Concilio Chalcedonensi, act. i. et in dicta Notitia. Regionem tamen fuisse ex hoc conjicio, quod ad plures sedes episcopales pertinuerit. Agatho Phragoneos et Elearchiæ episcopus dicitur apud D. Athanasium in Epist. ad Antioch.; et Isaac Elearchiæ præsul Concilio Ephesino subscripsit. — Athan. Epist. ad Antioch. (tom. i. p. 776. C. edit. Paris. 1698.) Ἀγαθὸν Φραγώνεως καὶ μέρους τῆς Ἑλεαρχίας (ἐπίσκοπον).

^l Cassian. Collat. xi. c. i. Ad oppidum Ægypti, cui Thennesus nomen est, emensa navigatione pervenimus. Cujus accolæ ita vel mari vel stagnis salsis undique circumluuntur, ut solis, quia terra deest, negotiationibus dediti, opes atque substantiam navali commercio parent, ita ut ædificiis cum voluerint extruendis terra non suppetat, nisi de longinquo navigiis apportetur.

^m Dionys. apud Euseb. lib. vii. c. xi. (Cambr. p. 336.) Ἐτυχον δὲ παραμυθίας, ὑπομνησάντων μετῶν ἀδελφῶν, ὅτι γειτνιᾷ μᾶλλον τῇ πόλει καὶ ἡ μὲν Κεφρῶν πολλὴν ἡμῖν ἤγεν ἀδελφῶν τῶν ἀπ’ Αἰγύπτου τὴν ἐπιμιξίαν, ὥς πλατύτερον ἐκκλησιάζειν δύνασθαι ἐκεῖ δὲ πλησιαίτερον οὔσης τῆς πόλεως, συνεχέστερον τῆς τῶν ὄντως ἀγαπητῶν καὶ οἰκειοτάτων καὶ φιλτάτων ὀψεως ἀπολαύσομεν· ἀφίζονται γὰρ καὶ ἀναπαύσσονται καὶ ὥς ἐν προαστείοις πορρώτέρω κειμένοις, κατὰ μέρος ἔσονται συναγωγαί· καὶ οὕτως ἐγένετο.

vast mountains and deserts, where no mortal dwelt, till, as Orosius observesⁿ, “the monks first took up their abode there, leaving the cities, to inhabit those vast tracts of wildernesses and sands, which, for their barrenness, and want of water, and multitudes of serpents, had never before seen any thing of human conversation.” This account of the Egyptian deserts is confirmed by Josephus^o, where he speaks of Moses making an incredible expedition with an army through them, to surprise and come unexpectedly upon the Æthiopians; and the Christian writers, who treat of the monastic life, gave a more particular description of them. Sulpicius Severus makes the entrance on these deserts in Thebais^p to be only twelve miles from the river Nile: but the deserts themselves were vastly greater; for Cassian, speaking of the wilderness of Scethis, where Paphnutius was abbot, says, “There was one of the monks who had his cell^q eighteen miles from church.” “But the desert of Porphyryon,” he says, “was abundantly larger than this; for a man might travel seven or eight days’ journey in it^r without coming near any house or town, before

ⁿ Oros. Hist. lib. vii. c. xxxiii. (Bibliotheca Vet. P. 1773, vol. ix. p. 149.) Vastas illas tunc Ægypti solitudines, arenasque diffusas, quas propter sitim, ac sterilitatem, periculosamque serpentum abundantiam, conversatio humana non nosset, magna habitantium monachorum multitudo compleverat.

^o Joseph. Antiquit. lib. ii. c. x. (Havercamp. vol. i. p. 102.) Τῆς γῆς χαλεπῆς οὐσης ὁδευθῆναι διὰ πλῆθος ἐρπετῶν (παμφορωτάτῃ γάρ ἐστι τούτων, ὥς καὶ τὰ παρ’ ἄλλοις οὐκ ὄντα μόνη τρέφειν, δυνάμει τε καὶ κακίᾳ καὶ τῷ τῆς ὀψέως ἀσυνήθει διαφέροντα, τινὰ δ’ αὐτῶν ἐστι καὶ πετεινὰ, ὥς λαθόντα μὲν ἀπὸ γῆς κακουργεῖν, καὶ μὴ προειδομένους ἀδικεῖν ὑπερπετῇ γινόμενα) νοεῖ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν καὶ ἀβλαβῇ πορείαν τοῦ στρατεύματος στρατήγημα θαυμαστόν.

^p Sulpic. Dial. i. c. xiii. (edit. Lips. 1709, p. 407.) Ubi prima eremi ingressus sum, duodecim fere a Nilo millibus, etc.

^q Cassian. Institut. lib. v. c. xl. Decem et octo millibus longe ab ecclesia commanebat.

^r Ibid. Collat. xxiv. c. iv. — Conf. Institut. lib. x. c. xxiv. Abbas Paulus, probatissimus patrum, quum in eremo vastiore consistens, quæ Porphyrio nuncupatur, palmarum fructibus et horto modico securus, haberet sufficientem alimonie suæ victusque substantiam, nec posset aliquid aliud, unde sustentaretur, operis exercere, eo quod ab oppidis et habitabili terra septem mansionibus, vel eo amplius, deserti illius separaretur habitatio, plusque expeteretur pro mercede vecturæ quam valere posset pretium operis desudati, collectis palmarum foliis, quotidianum pensum velut exinde sustentandus, a semetipso jugiter exigebat.

he came to the cells of the monks, which had their habitation therein." So that, by this account, it is probable almost one half of Egypt was cut off in sands and deserts, which could not be cultivated, and therefore were not inhabited, till the monks, who found out a new way of living, left the cities, to become, here and there, scattered inhabitants of the wilderness: and by this means, the dioceses of Egypt, if we speak properly of the habitable part of them, will be reduced to a much narrower compass; and fifteen miles may perhaps pass for a general measure of their extent, in this sense, one with another: but, as Alexandria and others might be larger, so it is certain Thennesus, and Panæphysus, and others, were much less; which makes good the observation and reflexion I at first passed upon them, that here were some of the largest and smallest dioceses in the world, under the same species and form of episcopal government, for any thing that we find to the contrary.

SECT. VII.—*Of the Dioceses of Arabia; and why these more frequently in Villages than in other Places.*

Out of the patriarchate of Alexandria, we should next have gone into that of Jerusalem; but Arabia coming between, we will take a view of it here, though it belonged to the patriarch of Antioch. Carolus a Sancto Paulo calls it, by mistake, Arabia Petraea, which, as Holstenius observes, "was a distinct province under the patriarch of Jerusalem, and commonly known in ancient Church records by the name of Palæstina Tertia." But Arabia here is taken only for that part which was under the metropolis of Bostra, and sometimes called Philadelphia in ancient writers. In this province, we have accounts of twenty-one ancient dioceses, whereof eighteen are recounted by Carolus a S. Paulo:—1. Bostra. 2. Adra. 3. Medaba. 4. Gerasa. 5. Nibe, or Nive. 6. Philadelphia, whence, in Epiphanius and others, the region is called Arabia Philadelpheia. 7. Esbus. 8. Neapolis. 9. Philippopolis. 10. Constantine. 11. Dionysias. 12. Maximianopolis. 13. Avara. 14. Elana, al. Neela. 15. Zerabena. 16. Erra. 17. Anitha, or, as Holstenius reads it, Eutimia. 18. Parembola. To which Holstenius adds three more, Canotha, Phæno,

and Bacathus, mentioned by Epiphanius and Eusebius. In after ages, when the *Notitia* was made, which is published in the seventh chapter of this book, the number of dioceses was augmented to thirty-four, whereof twelve are called villages. And it appears from Sozomen^s, that this was no new thing in this country; for he takes notice, that it was usual in some provinces to consecrate bishops in villages, and he particularly specifies Arabia and Cyprus for it. But, then, we are not to imagine, that these dioceses were confined to a single village, as some have vainly concluded, to favour the hypothesis of congregational episcopacy: for these villages were what the ancients commonly called *metrocomiæ*, ‘mother villages,’ which had many other villages depending on them; so that they were the chief villages of a certain district. This is evident from Epiphanius^t, who, speaking of Bacathus, one of the village bishoprics, styles it *μητροκωμίαν Ἀραβίας*, ‘a mother village in Arabia;’ which implies that there were others depending on it. So that these dioceses might be as large as any other, having not only that village, but whole tracts and regions sometimes depending on them, as may be seen in the foresaid *Notitia*, where some of them are called *clima orientarium*, and *clima occidentarium*; denoting not only a particular village, but a little people or nation of such a combination or district, under a mother village, from which the whole diocese, or circuit, had its denomination. The Arabians were a people that chose rather to live in villages, and had but few cities in comparison of others: and that seems to be the reason why village bishops were allowed in this country, which otherwise were forbidden by the canons of the Church, as has been shown in another^u place.

^s Sozom. lib. vii. c. xix. (Aug. T. 1747. p. 282. C.) Ἐν ἄλλοις δὲ ἔθνεσιν ἐστὶν ὅπη καὶ ἐν κώμαις ἐπίσκοποι ἱεροῦνται, ὡς παρὰ Ἀραβίοις καὶ Κυπρίοις ἔγνων, καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἐν Φρυγίαις Νανατιανοῖς, καὶ Μοντανισταῖς.

^t Epiphan. Epitom. Panarii, (tom. ii. p. 145. D. n. xii.) Οὐαλήσιοι οὗτοι, καθὼς ὑπειλήφαμεν, οἱ τὴν Βάκαθον κατοικοῦντες, μητροκωμίαν τῆς Ἀραβίας τῆς Φιλαδελφίας.

^u Book ii. chap. xii. sect. i.

SECT. VIII.—*Of the Diocese of Palestine, or the Patriarchate of Jerusalem.*

Out of Arabia our next step is into Palestine, or the patriarchate of Jerusalem, which being taken out of the patriarchate of Antioch, had three provinces assigned for the limits of its jurisdiction, which in the ancient monuments of the Church are commonly called *Palæstina Prima*, *Secunda*, and *Tertia*, following the civil account of the Roman empire. In these three provinces, (comprised within the borders of the land of Canaan, and Arabia Petræa,) Carolus a Sancto Paulo reckons about forty-seven ancient dioceses.

In Palæstina Prima.

1. Jerusalem. 2. Cæsarea. 3. Dora. 4. Antipatris. 5. Diospolis, in Scripture called Lydda. 6. Jamnia. 7. Nicopolis, which is Emmaus. 8. Sozusa. 9. Maiuma. 10. Joppa. 11. Ascalon. 12. Gaza. 13. Raphia. 14. Anthedon. 15. Eleutheropolis, anciently some place about Hebron. 16. Neapolis, or Sichem. 17. Elia. 18. Sebaste, or Samaria. 19. Petra. 20. Jericho. 21. Libias. 22. Azotus. 23. Zabulon. 24. Araclia, al. Heraclea. 25. Baschat. 26. Archelais.

In Palæstina Secunda.

1. Scythopolis. 2. Pella. 3. Caparcotia, or Capernaum. 4. Gadara. 5. Capitolias. 6. Maximianopolis. 7. Tiberias. 8. Mennith. 9. Hippius. 10. Amathus.

In Palæstina Tertia.

1. Petra. 2. Augustopolis. 3. Arindela. 4. Arad. 5. Areopolis. 6. Elusa. 7. Zoara. 8. Sodoma. 9. Phenon. 10. Pharan. 11. Aila.

Holstenius, in his corrections upon this catalogue, strikes two out of the number, viz. Baschat, which he reckons to be the same with Bacatha in Arabia Philadelpheæ; and Phenon, which he assigns to the same province. But instead of these two, he has found out three more in *Palæstina Prima*, viz. Sycamazon, Gerara, and another Lydda, distinct from Dios-

polis, aforementioned. So that the whole number of known dioceses was forty-eight.

Now, if we look upon all these together, and compare them with the forty dioceses in Germany, of this day, they will appear very small indeed in comparison of them. For whereas Germany is computed eight hundred and forty miles in length, and seven hundred and forty in breadth; the whole extent of these three provinces will not amount to a square of one hundred and sixty miles. For the length of all Palestine, or the land of Canaan, taking in part of Phœnicia as far as Tyre and Sidon, which yet is excluded from these provinces, is computed by St. Jerome^v, Cotovicus^w, Masius^x, and others, to be but a hundred and sixty miles; and the breadth from Joppa to Jordan not above sixty: to which if we add about sixty more beyond Jordan, for the breadth of Palæstina Tertia, to the borders of Arabia Philadelpheia and Bostra, we have then the complete dimensions of the three provinces together; by which it appears, that two German dioceses of one hundred miles' length, are as large as all those forty-eight dioceses put together. Yet there were some dioceses among them of a competent bigness. Eleutheropolis, a city much spoken of by St. Jerome, not far from the place where Hebron stood, in the borders of Dan and Judah, seems to have had a pretty large territory. For St. Jerome speaks of villages belonging to it at seventeen miles'^y distance from it, and mentions a great many other villages in the same territory, though he does not so exactly tell us their distance from the city. Sozomen names some others, as Besanduca^z, where, he says, Epiphanius was born; and

^v Hieron. Epist. ad Dardan. (Vallars. Veron. 1734. vol. i. p. 965.) Respondeant mihi, qui hanc terram . . . possessam putant a populo Judæorum, postquam reversus est ex Ægypto, quantum possederit; utique a Dan usque Bersabee, quæ vix centum sexaginta millium in longum spatio tenditur . . . Pudet dicere latitudinem terræ repromissionis, ne ethnicis occasionem blasphemandi dedisse videamur. Ab Joppe usque ad viculum nostrum Bethlehem quadraginta sex millia sunt, etc.

^w Cotovic. Itin. Hierosolym. lib. i. c. i. p. 327.

^x Masius in Josuam, xii. 24.

^y Hieron. de Locis Hebr. voce *Duma*. Duma vicus grandis in finibus Eleutheropoleos, decem et septem ab ea milliaribus distans.

^z Sozom. lib. vi. c. xxxii. (Aug. T. 1747. p. 245. A 5.) Ἐπιφάνιος δὲ, ἀμφὶ Βησανδοῦκην κώμην, ὅθεν ἦν, νομοῦ Ἐλευθεροπόλεως.

Ceila and Berathsatia^a where the bones of the prophets Micah and Habakkuk were found. Near Besanduca, Epiphanius built his monastery; and the village had a church in it, where Epiphanius ordained a deacon, as he himself informs us^b. From all which it is very evident this city had a large territory, and considerable diocese, with many country towns and churches belonging to them. And there were several others, especially in Palæstina Secunda and Tertia, equal in extent to the diocese of Eleutheropolis. But a judicious reader will easily conclude from the largeness of these, that some others must needs, therefore, be very small, since there were so great a number in so short a compass. If we cast our eye upon the sea-coast of Palestine, and reckon Tyre and Sidon, and Ptolemais, and Sycaminum, and Porphyria into the account (as being within the ancient bounds of the land of Canaan, though they now belong to the province of Phœnice, and the patriarch of Antioch), we shall find seventeen or eighteen cities in a line of one hundred and sixty miles, and some very near neighbours to one another. Cotovicus^c reckons it but four miles from Ptolemais to Porphyria; and Sicaminum and Zabulon were not further removed from it. But Ferrarius reckons it twenty or twenty-four: so that the position of the two first is a little doubtful; but the other three may be reckoned within five or six miles of one another. Baudrand observes^d the like of Dora and Cæsarea the metropolis, that they were but five miles distant from each other. So Ferrarius computes Antipatris ten miles from Cæsarea, and Diospolis ten more from Antipatris. Diospolis is, in the Scripture, called Lydda, and

^a Sozom. lib. vii. c. xxix. (p. 295. D 9) Καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τοῦνομα ταύτης ἦσθην Κελά, ἢ πρὶν Κεῖλα, ὀνομαζομένη πόλις, καθ' ἣν ὁ Ἀβακούμ εὐρέθη· καὶ Βηραθσατία χωρίον ἀμφὶ δέκα στάδια τῆς πόλεως διεστώς· περὶ δὲ τοῦτο ὁ Μιχαίου τάφος ἦν, κ. τ. λ.

^b Epiphan. Epist. ad Joan. Hierosolymit. (tom. ii. p. 312. C 5.) Quum celebraretur collecta in ecclesia villæ, quæ est juxta monasterium nostrum, ignorantem eum et nullam penitus habentem suspicionem, per multos diaconos apprehendi jussimus, et teneri os ejus, ne forte liberari se cupiens, adjuraret nos per nomen Christi, et primum diaconum ordinavimus, etc.

^c Cotovic. Itin. lib. i. c. xx.

^d Baudrand. Lexic. Geogr. voce *Dora*. (p. 252.) Dora, seu Dor, urbs fuit Terræ Sanctæ in tribu Manasse, in ora littorali, quinque miliaribus a Cæsarea in Boream.

said to be nigh unto Joppa. Baudrand reckons it but six miles, correcting Ferrarius, who computes it ten. Jamnia was also about ten miles from Joppa, and but twelve from Lydda, as is collected out of Antonine's *Itinerary*: so that these three cities were not above twelve miles distant from each other. But Gaza, Maiuma, and Anthedon, were still nearer neighbours, not above twenty furlongs, or three miles, from each other, as Sozomen particularly^e remarks their distance. Maiuma, he tells us, was once only a village belonging to Gaza, to which it was the sea-port, seated nearer the sea upon the river Besor. But when Constantine, for its merit in readily embracing Christianity, had granted it the privilege of a city, it presently, according to the ancient rule, became a bishop's seat, and continued ever after so to be, notwithstanding some attempts made against it; of which I have given an account in the foregoing chapter. But though those cities lay so near together, we are not to think they were of the congregational way, or their bishops only parish pastors. While Maiuma was joined to Gaza, the Church was doubtless more than a single congregation. For Eusebius, speaking of Silvanus, bishop of Gaza, who suffered martyrdom in the time of the Diocletian persecution, styles him^f "bishop of the Churches in and about Gaza;" which implies, that his diocese was more than a single congregation. Nay, after Maiuma was taken from it, Gaza had still many other villages, and a populous territory belonging to it. Sozomen^g mentions three villages, one

^e Sozom. lib. v. c. iii. (p. 169. B 3.) Προσένειμε (Ἰουλιανὸς) Γάζῃ τὴν Κωνσταντίαν, ἀμφὶ τοὺς εἴκοσι σταδίους διεστῶσαν.—Cap. ix. (p. 176. D 10.) Καιρὸν εὐρῶν ἔφυγεν εἰς Ἀνθηδόνα πόλιν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἀφιστῶσαν Γάζης ὡς εἰς σταδίους εἴκοσι.

^f Euseb. lib. viii. c. xiii. (Aug. T. 1747. p. 345.) Τῶν δὲ ἐπὶ Παλαιστίνης μαρτύρων, Σιλβανὸς ἐπίσκοπος τῶν ἀμφὶ τὴν Γάζαν ἐκκλησιῶν . . . τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμένεται.

^g Sozom. lib. iii. c. xiv. (p. 105. B 7.) Διέπρεπε τότε ἐνθάδε Ἰλαρίων ὁ θεσπέσιος· τούτῳ δὲ πατρίς μὲν ἦν Θαβαθὰ κώμη, πρὸς νότον δὲ Γάζης κειμένη.—Lib. vi. c. xxxii. (p. 245. C 11.) Καὶ Ἀμμώνιος δὲ ὡσεὶ δέκα σταδίοις διεστῶς, ᾧκει ἀμφὶ Χαφαρχοβράν, κώμην Γαζαίαν, ἀφ' ἧς τὸ γένος εἶχεν.—Lib. v. c. xv. (185. C.) Καθότι πατὴρ Ἕλληνας ὢν, αὐτὸς τε πανοικί καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους Ἀλαφίωνος, Χριστιανοὶ πρῶτοι ἐγένοντο ἐν Βηθελίας κώμῃ Γαζαίᾳ, πολυανθρώπῳ τε οὕσῃ, καὶ ἱερὰ ἐχούσῃ ἀρχαιότητι καὶ κατασκευῇ σεμνὰ τοῖς κατοικοῦσι· καὶ μάλιστα τὸ Πάνθεον, ὡς ἐπὶ

called Thabaca, where Hilarion was born; another, Chapharcobra, where Ammonius was born; and a third, named Bethelia, which he calls πολυάνθρωπον κώμην Γαζαίαν, 'a most populous village under the jurisdiction of Gaza,' which was also famous for the heathen Pantheon, beside other temples that were in it: whence he conjectures, it had the name of Bethelia, which, in the Syrian tongue, is the same as *domicilium deorum*, or 'the house of the gods.' Now a village that had several heathen temples in it, had, no doubt, upon its conversion some Christian churches also, where they had presbyters to celebrate holy offices, though in dependence on the Church of Gaza. And for Maiuma, when it became a distinct diocese, its bishop was not only a single parish pastor, but he had a clergy under him, and all other things that the episcopal Church of Gaza had; as Sozomen^h particularly notes in the case, saying, "Each city had their own bishop and clergy, and their own proper festivals for their martyrs, and commemorations of the bishops and priests that had lived among them, and their proper bounds of the country lying round about them." And that we may not wonder that there should be such villages as these, it will not be amiss to observe what Josephus reports of two villages of Idumea not far from these, Betaris and Caphartoba, where, he saysⁱ, "Vespasian slew above ten thousand people, took a thousand captives, and forced many others to fly away." He also says^j, in another

ἀκροπόλεως χειροποιήτου τινὸς λόφου κείμενον, καὶ πανταχόθεν πάσης τῆς κώμης ὑπερέχον· συμβάλλω δὲ τὸ χωρίον ἔνθεν λαχεῖν τὴν προσηγορίαν, καὶ ἐκ τῆς Σύρων φωνῆς εἰς τὴν Ἑλλήνων ἑρμηνευόμενον, θεῶν οἰκητήριον ὀνομάζεσθαι, διὰ τὸν τοῦ Πανθέου ναόν.

^h Sozom. lib. v. c. iii. (p. 269. C.) Ἐκατέρα γὰρ ἰδίᾳ ἐπίσκοπον, καὶ κληρὸν ἔχει, καὶ πανηγύρεις μαρτύρων, καὶ μνείας τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς γενομένων ἱερέων, καὶ ὄρους τῶν περὶ ἀγρῶν, οἷς τὰ ἀνήκοντα ἑκατέρᾳ ἐπισκοπῇ θυσιαστήρια διορίζεται.

ⁱ Joseph. de B. J. lib. iv. c. viii. (Havercamp. vol. ii. p. 297.) Καταλαβόμενος δὲ δύο κώμας, τὰς μεσαιτάτας τῆς Ἰδουμαίας, Βήταριν καὶ Καφάρτοβαν, κτείνει μὲν ὑπὲρ μυρίους, αἰχμαλωτίζεται ὑπὲρ χιλίους, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος ἐξελάσας, ἐγκαθίστησι τῆς ἰδίας δυνάμεως οὐκ ὀλίγον, οἱ κατατρέχοντες ἐπόρθουν ἅπασαν τὴν ὀρεινὴν.

^j Ibid. lib. iii. c. ii. (Cant. p. 1120.) Ἀλλὰ καὶ πόλεις πυκναὶ, καὶ τὸ τῶν κωμῶν πλῆθος πανταχοῦ πολυάνθρωπον διὰ τὴν εὐθηνίαν, ὥς τὴν ἐλαχίστην ὑπὲρ πεντακισχιλίους πρὸς τοῖς μυρίοις ἔχειν οἰκήτορας.

place, "There were many villages in Galilee so populous, that the least of them had above fifteen thousand inhabitants in them." Now a few such villages as these, united under a *metrocomia*, or 'mother village,' might quickly arise into numbers enough to become a diocese, and have a bishop and clergy of their own, which it would be absurd to mistake for the pastor of a single congregation. And this was evidently the case of the smallest dioceses in this part of Palestine; where, notwithstanding the narrowness of their limits, they were under the same species of episcopal government with other Churches.

The inland dioceses of Palestine were generally larger; yet some of them were small, for Emmaus was but sixty furlongs, or seven miles and a half from Jerusalem, as both the Scripture and travellers^k inform us: yet when of a village it became a city, being rebuilt by the Romans in the time of Adrian, and by them called Nicopolis, in memory of their victories over Jerusalem, as Sozomen^l, and Eusebius^m, and St. Jeromeⁿ, inform us; it then also advanced itself to an episcopal see, and, according to the rule of the Church, had the city territory for its diocese; under which denomination and quality we find it afterwards in the *Notitiæ* of the Church. This, perhaps, brings the diocese of Jerusalem into narrower bounds one way than is commonly imagined; but still it was of sufficient extent to have many particular Churches in it: for the Jewish antiquaries commonly tell us, there were above four hundred synagogues in the city itself. Dr. Lightfoot^o reckons four hundred and fifty; others, four

^k Cotovic. Itin. ii. c. xix.

^l Sozom. lib. v. c. xxi. (Aug. T. p. 195. C. 10.) Πόλις ἐστὶν ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ ἡ νῦν καλουμένη Νικόπολις· ταύτην δὲ ἔτι κώμην οὔσαν οἶδεν ἡ θεία τῶν εὐαγγελίων βίβλος, καὶ Ἑμμαοῦς προσαγορεύει· Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἄλωσιν Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ τὴν κατὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων νίκην, Νικόπολιν ἀνηγόρευσαν· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ συμβάντος οὕτως ὠνόμασαν.

^m Euseb. Chron. an. 2237. Παλαιστίνης Νικόπολις, ἡ πρότερον Ἑμμαοῦς, ἐκτίσθη πόλις, πρεσβεύοντος ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς καὶ προΐσταμένου Ἰουλίου Ἀφρικανοῦ τοῦ τὰ χρονικὰ συγγράψαντος.

ⁿ Hieron. de Locis Hebr. voce *Emmaus*. (tom. iii. p. 184. A. edit. Francof. 1684.) Emmaus, de quo loco fuit Cleophas, cujus Lucas meminit Evangelista. Hæc est nunc Nicopolis, insignis civitas Palæstinæ.

^o Lightfoot, Hor. Hebr. in Matth. Præmiss. c. xxxvi. Hieros. Chethub. fol.

hundred and sixty^p; and some say^q, there were four hundred and eighty for Jews and strangers there. Optatus says, there were seven in a very small plain upon the top of Mount Sion, where the Jews^r were used to meet and hear the law of Moses read. And Epiphanius^s mentions the same, which he says were also left standing, after the destruction of Jerusalem, to the time of Adrian, and one of them to the time of Constantine. Now, it would be very strange, that a city which had so many synagogues should not afford above one church, after it was made Christian, and so many thousand converts were in it even in the time of the apostles. But it had also a territory without the city, and churches at some distance from it; for Bethlehem was in the diocese of Jerusalem, six miles from the mother church, upon which account it had a church and presbyters of its own; but those subject to the

35. 3. R. Phinehas nomine R. Hoshaiæ dicit, quadringentæ et sexaginta synagogæ erant Hierosolymis: quorum unaquæque habuit domum libri, et domum doctrinæ: בית ספר למקרא ובית תלמוד למשנה, domum libri pro scriptura, id est, ubi legeretur scriptura: et domum doctrinæ pro traditionibus, id est, Beth Midrasch, ubi docerentur traditiones. Recitantur hæc alibi, atque illic adsurgit numerus ad 480.—Idem, Megillah, fol. 73. 4. Dicit R. Phinehas nomine R. Hoshaiæ, Quadringentæ et octoginta synagogæ erant Hierosolymis, etc. De variatis numeris heic non quærimus; posterior est receptior: adstruiturque per Gematriam, ut vocant, e voce מלאות, Esai. i. 21. R. Sol. in Es. ii. 1. Invenimus in Pesikta. R. Menahem a R. Hoshaiæ dicit 480 synagogæ erant Hierosolymis, secundum valorem arithmeticum vocis מלאות. Nota, ut non computetur κ.

^p Othon. Lex. Rabb. p. 627. Synagogæ sexaginta et quadraginta (leg. sine dubio quadringentæ) erant Hierosolymis, etc.

^q Sigon. de Repub. Hebr. lib. ii. c. viii. In commentariis Hebræorum scriptum est, ultimis temporibus in urbe Hierosolyma quadringentas octoginta synagogas constitutas fuisse, quod Judæi eo ex omnibus regionibus convenirent. —Goodwin, Moses et Aaron, lib. ii. c. ii. sect. iii. Hierosolyma continebat 480 synagogas præter templum, cum pro Judæis, tum pro peregrinis.

^r Optat. lib. iii. (Oberthur, 1789. vol. i. p. 48.) (p. 63, ed. Paris, 1679.) Non in illo monte Sion, in cujus vertice est non magna planities, in qua fuerant [septem] synagogæ, ubi Judæorum populus conveniens legem, per Moysem datam, discere potuisset.

^s Epiph. de Mensur. et Ponder. n. xiv. (tom. ii. p. 170. C 4. Colon. 1682.) Ἐκεῖ γὰρ ὡκοδόμητο· τουτέστιν ἐν τῷ μέρει Σιών, ἥτις ἀπὸ τῆς ἐρημώσεως παρελείφθη, καὶ μέρη οἰκήσεων περὶ αὐτὴν τὴν Σιών, καὶ ἐπτὰ συναγωγαὶ, αἱ ἐν τῇ Σιών μόναι ἐστήκεσαν, ὡς καλύβαι, ἐξ ὧν μία περιελείφθη ἕως χρόνου Μαξιμιανᾶ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου καὶ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ βασιλέως, ὡς σκηνὴ ἐν ἀμπελῶνι, κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον.

bishop of Jerusalem, as St. Jerome^t informs us, who charges John, bishop of Jerusalem, for an extravagant abuse of his power, in laying his injunctions on his presbyters at Bethlehem, that they should not baptize the catechumens of the monastery, who stood candidates at Easter: upon which they were sent to Diospolis for baptism. St. Jerome mentions the church of Thiria^u in the same place, where the bishop of Jerusalem ordained presbyters and deacons; and there is no doubt but there were many other such parishes within the precincts of his diocese, acknowledging his jurisdiction. We cannot give so particular an account of all the dioceses of Palestine; but those which some have thought the least, Lydda and Jamnia, appear to have been cities, and to have had their dependences in the neighbouring country round them. So that, except Maiuma, which was disfranchised by Julian, there was no village in Palestine that had a bishop of its own; but the villages were all as so many parishes to the neighbouring city in whose territory they lay, which made these diocesan Churches still of the same species with the rest, that had a larger extent of jurisdiction. Josephus indeed calls Lydda a village, but, he says, it was a village not inferior to a city; and afterward it was made a city, and called Diospolis, when it was a bishop's see. And though its diocese could not extend very far one way, being it was but six miles from Joppa toward the sea, yet other ways it extended further; for St. Jerome^v speaks of Bethsarissa, a village belonging to it, though it was near fifteen miles' distance from it, in

^t Hieron. Epist. lxi. ad Pammach. c. xvi. Annon tu potius scindis ecclesiam, qui præcepisti Bethleem presbyteris tuis, ne competentibus nostris in pascha baptismum traderent, quos nos Diospolim ad confessorem et episcopum misimus Dionysium baptizandos?—Sulpic. Sever. Dialog. i. c. viii. (Lips. 1709, p. 397.) Inde digressus, Bethleem oppidum petii, quod ab Hierosolymis sex millibus disparatur, ab Alexandria autem sedecim mansionibus abest. Ecclesiam loci illius Hieronymus presbyter regit: nam parochia est episcopi, qui Hierosolymam tenet.

^u Hieron. l. c. Theosebium, Thiriæ ecclesiæ diaconum facis presbyterum et contra nos armas, illiusque in nos abuteris eloquentia.

^v Hieron. Locis Hebr. voce *Bethsarissa*. Est in finibus Diospoleos villa, quindecim ferme ab ea millibus distans contra septemtrionem in regione Tamnitica.

the region called Regio Tamnitica, which seems to have been the territory belonging to this city.

I have been the more particular in describing the dioceses of Palestine, because here Christianity was first planted, and the true model of ancient episcopacy may best be collected from them. They who reckon these bishoprics no larger than country parishes, are strangely mistaken on the one hand; and they who extend their bounds as wide as German dioceses, are no less extravagant on the other. To make the right estimate the reader must remember, that there were never quite fifty bishops in all the three Palestines. In the middle of the sixth century, there were but forty-five who subscribed in the Council of Jerusalem (an. 536), and we do not find upon the nicest inquiry, they ever exceeded forty-eight: so that it were the absurdest thing in the world to suppose, as some have done, that these dioceses were but parish churches, or single congregations. On the other hand, when it is remembered that the extent of the whole country was not above a hundred and sixty miles, it is as evident these dioceses could not be of the largest size; and, if compared with some others, scarce be found to have the proportion of one to twenty, which needs no further demonstration.

SECT. IX.—*A Catalogue of the Provinces and Dioceses under the Patriarch of Antioch.*

The next patriarchate is that of Antioch, to which Carolus a Sancto Paulo assigns these thirteen provinces:—Syria Prima, Syria Secunda, Theodorias, Cilicia Prima, Cilicia Secunda, Isauria, Euphratensis, Osrhoena, Mesopotamia, Phœnicia Prima, Phœnicia Secunda, Arabia, and the Isle of Cyprus. One of these, Arabia Philadelphe, has been already spoken of; and three others, Isauria, and Cilicia Prima and Secunda, lying in Asia Minor, shall be considered, in the next chapter, among the provinces of that country. For the rest, I will here give, first, a particular catalogue of the dioceses in each province; and then make a few remarks upon them, and some other Eastern provinces, not mentioned by that writer.

In Syria Prima.

1. Antiochia. 2. Seleucia Pieria. 3. Bercea, by some called Aleppo. 4. Chalcis. 5. Onosarta, or rather Anasarta. 6. Gabbus. To which Holstenius adds another, called Paltus, which he thinks wrong placed in Theodorias.

In Syria Secunda.

1. Apamea, upon the river Orontes. 2. Arethusa. 3. Epiphania. 4. Larissa. 5. Mariama or Mariamne. 6. Raphanæa. 7. Seleucia juxta Belum, al. Seleucobelus. To these, also, Holstenius transfers another, named Balanæa, out of the province of Theodorias, where he thinks it was wrong placed, but he is mistaken.

In Theodorias.

1. Laodicea. 2. Gabala. 3. Paltus. 4. Balanæa.

In Euphratesia, or Comagene.

1. Hierapolis. 2. Cyrus. 3. Samosata. 4. Doliche. 5. Germanicia. 6. Zeugma. 7. Perre, by some corruptly read Perga, and Pella, and Peria, as Holstenius observes. 8. Europus, al. Amphipolis and Thapsacum. 9. Urima. 10. Cæsarea, otherwise called Neocæsarea Euphratensis. 11. Sergiopolis. 12. Sura. 13. Marianopolis, which some place in Syria Secunda.

In Osrhoena, or Mesopotamia Inferior.

1. Edessa. 2. Carrae. 3. Circesium. 4. Nicephorium. 5. Batnae. 6. Callinicus, al. Leontopolis. 7. Marcopolis. 8. Himeria. 9. Dausara.

In Mesopotamia Superior.

1. Amida, now called Caramit. 2. Nisibis. 3. Rhesina. 4. Martyropolis. 5. Caschara. To these Holstenius adds two more, Cepha and Mnizus, or Miniza.

In Phœnicia Prima.

1. Tyrus. 2. Sidon. 3. Ptolemais, or Ancon. 4. Berytus. 5. Byblus. 6. Tripolis. 7. Arca. 8. Orthosias. 9. Botrys.

10. Aradus. 11. Antaradus. 12. Porphyrium. 13. Paneas, or Cæsarea Philippi. 14. Sycaminum, now called Capo Carmelo.

In Phœnicia Libani.

1. Damascus. 2. Laodicea Scabiosa. 3. Abyla. 4. Helio-
polis. 5. Jabruda. 6. Palmyra. 7. Emesa. 8. Danaba.
9. Evaria, al. Euroia, al. Justinianopolis. 10. Comoara.
11. Corada. 12. Saracenorum Civitas, which rather belongs
to Arabia. Holstenius adds one more, called Arlana.

In Cyprus.

1. Constantia. 2. Citium. 3. Amathus. 4. Curium.
5. Paphos. 6. Arsinoe. 7. Lapithus. 8. Thamassus.
9. Chytrus. 10. Tremithus. 11. Soli. 12. Ledra. 13. Ti-
beriolis. Holstenius adds Carteriopolis, and Carpasia,
where Philo was bishop, who, commonly, by a vulgar error,
is called Carpathius, as if he had been bishop of Carpathus,
an island in the Mediterranean Sea; whereas he was bishop
of this Carpasia, in the isle of Cyprus; as Holstenius and
Dr. Cave have both observed.

SECT. X.—*Observations on the Dioceses of Cyprus.*

Now to make some few remarks upon these dioceses distinctly,
I observe, that by the same reason that Carolus a Sancto
Paulo places Cyprus under the patriarch of Antioch, he might
have brought Assyria, Persia, Babylonia, Adiabene, India,
and the nation of the Homerites in Arabia Felix, under
Antioch also; for there were bishops in all these places, as I
shall show, but independent of any patriarch except their own
metropolitans: and so Cyprus was declared to be by the
Council of Ephesus: whence it was always reckoned an
Autocephalus, or independent province, as has been more
fully proved^w in another place. All I have further to
observe of it here, is in reference to those fifteen dioceses that
we have found there, that they were large ones, if compared
with those of Palestine; for Cyprus is computed by Ferrarius

^w Book ii. chap. xviii. sect. ii.

170 miles long, and by others 200 ; which is more than Palestine. Baudrand reckons it 500 miles in compass; which, without inquiring any further into the particular distance of places, or largeness of the cities or villages, is sufficient to show that those dioceses were none of the least size, though short of some that we shall meet with in the Continent, as we take a view of the other provinces.

SECT. XI.—*Of the Dioceses of Syria Prima and Secunda.*

That which lay next to Cyprus was Syria, which anciently comprehended all the country betwixt the Mediterranean and Euphrates; but the Romans divided it into six provinces, Syria Prima and Secunda, Phœnicia Prima and Secunda, Theodorias and Euphratensis, otherwise called Hagiopolis and Comagene. The six provinces together are computed by geographers to be between three and four hundred miles in length, and two hundred broad, from the Mediterranean to the Euphrates: and the whole number of dioceses, in all the provinces, was about fifty-six; that is, but eight more than we found in Palestine. By which the reader may easily make a general estimate of the largeness of these, in comparison of the other in Palestine, by considering the dimensions of each country, and comparing them together. But I will speak a little more particularly of a few dioceses in these provinces. Syria Prima had anciently but six dioceses; and in the later *Notitiæ* we find only five. The metropolis was Antioch, one of the largest cities in the world. Chrysostom, who may be supposed to be a competent judge of its greatness, speaks sometimes of ten or twenty myriads^x, that is, an hundred or two hundred thousand people in it. And he makes this a part of his panegyric upon Ignatius, “That whereas it is a difficult

^x Chrysost. Hom. lxxxvi. in Matth. (tom. i. p. 893. C. edit. Francof.) Τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριτι εἰς δέκα μυριάδων ἀριθμὸν οἶμαι τοὺς ἐνταῦθα συναγομένους τελεῖν.—Id. Hom. xlii. in Ignat. tom. i. p. 567. (p. 501. C. Paris. 2, 597.) Εἶπω καὶ τέταρτον στέφανον ἐκ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἡμῖν ἀνίσχοντα ταύτης· τίς οὖν ἐστὶν οὗτος; τὸ τὴν πατρίδα αὐτὸν ἐπιτραπῆναι τὴν ἡμετέραν· ἐπίπονον μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἑκατὸν ἀνδρῶν καὶ πεντήκοντα προστῆναι μόνον· τὸ δὲ πόλιν ἐγχειρισθῆναι τοσαύτην, καὶ δῆμον εἰς εἴκοσι ἐκτεινόμενον μυριάδας, πόσης ἀρετῆς οἶε καὶ σοφίας ἀπόδειξιν εἶναι;

matter sometimes to govern an hundred or fifty men ; yet such was his wisdom and virtue, that St. Peter doubted not to commit to his care a city which had two hundred thousand people in it." The territory without the city was answerable to its greatness within ; for one way it reached two days' journeys, or fifty miles, to the territory of Cyrus, where Theodoret was bishop ; for Strabo^y says, these two territories joined one to another. There were many great villages like cities in this compass ; as Daphne, in the suburbs of Antioch ; Gindarus, in the borders of the diocese toward Cyrus. In Strabo's time, it was a city belonging to Cyrus, or Cyrestica. But I must note, that there seem to have been two places of that name, the one a city, the other a village ; for Strabo^z speaks of a Gindarus in the Regio Cyrestica, which he calls a city : and we find one Petrus Gindarensis subscribing among the bishops of Syria in the Council of Nice ; who was also among the bishops of the Council of Antioch which condemned Athanasius, as Holstenius^a and Schelstrate have observed, out of the subscriptions of these councils. Whence we may conclude, that Gindarus, mentioned by Strabo, was probably the same city whereof this Peter was bishop ; and that there was another Gindarus, a village in the time of Theodoret, belonging to Antioch, where Asterius the monk lived, of whom Theodoret^b speaks in his Religious History ; where he also

^y Strabo, lib. xvi. p. 751. (p. 1090. edit. Amstelod.) *Εἰτα ἡ Κυρηστικὴ μέχρι τῆς Ἀντιοχίδος.*

^z Ibid. *Ἐνταῦθα δ' ἐστὶ πόλις Γίνδαρος, ἀκρόπολις τῆς Κυρηστικῆς, καὶ ληστήριον εὐφύες.*

^a Holsten. Adnotat. Geog. p. 206. (p. 311, in Geog. Car. a S. Paulo, edit. Amst.) Gindarensis Syriæ Petrus Episc. etc.] Idem adfuit Concilio Antiocheno contra S. Athanasium.—Schelstrat. de Concil. Antioch. p. 93. Aliud quid est de Petro in Codice Corbeiensi post Alexandrum citato : licet enim in codicibus MSS. Colbertinis, Sangermanensi, Thuano, et Oxoniensi eodem modo hic Petrus referatur sine provincia et civitate, eum tamen ponit catalogus Antiochenæ synodi vulgatæ editionis sub provincia Syriæ Coeles, ubi, 'Petrus Gindarensis.' Hic et unus fuit ex cccxviii. patribus Nicænis, ut patet ex catalogo Nicæni Concilii, ubi subscriptus habetur tanquam Gindarensis episcopus.

^b Theodoret. Hist. Relig. Vit. Julian. (Schulze, vol. iii. p. 1126.) *Οὗτος χρόνοις πολλοῖς ὕστερον ὑπὸ τῆς θείας χάριτος προσκληθεὶς, ὥς ἂν καὶ ἑτέρους πολλοὺς εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν παιδοτριβήσειεν ἀρετὴν, ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὴν Γίνδαρον χωρίοις, κώμη δὲ αὕτη μεγίστη τελεῖν ὑπὸ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν τεταγμένα, τὴν ἀσκητικὴν παλαίστραν ἐπήξατο.*

mentions other villages ^c near Mount Amanus, in the territory of Antioch, which must be at a great distance from Antioch; for Mount Amanus was the northern limit of Syria. Berœa and Chalcis were large cities, twenty miles from one another. In the same province lay Seleucia Pieria, sixteen miles from Antioch, down the river Orontes, and five miles from the sea; which was compass enough to make a large diocese, though much inferior to the former.

In Syria Secunda, there were anciently seven bishoprics, and we find the same number in the later *Notitiæ* of the Church. Of these Apamea was the metropolis, a city which Theodoret ^d makes to be seventy-five miles from Antioch; and that it had a large territory and many villages, we learn from Strabo ^e and other ancient writers. Larissa, in this province, is computed by Ferrarius to be fourteen miles from Apamea, Arethusa sixteen from Epiphania, Epiphania eighteen from Larissa: so that, at least, twenty miles will be allotted to every diocese in the province.

SECT. XII.—*Of the Dioceses of Phœnicia Prima and Secunda.*

In Phœnicia Prima, some few cities, as I have observed before in speaking of Palestine, lay very near together, as Sycaminum and Porphyrium, whose dioceses could not be very large upon that account; but Tyre, and Sidon, and Berytus, were both large cities, and at a greater distance: for Tyre was twenty-five miles distant from Sidon on the one side, and as much or more from Ptolemais on the other side. Cotovicus ^f reckons it but twenty, but Ferrarius says it was two and thirty; and the city itself was very large, if we take Strabo's account; for he says ^g it filled an island that was nineteen

^c Theod. Vit. Symeon. p. 801. C. p. 808. B. Πολλὴν ἀνύσας ὁδὸν, ὅρος καταλαμβάνει τὸ καλούμενον Ἀμανόν. . . . Τοῦτο οὐ μόνον τοὺς περιοίκους ἐνέπλησε δείματος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἅπασαν, τὴν Ἀντιόχου λέγω· ὑπὸ ταύτην γὰρ τὸ χωρίον ἐτέλει.

^d Ibid. Epist. cxiii. †

^e Strabo, lib. xvi. p. 752. (p. 1091, edit. Amstelod.) Ἡ δ' Ἀπάμεια καὶ πόλιν ἔχει τὸ πλεον εὐερκεῖ. . . . χώρας εὐπορεῖ παμπόλλης εὐδαίμονος, δι' ἧς ὁ Ὀρόντης ῥεῖ, καὶ περιπολεῖ συχνὰ ἐν ταύτῃ.

^f Cotovic. Itin. lib. i. c. xx.

^g Strab. lib. xvi. †

miles in compass. Pliny^h agrees as to the bigness of the island, but makes the city only two and twenty furlongs. Sidon was also a large city, and not within twenty-five miles of any other. Baudrandⁱ makes it twenty-five from Tyre, and thirty-five from Berytus. Berytus was famous for the study of the civil law, and reckoned among the great and flourishing cities of the East; and it had no nearer neighbours than Sidon on the south, and Byblus on the north, which Ferrarius^j sets at thirty-four miles' distance from it. The dioceses in the other Phœnicia, toward Mount Libanus, were greater than the former: for here were some larger cities, and at a greater distance from one another. Among these was the great city Damascus, once the metropolis of the province, the largeness of which may be collected from what Josephus relates^k, how that the Damascenes slew there ten thousand Jews in one day. Emissa, the new metropolis, is accounted also a large city by Ammianus Marcellinus^l, who equals it to Tyre, and Sidon, and Berytus: and for their territories, we must judge of them by their distance from other places. Laodicea and Arethusa were the nearest neighbours to Emissa, and Ferrarius^m makes them sixteen miles distant from it. And we do not find Damascus pent up in narrower bounds,

^h Plin. lib. v. c. xix. (Paris 1543, p. 73.) Tyrus quondam insula, præalto mari septingentis passibus divisa. . . . Circuitus xix. mill. pass. est, intra Palætyro inclusa.

ⁱ Baudr. Lexic. voce *Sidon*, p. 193. Sidon urbs est Syriæ . . . xxxv. mill. pass. distat a Beryto in meridiem, uti lv. a Damasco in occasum.

^j Ferrar. Lexic. voce *Berytus*. (Baudrand. p. 115.) Berytus urbs archiepiscop. Phœnicie littoralis sub patr. Antiocheno, inter Byblum ad arctos xxxiv. et Sidonem in austrum xxx. mill. pass.

^k Joseph. de Bell. Jud. lib. ii. c. xxv. (Haverc. vol. ii. p. 206.) *Κάν τούτῳ Δαμασκηνοί, τήν τῶν Ῥωμαίων φθοράν πυθόμενοι, τοὺς παρ' ἑαυτοῖς Ἰουδαίους ἀνελεῖν ἐσπούδασαν . . . τοὺς δὲ Ἰουδαίους, ὡς ἂν ἐν στενῇ χωρίῳ, τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντας μυρίους, καὶ πάντας ἀνόπλους, ἐπελθόντες, ὑπὸ μίαν ὥραν ἀδεῶς ἔσφαξαν.*

^l Amm. Marcell. lib. xiv. c. viii. (Ernesti, 1773, p. 22.) Phœnice regio plena gratiarum et venustatis, urbibus decorata magnis et pulchris: in quibus amœnitate celebritateque nominum Tyrus excellit, Sidon et Berytus, iisdemque pares Emissa et Damascus, sæculis conditæ priscis.

^m Ferrar. Lexic. voce *Emissa*. (Baudrand. p. 269.) Emisa, Emissa Ptolemæo, urbs Syriæ archiepiscopalis sub patriarcha Antiocheno, inter Arethusam et Laodiceam xvi. mill. pass.

for it was surrounded with Abyla, and Jabruda, and Cæsarea Philippi, the last of which Ferrariusⁿ reckons twenty-six miles from it. Abyla was the head of a region, thence called Abylene, which gave the denomination of a tetrarch to Lysanias, as St. Luke informs us: whence we may collect there was a considerable territory belonging to it. Here was also the great city Palmyra, the head of another region, thence called Palmyrene, of which it is reasonable to make the same conclusion: though I have nothing more particular to remark of the extent of these regions, save that Abyla is reckoned thirty-two miles from Heliopolis, another noted city in this province, and one of its nearest neighbours, as Ferrarius, out of Antonine's Itinerary, computes their distance.

SECT. XIII.—Of Theodorias.

In the province of Theodorias, between Syria Prima and Phœnicia on the sea-coast, there were but three dioceses: Laodicea the metropolis, Balanea, and Gabala; and the same are mentioned in Goar's *Notitia* and others. Now the distance of these places may be seen in Antonine's Itinerary. Balanæa was twenty-four miles from Antaradus, in Phœnicia; Gabala, twenty-seven miles from Balanæa, which Ferrarius calls twenty-four, according to modern accounts; and Laodicea, the metropolis, was eighteen from Balanæa; and their territories extended further other ways.

SECT. XIV.—Of Euphratesia, or Comagene.

In the province of Euphratesia, or Comagene, there were anciently thirteen dioceses, and but one more in later *Notitiæ*. Here were several large cities, as Hierapolis, the metropolis of the province, and Samosata, on the Euphrates, which both Josephus^o and Ammianus Marcellinus^p describe as a great

ⁿ Ferrar. Lexic. voce *Heliopolis*. (Baudrand. p. 342.) Heliopolis . . . urbs Phœnicis, ad Libanum montem inter Laodiceam lx. et Damascum lxx. mill. pass. ab Abyla xxxii.

^o Joseph. de Bell. Jud. lib. vii. c. xxvii. (Haverc. vol. ii. p. 420.) Τὰ Σαμό-
σατα τῆς Κομμαγενῆς μεγίστη πόλις.

^p Amm. Marcell. lib. xiv. c. viii. (p. 22.) Prima post Osdroënam . . . Commagena, nunc Euphratensis, clementer adsurgit; Hierapoli, vetere Nino, et Samosata, civitatibus amplis illustris.

and magnificent city. But the largest diocese for extent of territory in these parts was that of Cyrus, where Theodoret was bishop, who gives a most particular account of it. He says in one place ^a it was forty miles in length, and forty in breadth; and that there were above six myriads, or threescore thousand ζυγά, or *juga*, of land in it. Now, a *jugum* of land was not 'a single acre,' as some learned men mistake, but 'as much land as a yoke of oxen could plough in a year,' and the Roman taxes were raised by such proportions of land; whence the ordinary tax upon land was styled *jugatio* in the civil law, as I have had occasion to note ^r in another place: so that threescore thousand *juga*, according to this account, will make a far greater diocese, than if we should understand it of single acres only. And that we may not think this was barren and unoccupied land, Theodoret, in another place, specifies what number of churches and parishes he had in his diocese, which he says ^s were eight hundred, some of which were overrun with the heresies of Marcion, Arius, and Eunomius, when he came to the diocese; but he converted above ten thousand of one sect only, viz. Marcionites ^t, to the Catholic faith, and of others some thousands more: all which arguments agree to make it one of the largest dioceses of the East, as Blondel ^u

^a Theodoret. Ep. xlii. (Sirmond. 8vo. vol. iv. p. 1101.) Τῆς ἡμετέρας χώρας τεσσαράκοντα μὲν σημείων τὸ μῆκός ἐστι, τοσοῦτον δὲ τὸ εὖρος . . . τοῦτο τῆς χώρας τὸ μέτρον πέντε μὲν μυριάδας ἔχει ζυγῶν ἐλευθερικῶν, μύρια δὲ πρὸς τούτοις ἕτερα ταμιακά.—Ep. xlvii. Τῷ ὄντι γὰρ βαρυτάτην μὲν ἀπογραφὴν ὑπὲρ πάσας τῆς ἐπαρχίας τὰς πόλεις ἢ ἡμετέρα πόλεις ἐδέξατο· πάσης γὰρ πόλεως κουφισθείσης, μεμένηκεν αὕτη μέχρι καὶ τήμερον ὑπὲρ ἑξ μυριάδων καὶ δισχιλίων εἰσφέρουσα ζυγῶν.

^r See Book v. chap. iii. sect. iii.

^s Theodoret. Epist. cxiii. ad Leon. (Sirmond. 8vo. vol. iv. p. 1190.) Τῆς θείας μοι χάριτος συνεργησάσης πλείους μὲν ἢ χιλίας ψυχὰς ἠλευθέρωσα τῆς Μαρκίωνος νόσου, πολλοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἐκ τῆς Ἀρείου καὶ Εὐνομίου συμμορίας προσήγαγον τῷ δεσπότῃ Χριστῷ· καὶ ἐν ὀκτακοσίαις ἐκκλησίαις ἔλαχον ποιμαίνειν, τοσαύτας γὰρ ἡ Κύρρος παροικίας ἔχει, κ. τ. λ.

^t Id. Ep. cxlv. p. 1252. Ἐγὼ θρηνῶ καὶ ὀδύρομαι, ὅτι ὃς πρῶην τοῖς τῶν Μαρκίωνος τὴν λύμην δεξαμένοις προσέφερον ἀποδείξεις, καὶ πλείους ἢ μυρίους διὰ τῆς θείας χάριτος πείσας προσήγαγον τῷ παναγίῳ βαπτίσματι, ταύτας νῦν τοῖς νομισθεῖσιν ὁμοπίστοις ἢ ἐπισκήψασα νόσος προσφέρειν καταναγκάζει.

^u Blondel. Apol. p. 185. Octingentas curæ suæ commissas ecclesias Theodoretus refert: quis autem Ptolemæo Aristeriam, Regiam, Rubam, Heracleam,

ingenuously confesses it to be; though some others would fain insinuate the whole story to be a fiction, when yet all circumstances concur to give it the clearest evidences of truth. They who would see objections answered, may consult Bishop Stillingfleet^w or Dr. Maurice^x, who have particularly considered the exceptions that have been raised against it. As to the other cities of this province, Doliche, Germanicia, Nicopolis, Zeugma, Cæsarea, &c. some of them were but small cities, as Doliche, which Theodoret speaks of^y with the diminutive title of *πολίχνη σμικρὰ*, 'a very small city.' But they might have large dioceses, as Cyrus had, which itself was neither a great city nor very well inhabited, but had a diocese larger than many other cities which were ten times the bigness of it.

SECT. XV.—*Of Osrhoena and Mesopotamia.*

In the Roman provinces beyond the Euphrates, (which some call by the general name of Mesopotamia, because it lay between the two rivers, Tigris and Euphrates; but the Romans divided it into two provinces, Osrhoena, on the banks of Euphrates, and Mesopotamia, toward the Tigris,) there are so few dioceses to be found in ancient records, that to me it seems probable that our accounts are very imperfect, for the whole number in both provinces is but sixteen, whereas in the later *Notitiæ* there are sixteen in Osrhoena alone, and in the other provinces thirty-five more, which makes it probable that ancient accounts are here defective. Otherwise we must say, that these dioceses were extremely large, for Baudrand makes the country four hundred and twenty miles long, and two hundred and seventy broad: which, divided into sixteen dioceses, would make them all of great extent. But the country seems not to have been all converted: for the Roman cities were only such as lay by the banks of the rivers,

Niaram, etc. inter Cyresticæ πόλεις memorante, unicam in toto illo ecclesiarum numero, quæ 'urbis' nomen meretur, Cyrum fuisse somniet?

^w Stillingfleet's Unreasonableness of Separation, pp. 258—262.

^x Maurice's Defence of Dioces. Episc. p. 396.

^y Theodoret. lib. v. c. iv. (Aug. T. p. 176. A 10.) 'Ο δὲ θεῖος Εὐσέβιος ἔσχατον ἐπίσκοπον Μάριν τῇ Δολιχῇ κεχειροτόνηκε· πολίχνη δὲ αὕτη σμικρὰ, καὶ τῆς Ἀρειανικῆς νόσου κατ' ἐκείνο τοῦ καιροῦ μετελήφει.

and chiefly upon the Euphrates. I shall therefore make no other estimate of them, than by the certain light we have of them in ancient history ; from which it is clear that some of them were, at least, such episcopal dioceses as were in all other parts of the world, that is, cities with country regions and village Churches. This is evident from what Epiphanius observes of Caschara, one of the cities of Mesopotamia, that beside the bishop's see it had village Churches and presbyters incumbent on them in the third century ; for speaking^z of Manes, the heretic, the first founder of the Manichees, he says, “ When he had been baffled at a public disputation by Archelaus, bishop of Caschara, and had like to have been stoned by the people, he fled to Diodoris, a village belonging to Carchara, where one Tryphon was presbyter, whom he challenged to a new disputation.” And if the lesser cities had such kind of dioceses, we may readily conclude the same of Nisibis, the metropolis, which was so large a city as to be able to defend itself sometimes against all the power of the Persian empire, being, as Sozomen^a observes of it, in a manner all Christian in the time of the Emperor Julian. Edessa, the metropolis of the other province of Osrhoena, was also a very large city, and the royal seat of Abgarus, who lived in our Saviour's time, and by whose means it is generally thought to be converted very early to Christianity ; and so it might, perhaps, from the very first have several churches in it. However, in after-ages we are sure it had ; for Sozomen, speaking of the persecution under Valens, the Arian emperor, says, “ He took away all the churches within the city, among which^b

^z Epiphanius. Hæres. lxvi. Manich. num. xi. (Colon. vol. i. p. 627.) Ἐντεῦθεν ὁ Μάνης ἀποδράσας, βουλομένων αὐτὸν λιθοβολῆσαι . . . ἀναχωρήσας δὲ ἔρχεται εἰς κώμην τινὰ τῆς Καρχάρων εἰς Διοδωρίδα καλουμένην, ἐν ᾗ Τρύφων τις ἐπιεικέστατος κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ ἐτύγχανε τῶν αὐτόθι πρεσβύτερος, κ. τ. λ.

^a Sozomen. lib. v. c. iii. (Aug. T. 1747. p. 168. D.) Ἀμέλει τοι προσδοκωμένων τότε Περσῶν ἐπιστρατεύειν, πρεσβευομένοις περὶ τοῦτο Νισιβηνοῖς, ὥς παντελῶς Χριστιανίζουσι, καὶ μήτε τοὺς ναοὺς ἀνοίγουσι, μήτε εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ φοιτῶσιν, ἠπέλιψε μὴ βοηθεῖν, μήτε πρεσβείαν δέχεσθαι, καὶ ὥς ἐναγοῦς τῆς αὐτῶν πολέως μὴ ἐπιβήσεσθαι πρότερον, εἰ μὴ πύθοιτο εἰς Ἑλληνισμὸν μεταβαλόντας.

^b Ibid. lib. vi. c. xviii. (p. 221. A 4.) Μαθὼν ἐν Ἐδέσῃ εὐκτῆριον ἐπιφανὲς εἶναι Θωμᾶ τοῦ ἀποστόλου ἐπώνυμον, ἦλθε τοῦτο ἱστορῆσαι ἀφαιρεθέντων

that of St. Thomas was one : so that the people were forced to assemble in gardens without the city for divine service."

SECT. XVI.—*Of Armenia Persica.*

Beside these provinces mentioned by Carolus a Sancto Paulo, there were some other countries out of the bounds of the Roman empire, which had the same form of episcopal government ; upon which, therefore, it will not be amiss to make a few strictures, whilst we are speaking of the Eastern provinces. That which we now call Armenia Magna, was anciently called Armenia Persica, because it belonged not to the Roman, but to the Persian empire. Here were, also, bishops in the time of Theodoret, as appears from some of his epistles : for writing to one Eulalius, a bishop, he styles him ^c, for distinction sake, τῆς Περσικῆς Ἀρμενίας, bishop 'of the Persian Armenia ;' and another epistle ^d is directed to one Eusebius, a bishop of the same region. By which it is plain, there were bishops in that country in Theodoret's time, but how many we cannot learn from him, or any other ancient writer. Otho Frisingensis ^e, and Baronius ^f, and some other modern writers, talk much of the Catholic of Armenia that sent to submit himself to the pope in the twelfth century, having a thousand bishops under him ; but, as Mr. Brerewood ^g rightly observes, if the whole story be not a fiction,

δὲ κἀνταῦθα τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν οἰκῶν, θεασάμενος ἐν πεδίῳ πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεος συνηγμένους τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς καθόλου ἐκκλησίας, λέγεται τὸν καθόλου ὑπαρχόν λαιδορήσασθαι, καὶ πύξ κατὰ τῆς σιαγόνος πληῆξαι, ὥς παρὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ πρόσταξιν συγχωρήσαντα γενέσθαι τοιαύτας συνόδους.

^c Theodoret. Epist. lxxvii. ad Eulal. Εὐλαλίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ τῆς Περσικῆς Ἀρμενίας.

^d Ibid. Ep. lxxviii. (vol. iv. p. 1131.) Εὐσεβίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ τῆς Περσικῆς Ἀρμενίας.

^e Otto Frising. lib. vii. c. xxxii. Ea tempestate, legati Armeniorum episcoporum, eorumque metropolitani, quem ipsi Catholicon, id est, universalem, propter infinitum, id est, amplius quam mille episcoporum sub se habentem numerum, vocant, legati ab ultimo pæne Oriente summum pontificem Viterbii, laboriosum iter per annum et sex menses complentes, adeunt, eique ex parte illius ecclesiæ subjectionem omnimodam, eum consalutando offerentes, causas viæ, nobis cum aliis multis præsentibus, apud veterem aulam aperiunt, etc.

^f Baron. an 1195, n. xxx. (tom. xii. p. 314, edit. Antverp. 1629.) Ubi ista Ottonis verba exscripta leguntur.

^g Brerewood's Inquiries, c. xxiv.

Otho must needs mistake obedience for communion: for the Catholic of Armenia might have a great number of the Jacobite bishops in his communion, but there could not be so many in Armenia under his jurisdiction. For the modern *Notitia* mentions but nineteen bishops in this Armenia, as the reader will find in the seventh chapter of this Book, and it is not probable they should multiply from twenty to a thousand in an age or two. However this story has no relation to the state of the Church in the primitive ages, about which the present inquiry is only concerned.

SECT. XVII.—*Of Assyria, or Adiabene, and Chaldæa.*

We have some further account of the Churches in other parts also of the Persian dominions, beyond the river Tigris, in Adiabene, which is a region of Assyria, and in Babylonia or Chaldæa, in which we find two large cities, Seleucia and Ctesiphon, under one bishop. These were the royal seats of the Persian kings, and but three miles from each other, as Pliny^h and Ferrarius after him compute, though others place them at a greater distance. Seleucia is by some said to be the same as Mosul, the present seat of the patriarch of the Nestorians; but anciently they were both but one diocese, as we learn from Sozomenⁱ, who styles Symeon archbishop of Ctesiphon and Seleucia, under Saporess, king of Persia, who lived in the time of Constantine. There were other bishops, also, in these parts at the same time, some of which suffered martyrdom together with Symeon, as the same author informs us^k. He also men-

^h Plin. lib. vi. c. xxvi. (Paris. 1543. p. 95.) *Cætero circuitu in solitudinem rediit (Babylon) exhausta vicinitate Seleuciæ, ob id conditæ a Nicatore intra nonagesimum lapidem, in confluente Euphratis fossa perducti atque Tigris: quæ tamen Babylonia cognominatur, libera hodie ac sui juris, Macedonumque moris . . . Invicem ad hanc exhauriendam, Ctesiphontem juxta tertium ab ea lapidem in Chalonitide condidere Parthi, quod nunc est caput regni.*

ⁱ Sozom. lib. ii. c. ix. (Aug. T. p. 52. D 8.) *Διαβάλλουσι πρὸς Σαβώρην, τὸν τότε βασιλέα, Συμεώνην τὸν τότε ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Σελευκείας καὶ Κτησιφῶντος, τῶν ἐν Περσίδι βασιλευουσῶν πόλεων, ὡς φίλον ὄντα τῷ Καίσαρι Ῥωμαίων.*

^k Ibid. lib. ii. c. x. (p. 54. D 11.) *Κατὰ δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν, ὁμοίως ἀναιρεθῆναι προσετάχθησαν καὶ ἄλλοι ἑκατὸν ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ ὄντες. τελευταῖον δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐπισφαγῆναι Συμεώνην, τὸν πάντων θάνατον θεασά-*

tions one Acepsimas, a bishop in the region of Adiabene, and twenty-three more, whose names are there recorded, as suffering martyrdom about the same time¹ in several parts of the Persian empire. And what sort of dioceses they had, we may conjecture from what Sozomen^m says of one of them, named Bichor, "that he suffered martyrdom, together with Maureandus, his *chorepiscopus*, and two hundred and fifty more of the clergy that were under him." Such a number of the clergy, and a *chorepiscopus* among them, seem to bespeak a pretty large diocese; and if the rest were answerable to this, we may conclude the bishops were all of the same species as we have seen in all the Eastern nations.

SECT. XVIII.—*Of the Immireni in Persia, and Homeritæ in Arabia Felix.*

Theodorus Lectorⁿ speaks of another nation converted to Christianity in the time of Anastasius, the emperor, whom he names Immireni, and says, "they were subjects of the Persian empire, and dwelt in the most southern parts of their dominions." Whether they had above one bishop is not certain;

μενον· ἦσαν δὲ τούτων οἱ μὲν, ἐπίσκοποι· οἱ δὲ, πρεσβύτεροι καὶ ἄλλοι ἄλλων κληρικῶν ταγμάτων.

¹ Ibid. lib. ii. c. xiii. (p. 56.) Ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον καὶ Ἀκεψιμᾶν τὸν ἐπίσκοπον συνελάβοντο, καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὸν κληρικῶν· (C 10.) ἐπίσκοποι δὲ ὦν ἐπυθόμην, Βαρβασύμης καὶ Παῦλος, καὶ Γαδδιάβης καὶ Σαβῖνος, καὶ Μαρέας καὶ Μώκιος, καὶ Ἰωάννης καὶ Ὀρμήσδας, Πάπας τε καὶ Ἰάκωβος, καὶ Ῥώμας καὶ Μάαρης, καὶ Ἄγας καὶ Βόχρης, καὶ Ἀβδᾶς καὶ Ἀβδησοῦς, Ἰωάννης τε καὶ Ἀβράμιος, καὶ Ἀγδελᾶς καὶ Σαβώρης καὶ Ἰσαὰκ, καὶ Δαῦσας, κ. τ. λ. Vid. sub seq. lit. (m).

^m Ibid. lib. ii. c. xiii. [Ex sequentibus Sozomeni verbis patet, episcopi nomen non fuisse Bichorem, sed Dausam; nec chorepiscopi Maureandum, sed Mareabden; adeoque cl. Binghamus in utroque nomine errasse mihi videtur. Sic autem Sozomenus proxime post ultima verba sub lit. (l) adlata, habet: Καὶ Δαῦσας, ὃς αἰχμάλωτος ἦν γενόμενος ὑπὸ Περσῶν ἀπὸ Ζαβδαίου χωρίου ὧδε προσαγορευομένου· κατ' ἐκεῖνο δὲ καιροῦ ὑπὲρ τοῦ δόγματος τέθνηκεν, ἅμα Μαρεάβδῃ χωρεπισκόπῳ, καὶ κληρικοῖς τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτὸν, ἀμφὶ διακοσίους πεντήκοντα, οἱ παρὰ Περσῶν αἰχμάλωτοι συνελήφθησαν. Grischow.]

ⁿ Theodor. Lect. lib. ii. sect. lviii. (Aug. T. p. 526.) Ἰμμιρηνοὶ ἐστὶν ἔθνος τελούν ὑπὸ Πέρσας· οἰκοῦσι δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἐσχατιαῖς τοῦ νότου· Ἰουδαῖοι δὲ ὑπῆρχον ἀνέκαθεν, ἐκ τῆς ἐλθούσης πρὸς Σολομῶντα βασιλίδος τοῦ νότου ἐγένοντο ἐθνικοί. Οἱ αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐπὶ Ἀναστασίου ἐχριστιάνισαν, καὶ ἐπίσκοπον ἔλαβον.

for only one is mentioned as set over them upon their conversion. And it might be with them as it was with some other barbarous people, Goths, Saracens, &c., that one bishop served the whole nation. Valesius^o confounds this people with the Homeritæ, whom Bochart^p and others more truly place in Arabia Felix, toward the South Sea. Baronius^q supposes the Homerites first converted to the Christian faith about the year 354, at the same time that the Indians, or Ethiopians, were converted in the reign of Constantius. But we have no account, then, of what bishops were settled among them; but in the beginning of the sixth age, we find the Christian religion in a flourishing condition there, till one Dunaan, an apostate Jew, having gotten the kingdom, raised a great persecution against the Church, especially at Nargan, where one Arethas was a petty king, subject, as many other small *reguli* were, to the kingdom of the Homerites, whom he barbarously destroyed, with all his people. But this cloud quickly blowing over, by the assistance of Justin, the Roman emperor, and Elesban, king of Ethiopia, who conquered Dunaan^r, the government fell again into the hands of a Christian king, in whose time Gregentius, archbishop of Tephra, the royal city, is said to have had that famous disputation with Herbanus, the Jew, the result of which was the conversion of an incredible number of Jews in that region. Here I chiefly observe that Gregentius is styled archbishop of Tephra; which implies, that he had suffragan bishops under him. And in the

^o Vales. in h. l. Ἱμμερηνοί. Ego Homeritas esse existimo. Omnia enim quæ Immirenis tribuit Theodorus, Homeritis plane conveniunt. Etenim Homeritæ ad extremos fines habitant oceani meridiani, et metropolim habent Saba; ejus loci regina olim ad Salomonem visendum profecta est. Præterea, origine sunt Judæi, orti ex Chettura Abrahamæ. Postea vero ad superstitionem gentilium desciverunt, ut docet Philostorgius, lib. iii. Histor. Ecclesiasticæ.

^p Bochart. Geog. Sacr. lib. ii. c. xv. (p. 111. C. D. E. p. 112. A. B. C. D. edit. Francof. ad Mœnum, 1681, 4to.)

^q Baron. ad an. 354, n. xiv. (Lucæ, vol. iv. p. 526.) (p. 683, tom. iii. edit. Antverp. 1624.) Homeritæ, ad quos a Constantio legatum missum esse Theophilum ait (Nicephorus), jam antea acceperant evangelium, nec non alii adjacentes Indorum populi, prædicatione primo Apostolorum, Bartholomæi, Thomæ, ac Matthæi, qui Æthiopibus prædicavit, deinde Pantheni, ac novissime Frumentii et Ædisii, qui sub Constantino Indis evangelium adnuntiarunt.

^r Acta Martyr. Homeritar. apud Baron. ad an. 522, 309, et an. 523.

relation of his death, at the end ^s of the Dispute, it is added, "that both bishops, priests, and deacons, were gathered together to attend his funeral." By which it appears, that the state of that Church, so far as we have any account of it, was conformable to other Churches.

SECT. XIX.—*Of Bishops among the Saracens in Arabia.*

We have some few intimations, also, given us of Churches planted anciently among the Saracens in Arabia, which were never under the Roman empire. Hilarion is said by some ^t to have begun the conversion of this nation, but it was not completed till Mauvia, queen of the Saracens, made it a condition of her making peace with the Romans in the time of Valentinian, that they should send her one Moses, a famous monk, to be the bishop of her nation, which was accordingly done: and so he became the first bishop of that region of the Saracens, as Ruffin ^u, and Socrates ^w, and the other historians,

^s Gregent. Disput. cum Herban. (Bibl. Patr. Gr. Lat. tom. i. p. 272. E.) Ἐτάφη δὲ ἐν τῷ κοιμητηρίῳ τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας, ἀθροισθέντων ἐκεῖσε ἐπισκόπων, ἱερέων, διακόνων, μοναζόντων μυριοπληθῶν ἐπὶ τῇ κηδεῖᾳ αὐτοῦ, πολλὰ θρηνοῦντων καὶ ἀποδυρομένων τὴν στέρησιν αὐτοῦ.

^t Baron. an. 372, n. 103. (Lucæ, vol. v. p. 392.) Jecerat jam ante fundamenta fidei apud Sarracenos S. Hilarion abbas, qui (ut testatur S. Hieronymus) multos Sarracenorum arreptos a dæmone frequenter liberavit, cultuique Veneris addictæ gentis illius sacerdotem convertit ad fidem: qui quidem nec ipsum Hilarionem abire passi sunt ante quam futuræ ecclesiæ lineam mitteret. Qui ergo adeo magna ab Hilarione sunt consequuti; eo defuncto, illi parem quæsierunt dari sibi hominem episcopum orthodoxum. At quomodo res se habuerit, Ruffinum audiamus auctorem, 'Dum,' inquit, 'Lucius,' etc. Vid. sub lit. seq. (u).

^u Ruffin. lib. ii. c. vi. Dum Lucius omni arrogantia et sævitia ageret, Mauvia, Saracenorum gentis regina, vehementi bello Palæstini et Arabici limitis oppida atque urbes quater, vicinasque simul vastare provincias cœpit. Quumque frequentibus bellis Romanum attrivisset exercitum, et plurimis peremtis, reliquos vertisset in fugam, orata pace, non aliter se amplexuram promittit, nisi Moyses quidam nomine, monachus, gentis suæ ordinaretur episcopus. Qui in eremo, partibus suis propinqua, vitam solitariam ducens, merito et virtutibus ac signis, quæ faciebat Deus per illum, magnifice innotuerat. Petitio ejus principi indicata Romano, sine ulla dilatione jubetur impleri a ducibus nostris, qui ibi infelicer pugnauerant. Captus Moyses ad sacerdotium suscipiendum Alexandriam, ex more, deducitur. Adest Lucius, cui ordinandi ferebatur officium. Quo viso, Moyses præsentibus ducibus, qui perurgebant, et populis, ait: 'Ego quidem me non esse dignum tanto sacerdotio judico: verum tamen si aliqua in me, licet

inform us. Sozomen also adds, that “one Zocomos, another *regulus*, or ‘petty prince’ of another region of the Saracens, being converted by a monk, brought over all his subjects to the Christian faith.” Theodorus Lector^x likewise mentions another of these Saracen princes, named Alamundarus, who embraced the faith in the reign of the Emperor Anastasius (an. 513); and Cyril, of Scythopolis, who wrote the Lives of Euthymius and Sabas, takes notice also of a plantation of Saracens under the Roman government in Palestine^y, over whom one Peter, a converted Saracen, who had before been their captain, was made the first bishop by Juvenal, bishop of Jerusalem, about the middle of the fifth century. Now, we are to observe, that as these Saracens were thus divided into little nations (after the manner of the Arabians), and had each their *regulus*, or ‘petty prince;’ so they seem each to have had their proper bishop, one to a nation, and no more. And, therefore, in councils we find them usually subscribing them-

indigno, divina dispensatio putatur explenda, Deum nostrum, coeli ac terræ Dominum testor, quod Lucius sanctorum sanguine pollutas et cruentas super me non injiciet manus.’ Quumque Lucius tam gravi nota inustum se videret in oculis plurimorum, ‘Quare,’ inquit, ‘o Moyses, tam facile condemnas eum, cujus fidem ignoras? Aut si tibi aliquis de me aliter indicavit, audi fidem meam et tibi ipsi magis quam aliis crede.’ Tunc ille: ‘Desine,’ inquit, ‘o Luci, dolosis tuis me quoque imaginibus adgredi. Bene mihi nota est fides tua, quam protestantur servi Dei per metalla damnati episcopi, in exilium trusi presbyteri, diaconi extra Christiani nominis habitacula relegati, bestiis alii, alii etiam ignibus traditi. Numquid potest verior esse fides, quæ auribus capitur, quam quæ oculis pervidetur? Apud me certum est, quod qui Christo recte credunt, ista non faciunt.’ Et ita Lucius majore dedecore deformatus (quoniam perurgebat necessitas reipublicæ consulendi) compulsus est acquiescere, ut ab episcopis, quos in exilium truserat, sacerdotium sumeret. Quo suscepto, et gentis ferocissimæ pacem tenuit, et fidei Catholicæ custodivit intemerata consortia.

^w Socrat. lib. iv. c. xxxvi. tot.—Theodoret. lib. iv. c. xxiii. tot.—Sozom. lib. vi. c. xxxviii. ab initio ad medium usque.

^x Theodor. Lect. lib. ii. p. 523. Ἀλαμουνδάρου τοῦ φυλάρχου Σαρακηνῶν Χριστιανίζοντος, κ. τ. λ.

^y Cyril. Vit. Euthym. ap. Baron. an. 420, p. 481. (p. m. 487.) Quum usque adeo multiplicarentur filii Agar, et ad veram traducerentur nobilitatem et in diversas excrescerent copias; mittit divinus Euthymius ad Juvenalem patriarcham Hierosolymitanum, postulans, ut eis ordinaretur episcopus. Ille vero mittit ad eum Petrum, patrem Terebonis (olim Aspebetum dictum, vid. p. 486), ut qui esset idoneus præesse animabus et deducere ad salutem. . . . Petrus ergo sic primus ordinatur episcopus, qui erat in Palæstina.

selves rather by the title of their nation, *Episcopus Gentis Saracenorum*, than any other way ; which I take to be an indication, not that all the Saracens in the world had but one bishop, but that every petty nation had a bishop of its own, though it is hard to distinguish sometimes which family or tribe of them is meant by that general title. In the second Council of Ephesus^z one Auxilius is styled *Episcopus Saracenorum Fœderatorum*, among the bishops of Palestine ; whence it is easy to conclude, there is meant the same Saracens that Cyril speaks of, who were confederate with the Romans, or under the Roman government. But in other places we are left to guess what Saracens may be meant, since they were divided into several petty nations ; and more than one nation of them, as we have seen, were converted to the Christian faith.

SECT. XX.—*Bishops of the Axumites, or Indians beyond Egypt.*

There is one Eastern country more, famous for its conversion by Ædesius and Frumentius, in the time of Athanasius ; but yet learned men are not agreed where to place it. The ancient historians, Ruffin^a, Socrates^b, and the rest that relate the story, commonly call it *India Interior*, the ‘ Inner India ;’

^z Conc. Ephes. II. in Act. i. Conc. Chalced. (tom. iv. p. 118. E 6.) Αὐξιλίου Σαρακηνῶν τῶν ὑποσπόνδων.

^a Ruffin. lib. i. c. ix. Metrodorus, quidam philosophus, inspicendorum locorum et orbis perscrutandi gratia, ulteriorem dicitur Indiam penetrasse. Cujus exemplo etiam invitatus Meropius, quidam Tyrius philosophus, simili ex causa adire Indiam voluit, habens secum duos puerulos, quos liberalibus litteris utpote propinquos instituebat. Quorum unus, qui erat junior, Edesius ; alter Frumentius vocabatur, etc.

^b Socrat. lib. i. c. xix. (p. 43.) Αὐθις ἦν μνημονευτέον καὶ ὅπως ἐπὶ τῶν καιρῶν τοῦ βασιλείως ὁ Χριστιανισμὸς ἐπλατύνετο· τηνικαῦτα γὰρ Ἰνδῶν τε τῶν ἐνδοτέρῳ καὶ Ἰβήρων τὰ ἔθνη, πρὸς τὸ Χριστιανίζειν ἐλάβανε τὴν ἀρχήν· τίνος δὲ ἕνεκεν τῇ προσθήκῃ τῶν ἐνδοτέρῳ ἐχρησάμην, διὰ βραχέων ἔρῳ· ἠνίκα οἱ ἀπόστολοι κλήρω τὴν εἰς τὰ ἔθνη πορείαν ἐποιοῦντο, Θωμᾶς μὲν τὴν Πάρθων ἀποστολὴν ὑπεδέχετο· Ματθαῖος δὲ τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν· Βαρθολομαῖος δὲ ἐκκληροῦτο τὴν συνημμένην ταύτῃ Ἰνδίαν· τὴν μέντοι ἐνδοτέρῳ Ἰνδίαν, ἣ προσοικεῖ βαρβάρων ἔθνη πολλὰ, διαφόροις χρώμενα γλώσσαις, οὐδέπω πρὸ τῶν Κωνσταντίνου χρόνων ὁ τοῦ Χριστιανισμοῦ λόγος ἐφώτιζε, κ. τ. λ.

whence Carolus a Sancto Paulo^c, and Baronius^d, and many others, take it for granted that they mean India within Ganges; the other part without Ganges having been converted before (as they think) by the apostle, St. Bartholomew. But Holstenius^e and Valesius^f correct this mistake; and Bishop Pearson^g has more fully proved that the India they speak of

^c Carol. a S. Paulo, Geog. Sacr. p. 268. (p. 258, edit. Amstel. 1711.) Quod ad Indiam, scilicet interiorem, pertinet, nam exteriorem Antiocheno paruisse, certum est, etc.

^d Baron. Not. in Martyr. die 27 Octobr. (Paris, 1607, p. 418.) Vixit iisdem temporibus alius Frumentius, episcopus Auxumeos in Ægypto, ordinatus a S. Athanasio, confessione clarus: multa enim passus est ab Arianis ob tuendam Catholicam fidem.

^e Holsten. Not. in Carol. a S. Paulo, Geog. p. 171. (p. m. 258.) Fallitur, fallitque in hujus Indiæ nomine et situ explicando, sicuti etiam Baronius ad Martyrologium Romanum, die 27 Octobris. Nam India illa, in quam Frumentius missus fuit a S. Athanasio, est Æthiopia sub Ægypto, cujus metropolis celeberrima fuit Axumis, et sic Indiam illam Æthiopiæ finitimam vocat Socrates, quæ toto cælo ab Asiatica, sive Gangetica distat.

^f Vales. Not. in Socrat. lib. i. c. xix. (p. 45.) Baronius in adnotationibus ad Martyrologium Romanum, Frumentium hunc Auxumis episcopum distinguendum esse ducit ab altero Frumentio Indorum episcopo; de quo Ruffinus et Socrates loquuntur. Ego vero unum eundemque Frumentium esse contendo, eum, qui Auxumis, et eum qui Indorum episcopus dicitur. Auxumis enim metropolis est Æthiopiæ. Æthiopes autem ab antiquis confundi solunt cum Indis, etc.

^g Pearson. Vindic. Ignat. part. ii. c. xi. p. 332. Etsi Ruffinus ita historiam pertextat, quasi in Indiam ulteriorem et orientalem Frumentius perrexisset; constat tamen, Indiam eam fuisse Ægypto proximiorum et Æthiopiæ partem. Indi enim Æthiopes antiquitus appellabantur, ut apud Virgilium de Nilo:

Usque coloratis amnis devexus ab Indis.

Ad hanc autem Indiam Frumentium primo pervenisse constat: ex illa Alexandriam rediit, in eandem rursus etiam missus est, et ab Athanasio ordinatus episcopus Auxumeos. Erat autem Axumis Æthiopum metropolis. Stephanus de urbibus, Ἀξουμίτης, ἀρσενικῶς, μητρόπολις Αἰθιοπῶν. Apud Arrianum in Periplo maris Erythræi (quod Procopio Gazensi θάλασσα Ἰνδική vocatur) ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν μητρόπολιν τὸν Ἀξωμίτην λεγόμενον ἄλλων ἡμερῶν πέντε. Nonnasus apud Photium, ἡ δὲ Ἀξουμα πόλις ἐστὶ μέγιστη, καὶ οἶον μητρόπολις τῆς ὅλης Αἰθιοπίας. Et clarius ad huc Procopius, Persicorum lib. i. Ὁμηριτῶν δὲ καταντικρὺ μάλιστα ἐν τῇ ἀντιπέρας ἡπείρῳ Αἰθίοπες οἰκοῦσιν, οἱ Ἀξωμεῖται ἐπικαλοῦνται, ὅτι δὲ αὐτοῖς τὰ βασιλεία ἐστὶν ἐν Ἀξώμιδι πόλει. Erat igitur Axumis metropolis Æthiopiæ, et in ea Æthiopum regia posita fuit. Ad hanc igitur Axumim et hanc Indiam, quæ pars est Æthiopiæ Ægypto proxima: non ad Indiam intra Gangem aut ad Axumim illam, quam ad latus orientale Indi fluvii constituit Ptolemæus, Frumentium missum fuisse a S. Athanasio, credendum est, etc.

was no part of the East Indies, but India beyond Egypt, which was part of Ethiopia, whereof Axumis was the metropolis. This lay not far from the mouth of the Red Sea, over against the country of the Homerites, in Arabia; whence Constantius, in one of his laws^h, joins these two nations together. From which, and many other authorities, Bishop Pearson unanswerably proves, that this India can be understood of no other but the Ethiopic India, whereof Axumis was the metropolis. This the ancients called India as well as the other; for Virgil says, "The Nile flowed from the Blackamoor Indiansⁱ;" and Procopius Gazensis styles the Red Sea the Indian Sea, because it bordered upon this India beyond Egypt. Now, in this country, Frumentius was the first bishop that we read of being ordained bishop of Axumis by Athanasius, and a synod of Egyptian bishops, and sent thither to convert the country, and settle Churches among them; which, therefore (we need not doubt), were of the same species with those in Egypt and the rest of the world; for Axumis was not the only place that had a bishop: for Palladius mentions one Moses^k, bishop of Adulis, which was another city of Ethiopia. And, in his Life of St. Chrysostom^l, he also speaks of one of his own name, Palladius, bishop of the Blemmyes, which were a people of Ethiopia, adjoining to Egypt, as Strabo^m, and Plinyⁿ, and other geographers, inform us. Bishop Pearson gives some other proofs out of

^h Nullus ad gentem Auxumitarum et Homeritas ire præceptus ultra annui temporis spatia debet Alexandriae de cetero commorari.

ⁱ Virgil. Georg. lib. iv. v. 291, seq.

Et viridem Ægyptum nigra fœcundat arena,

Et diversa ruens septem discurrit in ora

Usque coloratis amnis devexus ab Indis.

^k Pallad. de Gentibus Indiæ, (cit. Pearsonio, p. 332. C.) Ἐγὼ δὲ εἰς τὰ ἀκρωτήρια μόνον ἔφθασα τῆς Ἰνδικῆς πρὸς ἐτῶν ὀλίγων μετὰ τοῦ μακαρίου Μωϋσέως τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τῶν Ἀδουληνῶν.

^l Ibid. Vit. Chrysost. c. xx. Παλλάδιον δὲ Βλεμύων, ἢ Αἰθιόπων ἐκ γειτόνων φρουρεῖσθαι Συήνη καλούμενον τὸ χωρίον.

^m Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 786, (p. 1134. C. edit. Amstelod. 1707.) Τὰ δὲ κατωτέρω ἐκατέρωθεν Μερόης, παρὰ μὲν τὸν Νεῖλον πρὸς τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν, Μαγάβαροι, καὶ Βλέμνυες, Αἰθιόπων ὑπακούοντες, Αἰγυπτίοις δ' ὅμοροι.

ⁿ Plin. lib. v. c. viii. (p. 69.) Horum oppidum Mavin quidam solitudinibus imposuerunt, Atlantis juxta eos, Ægipanas semiferos, et Blemmyas, etc.

Cedrenus, and the Arabic Canons of the Nicene Council, and their ancient Liturgies, that they had bishops in that country ever since this their first conversion. But nothing more particular occurring concerning their dioceses, for want of better light, we can give no further account of them: and, for the same reason, I must omit several other Eastern nations, as the Parthians, and Indians about Ganges, which were converted by St. Thomas the Apostle; and the Iberians and other nations lying upon the Caspian Sea, which Ruffin^o says, “were converted first by a captive woman in the time of Constantine.” Ancient history affords us but slender accounts of the original of these Churches, and less of the constitution and settlement of them; so that, taking our leave of these far distant regions, we will come next to a part of the world which is better known, which is the patriarchate of Constantinople, under which were anciently comprehended all the provinces of Thrace and Asia Minor, except Isauria and Cilicia, which always belonged to the patriarch of Antioch. I shall first speak of Asia Minor; and then proceed to the European provinces, taking each country as they lie in their natural order.

CHAPTER III.

A CONTINUATION OF THIS ACCOUNT IN THE PROVINCES OF ASIA MINOR.

SECT. I.—*Of the Extent of Asia Minor, and the Number of Dioceses contained therein.*

To understand the state of diocesan Churches in Asia Minor, it will be proper, before we descend to particulars, to examine

^o Ruffin. lib. i. c. x. Per idem tempus Iberorum gens, quæ sub axe Pontico jacet, verbi Dei fœdera, et fidem futuri suscepit regni. Sed hujus tanti boni præstitit causam mulier quædam captiva, quæ apud eos reperta, quum fidelem et sobriam satis ac pudicam duceret vitam, totisque diebus et noctibus obsecrationes Deo perviliges exhiberet, in admiratione esse ipsa rei novitas barbaris coepit, et quod hoc sibi vellet, curiosius perquirebant. Illa, ut res erat, simpliciter Christum se deum hoc ritu colere fatebatur, etc.

the extent of the country in gross, and see how many dioceses are to be found in the whole; for by this we may make an estimate in general, allowing each diocese its proportion upon an equal distribution of the country into so many parts as there were dioceses in it. Not that they were really so equally divided (for in summing up the particulars, we shall find here were some of the largest and some of the smallest dioceses in the world); but we may conceive them as equal, in order to make a division of the whole country at once among them. Now, Dr. Heylin, in his *Geography*^a, reckons the length of Asia Minor, from the Hellespont to the river Euphrates, to be six hundred and thirty miles; and the breadth, from Sinus Issicus, in Cilicia, to Trebisond, in Pontus, to be two hundred and ten miles. The ancient geographers, Strabo^b and Pliny^c, make it almost two hundred miles more in length; but then their accounts are taken from some ancient *periplus*, or 'sea-voyage,' which never proceeds in a direct line, but takes in the bendings and windings of the sea, which may easily stretch six hundred to eight hundred miles; so that the accounts may be the same when allowance is made for the excesses of one way of measuring above the other. As to the breadth, Pliny's account is rather less; for he makes it but bare two hundred miles^d from Sinus Issicus

^a Heylin, *Cosmograph.* lib. iii. p. 3.

^b Strabo, lib. xii. pp. 547, 548. Οἱ σύμπαντες ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ μέχρι Φάσιδος περὶ ὀκτακισχιλίους σταδίου εἰσὶν, ἢ μικροῦ πλείους ἢ ἐλάττους.

[Hæc viii. millia stadiorum ita colliguntur ex Strabonis descriptione :

A fano Sinopen usque stad.	3500
A Sinope Amisum, stad.	900
Inde Trapezuntem, stad.	2200
Trapezunte ad Phasin, stad.	1400

Summa.... 8000 *Grischor.*]

^c Plin. lib. vi. c. ii. (Paris. p. 1543.) Mons Cyturus a Tio lxiii. mill. passuum. . . . Promontorium Carambis vasto excursu, abest a Ponti ostio ccxv. mill. pass. vel, ut aliis placuit, cccl. mill. Tantundem a Cimmerio, aut ut aliqui maluerunt cccxii. m. p. Fuit et oppidum eodem nomine, et aliud inde Armine : nunc est, colonia Sinope, a Cytoro clxiv. mill. . . . Amisum liberum, a Sinope cxxx. mill. passuum.

^d Plin. lib. vi. c. ii. p. 82. Ejusdemque nominis sinus tanti recessus, ut Asiam pæne insulam faciat cc. mill. passuum haud amplius per continentem ad Issicum Ciliciæ Sinum.

to the Euxine sea. But then he says this was the narrowest part of it, where the two seas almost made it a peninsula. And it is certain, in other parts it was much broader; for Strabo^e reckons the breadth of Cappadocia only, from Pontus to mount Taurus, eighteen hundred stadia, which is above two hundred miles. And yet Casaubon^f supposes, that by Pontus he does not mean the Pontus Euxinus, but the province of Pontus, which was to be added to the breadth of Asia on one side of Cappadocia, as Cilicia was on the other. So that we can hardly suppose the breadth of Asia, taking one part with another, to be less than three hundred miles. Now this was divided by the Romans into two large civil dioceses, the Asiatic and the Pontic, each of which had ten or eleven provinces in them, and every province several cities and episcopal dioceses, beside those of Isauria and Cilicia, which are reckoned to the Oriental diocese, and were under the patriarch of Antioch. Christopherson, in his Translation of Theodoret, makes a strange mistake concerning these bishoprics. For, whereas Theodoret says, that Asia, or the Asiatic diocese, was ὑπὸ ἑνδεκα ἀρχόντων, ‘under eleven civil præfects^g;’ he translates it, *undecim antistites*; as if there had been but ‘eleven bishops’ in all the Asiatic diocese; and only as many in the Pontic diocese, because Theodoret says, it had ἰσαρίθμους ἡγουμένους, ‘the same number of governors.’ Whereas Theodoret is not speaking of ecclesiastical governors, but civil governors of provinces, whereof there was the number Theodoret speaks of in each of those dioceses; but

^e Strabo, lib. xii. p. 539. (p. 813. D.) Μέγεθος δὲ τῆς χώρας κατὰ πλάτος μὲν, τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ Πόντου πρὸς τὸν Ταῦρον, ὅσον χίλιοι καὶ ὀκτακόσιοι στάδιοι.

^f Casaub. in h. l. Falsum hoc: nam libro ii. p. 73, docuit nos, Bagadoniam, partem Cappadociae inter Argæum et Taurum, distare a Ponto stadia mmm. Putabam legendum, ὅσον δισχίλιοι καὶ ὀκτ. στάδ. Verum auctor epitomes retinet vulgatam lectionem: quam si probamus, non erunt illa verba ἀπὸ Πόντου, de ipso Ponto et mari Euxino intelligenda, sed de regione Ponto, quam separant a reliqua Cappadocia montes Tauro paralleli. Sic non erit discedendum a vulgata lectione.

^g Theodoret. lib. v. c. xxviii. Καὶ ταύτην ἐποιεῖτο τὴν προμήθειαν, οὐ μόνον ἐκείνης τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς Θράκης ἀπάσης· εἰς ἑξ δὲ αὕτη ἡγεμονίας διήρρηται· καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας ὅλης, ὑπὸ ἑνδεκα δὲ καὶ αὕτη ἀρχόντων ἰθύνεται· καὶ μέντοι καὶ τὴν Ποντικὴν τούτοις κατεκόσμη τοῖς νόμοις· ἰσαρίθμους δὲ καὶ αὕτη ἔχει τῆς Ἀσίας τοὺς ἡγουμένους.

bishoprics were abundantly more numerous ; for some single provinces had above 40 : and in the whole number they were, according to Carolus a Sancto Paulo's reckoning, 388 : viz. In Asia, 42. Hellespont, 19. Phrygia Pacatiana Prima, 29. Pacatiana Altera, 5. Phrygia Salutaris, 20. Lydia, 24. Caria, 25. Lycia, 28. Pamphylia Prima, 12. Pamphylia Secunda, 24. Pisidia, 19. Lycaonia, 19. Cappadocia Prima, 6. Cappadocia Secunda, 6. Cappadocia Tertia, 5. Armenia Prima, 5. Armenia Secunda, 10. Galatia Prima, 7. Galatia Secunda, 4. Pontus Polemoniacus, 6. Hellenopontus, 6. Paphlagonia, 5. Honorias, 5. Bithynia Prima, 14. Bithynia Secunda, 4. Cilicia Prima, 7. Cilicia Secunda, 9. Isauria, 23. In the latter *Notitia*, which the reader will find at the end of this book, the number is a little increased to 403. For though some provinces decreased, yet others increased in their numbers ; so that in the eighth century, we find fifteen dioceses more than were in former ages : which is no great alteration in such a multitude, considering what great additions have been made in some other countries in comparison of this. Now, then, supposing four hundred dioceses to have been in a country six hundred miles in length, and three hundred in breadth, let us examine how much, upon an equal distribution, will fall to every diocese. And it appears, upon an exact computation, that, supposing there had been four hundred and fifty dioceses, there would have been twenty miles to each diocese ; and, consequently, there being not so many by fifty, every diocese must have so much the more upon an equal distribution. But, then, it must be owned, that the distribution was generally unequal in this country ; for the bishoprics of the Pontic provinces were, for the most part, very large ; and those of the Asiatic provinces, consequently, the smaller upon that account, and abundantly more numerous. So that here the reader may view the largest and smallest dioceses in the world, together ; and yet the same species of episcopacy maintained in all without distinction.

SECT. II.—*Of Cappadocia and Armenia Minor.*

To begin with the Pontic provinces. Cappadocia was a

very large country, and had but few bishoprics. Strabo^h reckons it three thousand stadia in length; that is, three hundred and seventy-five miles. But, then, he takes it in a larger sense than we do now, as including all from the provinces of Lycaonia and Phrygia to the Euphrates, which takes in Armenia Minor as well as Cappadocia; for anciently they were all one kingdom, though afterwards divided into five provinces,—three Cappadocias, and Armenia Prima and Secunda. But, now, in all these five provinces, there were not thirty dioceses at first; and some of those were new erected in the fourth century, as Sasima, where Gregory Nazianzen was made bishop, which before belonged either to Cæsarea, the metropolis of Cappadocia Prima, from which it was a hundred miles distant; or to Tyana, the metropolis of Cappadocia Secunda, from which it lay thirty-two milesⁱ, as Ferrarius computes. This shows that these dioceses were of great extent. But we have still more certain evidence of the thing, for Gregory Nazianzen^j says, that St. Basil, who was bishop of Cæsarea, had fifty *chorepiscopi* under him; and Basil himself often speaks of his *chorepiscopi*^k, and country presbyters, and deacons^l under them; which argues his diocese to be of

^h Strabo, lib. xii. p. 539, edit. Paris. 1620. (p. 813. D. edit. Amstelod. 1707.) Μέγεθος δὲ τῆς χώρας (Καππαδοκίας) κατὰ πλάτος μὲν, τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ Πόντου πρὸς τὸν Ταῦρον, ὅσον χίλιοι καὶ ὀκτακόσιοι στάδιοι· μῆκος δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Λυκαονίας, καὶ Φρυγίας, μέχρι Εὐφράτου πρὸς τὴν ἑω καὶ τὴν Ἀρμενίαν, περὶ τρισχιλίου.

ⁱ Ferrar. Lexic. Geog. voce *Sasima*. (Baudrand. p. 164.) Sasima, *Sasum*, teste Leunclavio, urbs Cappadociæ episcopalis sub archiepiscopo Cæsariensi, inter Cæsaream ad arctos, et Tyana ad meridiem, xxxii. mill. pass. ultra Ancyram in ortum supra cc. Cujus urbis divus Gregorius Nazianzenus episcopus fuit.

^j Nazianz. Carm. de Vita sua, p. 8, n. xxxii.

Αὕτη Σασίμων τῶν ἐμῶν ἐκκλησία.

Τούτοις μὲν ὁ πεντήκοντα χωρεπισκόποις

στενούμενος δέδωκε, κ. τ. λ.

^k Basil. Ep. clxxxì. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1768.) Χωρεπισκόποις, ὥστε μὴ γίνεσθαι χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ὑπηρέτας παρὰ τοὺς κανόνας. In epistola ipsa ita de ipsis queritur: Πρῶτον μὲν ἡμᾶς παρωσάμενοι, καὶ μηδὲ ἐπαναφέρειν ἡμῖν καταδεχόμενοι, εἰς ἑαυτοὺς τὴν ὅλην περιεστήσατε ἀνθεντίαν· ἔπειτα καταβῶντες τοῦ πράγματος, πρεσβυτέροις καὶ διακόνοις ἐπετρέψατε, οὓς ἂν ἐθέλωσιν, ἀπὸ ἀνεξετάστου βίου, κατὰ προσπάθειαν, ἢ τὴν ἀπὸ συγγενείας, ἢ τὴν ἐξ ἄλλης τινὸς φιλίας, ἐπεισάγειν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοὺς ἀναξίους.

^l Ibid. Ep. ccccxii. Οὗτος ὁ νῦν σοβαρὸς καὶ σεμνὸς ὑμῖν Γλυκέριος, ἔχει-

great extent, though we cannot precisely fix the limits of it. And the paucity of dioceses in this province argues the same. For, by Carolus a Sancto Paulo's account, beside Cæsarea, the metropolis of the first Cappadocia, there were but five bishoprics more in that province,—Nyssa, where Gregory Nyssen was bishop, Thermæ Regiæ, Camuliana, or Justianopolis Nova, Ciscissa, and Theodosiopolis, at the time of the sixth General Council; which are the same that are mentioned in the later *Notitiæ*, only Methodiopolis is put for Theodosiopolis Armeniæ, to which province the Council of Chalcedon ascribes it. So that there were really never above five dioceses in this province; and two of those, Camuliana and Ciscissa, erected after the Council of Chalcedon. For in the synodical epistle of this province to the Emperor Leo, at the end of that Council, there are but two bishops subscribe beside the metropolitan of Cæsarea, viz. the bishops of Nyssa^m and Thermæ. Sozomenⁿ speaks of one Prapadius, governor of St. Basil's Hospital (called Basiliæ from its founder), who was likewise a bishop that had several villages under his jurisdiction; but whether his diocese was in this Cappadocia is uncertain.

The second Cappadocia, which was made by a division of the province in the time of St. Basil, had, according to Carolus a Sancto Paulo's account, six dioceses,—Tyana, the metropolis, Sasim-a, (or -i,) Justinopolis, Asuna, Faustinopolis, and Cybistra. But, as Holstenius^o has observed, two of these

ροτονήθη μὲν παρ' ἡμῶν τῆς κατὰ Οὐήνεσαν ἐκκλησίας διάκονος, ὡς καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ διακονήσων, καὶ τοῦ ἔργου τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπιμελησόμενος.

^m Conc. tom. iv. pp. 952-954. [Nota: in edit. Labb. hæc quidem legitur epistola, sed tantum ab Alypio metropolitano Cæsariensi, et Uvio, episcopo Nyzeno, subscripta. *Grischov.*]

ⁿ Sozom. lib. vi. c. xxxiv. (Aug. T. 1747. p. 248.) Εὐδοκιμώτατοι ὦν ἐπυθόμην ἐγένοντο ἐνθάδε μοναχοὶ, Λεόντιος, ὁ τὴν ἐν Ἀγκύρα ἐκκλησίαν ὕστερον ἐπιτροπεύσας· καὶ Πραπίδιος, ὃς ἤδη γηραλέος ὢν, πολλὰς ἐπεσκόπει κώμας· πρόεστη δὲ καὶ Βασιλειάδος, ὃ πτωχῶν ἐστὶν ἐπισημότατον καταγώγιον, ὑπὸ Βασιλείου τοῦ Καισαρείας ἐπισκόπου κατασκευασθὲν, ἀφ' οὗ τὴν προσηγορίαν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔλαβε, καὶ εἰς ἔτι νῦν ἔχει.

^o Holsten. Annot. Geog. p. 157. (in Car. a S. Paulo, Geog. p. 246, edit. 1711.) *Azuna.*] Nulla hoc nomine civitas umquam fuit. In Græco fuit ἐπίσκοπος Σασίμων, inde olim episcopus Sasimæ: unde rejecta prima littera Asima, et tandem confusis litterarum cruribus Asuna; ita error errorem trahit.

are mistaken, for there never was any such city as Asuna, which is only a corruption in the Latin editions of the councils for Sasima; it being in the Greek ἐπίσκοπος Σασίμων, ‘bishop of Sasima.’ And Justinopolis was only another name for Mocissus, which Justinian having advanced to be a metropolis in the third Cappadocia, styled it by his own name Justinianople; so that there were really no more than four dioceses in this province, and one of them, Sasima, but of late erection. This was also but an obscure village; στενὸν κωμύδριον Nazianzen^p himself calls it. So that the three ancient dioceses must be of very large extent, though we have no further account of them, save that Pasa, a village twelve miles distant from Tyana, is said to be in that diocese^q by one Euphrantas, in the fifth General Council; and Sasima was originally part of the same diocese, though thirty-two miles distant from the cathedral, which sufficiently demonstrates the largeness of dioceses in this province.

The third Cappadocia had never above five bishoprics,—Mocissus, Nazianzum, Colonia, Parnassus, and Doara. Of these Mocissus was the metropolis, which owed its honour to Justinian, who dignified it with the title of a metropolis; and, as Procopius^r informs us, gave it his own name, Justinianople, by which title Peter, bishop of the place, subscribes himself^s, in the Council under Mennas. Doara was but a village, as

^p Gregor. Nazianz. Carm. de Vita sua, p. 7, lin. ultim. Δεινῶς ἀπευκτὸν καὶ στενὸν κωμύδριον.

^q Conc. Gen. V. Collat. v. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 478. C.) Prædium quod dicitur Pasa. . . . duodecim milliis Tyanensis distat metropoleos, et sub eadem civitate est usque hodie.

^r Procop. de Ædific. Justin. lib. v. p. 48. [Nota: Nihil ibi, quod huc spectet, invenitur: p. 100, autem hæc leguntur, in quibus vero de appellatione ‘Justinianopolis’ nihil habetur. Ἦν δὲ τι φρούριον ἐν Καππαδόκαις Μωκησὸς ὄνομα, ἐν μὲν τῷ ὁμαλεῖ κείμενον· Σαθρόν δὲ οὕτω γεγενημένον, ὥστε δὴ αὐτοῦ τὰ μὲν καταπεπτῶκει, τὰ δὲ ἔμελλεν· ὅπερ Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς καθελὼν, τεῖχος ὠκοδομήσατο κομιδῇ μέγα, ἐς τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέραν τοῦ πάλαι φρουρίου, ἐν χωρίῳ ἀνάντει τε καὶ λίαν ὀρθίῳ, καὶ ἀμηχάνῳ προσελθεῖν, εἴ τις προσίοι· ἐνθα δὴ καὶ ἱερὰ τεμένη πολλὰ, καὶ ξενῶνας, καὶ λουτρῶνας ἐν δημοσίῳ ἐδείματο, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἐνδείκνυται τὴν πόλιν εὐδαίμονα· ἐξ οὗ δὴ καὶ εἰς μητροπόλεως ἀξίωμα ἦλθεν. Grischov.]

^s Conc. Constantinop. sub Menna, (Labbe, vol. v. p. 52.) Πέτρου τῆς μητροπόλεως Ἰουστινιανουπόλεως.

Holstenius^t observes out of St. Basil, who styles it^u *κώμην Δώαρα*: and Nazianzum was but a small city, as Gregory Nazianzen himself^w styles it. But they must have large dioceses, else the other three must be so much the larger for it, for geographers place them at a considerable distance from one another. Nazianzum had its *chorepiscopi*, sometimes mentioned in Gregory Nazianzen's Epistles^x, which is an argument that it had a large country region.

In Armenia Prima, Carolus a Sancto Paulo could find but five bishoprics,—Sebast-a, (or -ia) the metropolis, Sebastopolis, Nicopolis, Satala, and Berisse; and the later *Notitiæ* add but one more, Colonia, which is also reckoned to Cappadocia Tertia, unless there were two of the same name in those provinces. In the second Armenia he augments the number to ten,—Melitene, the metropolis, Arca, Comana, Arabissus, Cocusum, or Cucusus, Ariarathia, Amasa, Zelona, Sophene, Diospontum. But Holstenius, in his animadversions upon the place^y, observes that four of these are to be struck out of the account: for Amasa, or Amasia, belonged to Hellenopontus, and Zelona was no other than Zela, in the same province; Sophene belonged to Armenia Major; and Diospontum was

^t Holsten. Adnot. Geog. p. 159, (p. 247, in Geog. Car. a S. Paulo), *Doara*] Vicum vocat Basilius Magnus, epist. x. ubi Georgii ejus episcopi meminit.

^u Basil. Ep. x. Δωάροις δὲ τῇ κώμῃ φθόρον ἀνθρώπων . . . ἐπεμψαν.

^w Naz. Orat. xix. de Laud. Patr. (tom. i. p. 310.) Τοῦτο τοῦ μικροπολίτου τὸ ἔργον, καὶ τῆς καθέδρας τὰ δεύτερα ἔχοντος.

^x Naz. Ep. lxxxviii. (Colon. vol. i. p. 843. D.) Ἵνα γὰρ τὰ ἄλλα ἐάσω, οἷα νῦν ἐπιστάντες οἱ Ἀπολλινάριοι, τὰ μὲν πεποιήκασιν, τὰ δὲ ἀπειλοῦσιν, παρὰ τῶν κυρίων μου τῶν συμπρεσβυτέρων μαθήσῃ, Εὐλαλίου τοῦ χωρεπισκόπου, καὶ Κελευσίου, οὗς ἐξ ἔργου πρὸς τὴν σὴν εὐλάβειαν ἀπεστάλκαμεν.

^y Holsten. Adnot. Geog. p. 161. (p. 248, apud Carol. a Sancto Paulo.) *Amasa*] Hic quoque episcopatus vitio creatus ex Amasia Diosponti, sive Hellenoponti civitate primaria. *Zelona*] Eadem quæ Zela: unde Heraclius ille Zelon episcopus genitivo plurali vocatur, quem MS. antiquissimus Diosponto, sive Hellenoponto recte tribuit. *Sophene*] Arsaphius Sophenensis inter episcopos Armeniæ majoris. *Diospontium*] Episcopatus supposititius ex codicum vulgari confusione natus. Manuscriptus antiquissimus Diosponti hic seorsim ponit, ut provinciæ nomen, cui deinde subjicitur Eutychianus Amasiæ episcopus. Unde certum est, Diospontum antea fuisse, qui postea Hellenopontus appellatus fuit. Ita quoque Ortelius Dispontum a veteri medico appellatum observavit. —Ibid. in Ortelium, p. 172, observes out of Antonine's Itinerary, that Sebastia and Sebastopolis were thirty-six miles distant from each other.

not the name of a bishopric, but only an old name for the province of Hellenopontus. And his conjecture is confirmed by the later *Notitiæ*, which name the six first of these dioceses, but none of those four, under the title of Armenia Minor; so that, in all these five provinces, upon an exact computation, there were not above twenty-four dioceses in the whole. Some of them, therefore, must be very large in a country of three hundred miles' extent.

SECT. III.—*Of Pontus Polemoniacus.*

The next province to these, upon the Euxine Sea, was Pontus Polemoniacus, so called from Polemonium, a chief city in the province; beside which, and Neocæsarea, the metropolis, there were but three other bishoprics, Trapezus, Cerasus, and Comana, all which lay at a great distance from one another. Polemonium, Cerasus, and Trapezus, lay in a line on the sea-coast; and, by Pliny's reckoning^z, Polemonium and Trapezus were one hundred and fifty-five miles distant from each other, and Cerasus lay in the middle between them. Neocæsarea was one hundred miles within land, and Comana sixty from it. Justinian^a mentions these five cities in one of his Novels, and says there were no more in the province; for Pitius and Sebastopolis were not cities, he says, but only castles. And, as Holstenius^b observes, they were not properly of this province, but lay in Solo Barbarico, and were only appendages to this province, because they could not constitute a province of themselves. So that though Carolus a Sancto

^z Plin. lib. vi. c. iv. (p. 83.) In faucibus a Trapezunte 150 millia passuum.

^a Justin. Novel. xxviii. in Præfat. Πέντε δὲ ἄλλαι τὸν Πολεμωνιακὸν συνέχουσι Πόντον, Νεοκαισάρειά τε καὶ Κώμανα, καὶ Τραπεζοῦς, καὶ Κερασοῦς, καὶ Πολεμώνιον (Πιτυοῦντα γὰρ δὴ καὶ Σεβαστόπολιν ἐν φρουρίοις μᾶλλον ἀριθμητέον ἢ πόλεσιν), ὥστε μέχρι τούτων ἐκάτερον εἶναι τῶν Πόντων.

^b Holsten. Adnot. Geog. p. 164. (in Geog. Car. a S. Paulo, p. 250.) Quamvis trans Pontum, in solo Barbarico, ipsa Pityus sita esset, ut et Sebastopolis, quam Justinianus Pityusæ conjunxit. Justinianus (Novella xxviii.) Ponto Polemoniaco, præter quinque superiores, duas alias accenset civitates, Pityunta et Sebastopolin, quæ trans Pontum, in solo Barbarico sitæ, nullam per se constituebant provinciam. Eas ergo ad Ponti præfecturam spectare voluerunt imperatores antiqui ante Justinianum. Hinc Stratophilus Pityusius, sive Pityuntos episcopus in subscriptionibus Conc. Nicæni legitur; nam Pityusa illa Ptolemæi, si modo vera lectio est, episcopum numquam habuit.

Paulo makes Pityus a sixth bishopric of this province, yet the later *Notitiæ* leave it out of the number, and only retain the five first mentioned; which shows, that for eight hundred years there never was any alteration made in this province, nor more episcopal dioceses erected, than there were imperial cities, though they lay at so great a distance from one another.

SECT. IV.—*Of Hellenopontus, or Diospontus.*

The next province to this on the sea-coast was Hellenopontus, which had only six bishoprics at the time of the Council of Chalcedon,—Amas-*ea* (or *-ia*), the metropolis, Amisus, Sinope, Iborea, Zela, and Andrapa, as appears from the synodical epistle of the bishops of this province^c to the Emperor Leo, and there was but one more added in after-ages. Of these, Asus and Sinope lay upon the sea-coast, at a great distance from one another; for Pliny says, Amisus lay in the way between Polemonium and Sinope, one hundred and twenty miles from Polemonium^d, and one hundred and thirty from Sinope^e; which comes pretty near the account of Strabo, who reckons it nine hundred stadia, or one hundred and twelve miles from Amisus^f to Sinope. He also speaks of Armena, a village of Sinope^g, fifty stadia from it; and of Amasea, the place of his nativity, he gives a more particular account, telling us, that it had a very large territory one way, which, for the number of villages in it, was called *χιλιόκωμον πεδίον*^h,

^c Append. Conc. Chalced. c. liii. (tom. iv. Conc. p. 963. D 5.) Seleucus gratia Dei episcopus Amasiæ metropolis sanctæ Christi ecclesiæ, manu mea subscripsi . . . Uranius episcopus Iboreæ, similiter. Erythrius episcopus Amisi, similiter. Ælianus episcopus Sinopensis, similiter. Hyperitius episcopus Tili, (pro Zeli,) similiter. Paulus episcopus Adratus, similiter.

^d Plin. lib. vi. c. iv. (p. 82.) Flumen Sidenum, quo alluitur oppidum Polemonium ab Amiso cxx. mill. pass.

^e Plin. lib. vi. c. ii. Amisum liberum, a Sinope cxxx. mill. pass.

^f Strabo, lib. xii. p. 547. (p. 823. B.) Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Γαδιλῶνα, ἡ Σαραμηνὴ καὶ Ἀμισὸς πόλις ἀξιόλογος, διέχουσα τῆς Σινώπης περὶ ἐννακοσίους σταδίους.

^g Ibid. p. 545. Μετὰ δὲ Κάραμβιν . . . Ἀρμένη . . . ἔστι δὲ κώμη τῶν Σινωπέων ἔχουσα λιμένα· εἴτ' αὐτὴ Σινώπη, σταδίους πεντήκοντα τῆς Ἀρμένης διέχουσα, ἀξιολογώτατη τῶν ταύτῃ πόλεων.

^h Ibid. p. 561. Αὐλὼν δ' ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ διήκων, οὐ πλατὺς τὸ πρῶτον τελέως, ἔπειτα πλατύνεται, καὶ ποιεῖ τὸ χιλιόκωμον καλούμενον πεδίον.

‘the country of a thousand villages.’ This was an inland city, reckoned by some one hundred miles from the sea. Zela was as far from Amasea. So that, without all doubt, these were dioceses of the largest size, since the cities lay so remote from one another.

SECT. V.—*Of Paphlagonia and Galatia.*

Next to Hellenopontus, on the sea-coast, lay the province of Paphlagonia, in which Carolus a Sancto Paulo reckons five bishoprics,—Gangra, the metropolis, Sora, Junopolis, Pompeiopolis, and Amastris; to which Holstenius has added Dadibra, whose bishop Polychronius subscribed in the Council of Chalcedonⁱ, by Peter, the metropolitan of Gangra. In the following ages, the number decreased; for there is no mention of Pompeiopolis or Amastris in the later *Notitiæ* of the Church. Among these, Gangra is noted by St. Basil^j as a place that had several churches and altars in it. Amastris was a large city, which grew out of four others adjoining to it,—Sesamus, Cytorus, Cromna, and Teius, as Ferrarius observes, who^k makes it to be sixty-eight miles from Heraclea, in the next province of Honorias. And all the rest seem to have been at as great distances from each other.

On the south of Paphlagonia, lay Galatia, an inland country, having Cappadocia on the east, and Phrygia on the west. This by the Romans was divided into two provinces, Galatia Prima, and Secunda, or Salutaris. In the first, there were seven bishoprics,—Ancyra, the metropolis, Tabia, Iliupolis, or

ⁱ Conc. Chalced. act. vi. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 591.) Πέτρος ἐπίσκοπος τῆς μητροπόλεως Γαγγρῶν, ὀρίσας ὑπέγραψα ὑπὲρ Πολυχρονίου ἐπισκόπου Δαδύρων.

^j Basil. Ep. lxxiii. (Paris. 1839. vol. iii. p. 502.) Εἰ ὀρθόδοξος νῦν Βασιλείδης ὁ κοινωνικὸς Ἐκδίκου, διὰ τί ἀπὸ Δαρδανίας ἐπανιόντες τὰ θυσιαστήρια ἐκείνου ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν Γαγγρηνῶν κατέστρεφον, καὶ ἐαυτῶν τραπέζας ἐτίθεσαν; διὰ τί, μέχρι καὶ νῦν, ἐπέρχονται ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Ἀμασείας καὶ Ζήλων, καὶ παρ’ ἐαυτῶν καθιστῶσι πρεσβυτέρους καὶ διακόνους;

^k Ferrar. Lexic. voce *Amastris*. (Baudrand, vol. i. p. 32.) Amastris, urbs Paphlagoniæ in ora maris Euxini, metrop. quæ et Amastrum. Ex quatuor urbibus seu pagis proximis, Sesamo, Cytoro, Cromna, et Teio, magnam crevit in urbem; media fere inter Teium et Cytorum, Cromnæ propior, ab Heraclea Ponti ad lxviii. mill. pass. in ortum distans.

Juliopolis, Aspona, Cinna, Berinopolis, and Anastasiopolis. The last of which seems to be erected in the latter end of the seventh century only; for there is no mention of it till the sixth General Council of Constantinople (an. 681). The Greek *Notitiæ* add but one more, Mizzi, retaining all the other old names; which shows that little alteration was made in this province for the space of eight ages in the Church. The other Galatia had originally but four dioceses,—Pessinus, Orcistus, Peten-essus (or -isus), and Trocmada, or Trocmi; but the number was doubled in after-ages; as appears from the *Notitia* at the end of this Book, which adds, Eudoxias, Mericium, and Therma, or Germocolonia, and Justinianopolis, otherwise called Spalea. Now Galatia was a large country, and the dioceses (even when these four last mentioned were added) were still of great extent; for Baudrand¹ observes, “that Pessinus was fifty miles from Ancyra, and thirty from Therma;” by which we may guess at the distance of other places. Carolus a Sancto Paulo places Cinna pretty near Ancyra; but Baudrand removes it to the southern borders of Galatia, nearer Synada, in Phrygia^m; and Ferrarius computes Aspona to be sixty-four miles from Ancyra, eastward. Berinopolis and Juliopolis seem to have been almost as much to the west; which leaves room for the territory of Ancyra to be sufficiently large, though I find no particular account given of it, nor of some other places in these two provinces of Galatia.

SECT. VI.—Of Honorias.

Next to Paphlagonia, on the sea-coast, lay the province of Honorias, or Pontus Honorii, so called by Theodosius the emperor in honour of his son Honorius. This was divided from Bithynia by the river Sangarius, and from Paphlagonia by the river Parthenius. Here were anciently five bishoprics, and the later *Notitiæ* have but six,—Claudiopolis, Heraclea

¹ Baudrand. Lexic. voce *Pessinus*. (vol. i. p. 51.) Pessinus urbs erat Galatiæ, ad confluentes Galli fluvii in Sangarium, vix l. mill. pass. ab Ancyra in meridiem distans, uti xxx. a Therma, teste Philippo de la Rue.

^m Ibid. voce *Cinna*. (p. 196.) Cinna urbs Galatiæ meridionalis, prope Ascanium lacum et in limite Phrygiæ, longe ab Ancyra in austrum, Synnadæ propior, in Asia Minori.

Ponti, Prusias, Tium, Cratea, Adrianopolis; which last is not to be met with in the subscriptions of any ancient council. Of these, Tium and Heraclea lay upon the Euxine Sea, thirty-eight miles distant from each other, as Plinyⁿ informs us. Claudiolis was at as great distance from them in the middle of the province. Baudrand^o says it was above thirty miles from Heraclea; so that we may judge of Cratea, otherwise called Flaviopolis, and of Prusa, by what we have discovered of the former. All these cities are sometimes reckoned to Bithynia, because Honorias was anciently part of Bithynia, till Theodosius made a distinct province of it.

SECT. VII.—*Of Bithynia Prima and Secunda.*

But after the separation was made, Bithynia was again divided into two provinces. In the first of which, Carolus a Sancto Paulo reckons fourteen dioceses:—1. Nicomedia, the metropolis. 2. Chalcedon. 3. Prusa ad Olympum. 4. Prænetum. 5. Helenopolis. 6. Basilinopolis. 7. Apollonias. 8. Hadriana. 9. Cæsarea, al. Smyrdiana. 10. Arista. 11. Patavium. 12. Dablis. 13. Neocæsarea. 14. Cius. In the other Bithynia, only four:—1. Nicæa, where the famous Council of Nice was held, the metropolis of this province. 2. Apamea. 3. Linoe. 4. Gordus. And the later *Notitia* of Leo Sapiens makes but one more in both provinces, though some new names of places are inserted. Among these, I observe the city of Nice had a large diocese; for several regions belonging to it are mentioned in the Council of Chalcedon in a famous dispute between the two metropolitans of Nicomedia and Nice, both laying claim to the diocese of Basilinopolis as one of their suffragans. Anastasius, bishop of Nice, pleaded, “that Basilinopolis^p was once but a region

ⁿ Plin. lib. vi. c. i. (p. 82.) Oppidum Tium, ab Heraclea triginta octo mill. pass.

^o Baudrand. Lexic. voce *Claudiolis*. (p. 200.) Claudiolis urbs fuit Ponti, ad Elatam fluvium. . . . Longe distat a Sangario fluvio in ort. xxx. autem miliaribus ab ora Ponti Euxini, et paullo amplius ab Heraclea Ponti in austrum.

^p Conc. Chalced. act. xiii. apud Crabium, p. 918. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 709. E 2.) “Ὡςπερ Ταττάϊος καὶ Δωρίς ῥεγεῶνές εἰσιν ὑπὸ τὴν Νίκαιαν, οὕτως ἦν πρὸ τούτου καὶ Βασιλινούπολις ὑπὸ τὴν Νίκαιαν βασιλεύς τις Ἰουλιανὸς, ἡ οὐκ

belonging to Nice, as Tacteus and Doris then were, till Julian, or some other emperor, made it a city, setting up a *curia*, or 'civil magistracy,' therein; upon which it became also a bishop's see, according to the known rule and practice of the Church; so that the diocese of Nice was once so large, as to have another diocese taken out of it; and yet there remained several regions belonging to it." The like may be collected from its distance from other places. Pliny^q says, it was twenty-five miles from Prusa, and Ferrarius reckons forty-four miles from Nicomedia, but sets Helenopolis or Drepanum in the middle way^r between them. Basilinopolis, by mistake, is set by Carolus a Sancto Paulo at a greater distance from it, between Nicomedia and Chalcedon; but it must be nearer, having been once a part of its diocese, as was observed before. For other places, I find little account of them in particular; save only that Strabo makes it three hundred furlongs, or thirty-seven miles, from Nicomedia to the mouth of the river Sangarius, whereabout Cius stood; and Ferrarius computes sixty from Nicomedia to Chalcedon: in all which tract there were but these three dioceses, and one more, called Prænetum; so that if we had a particular account of Nicomedia and Chalcedon, we might perhaps find them to have had dioceses of as great extent as any other. "But Apamea and Prusa," Baudrand^s says, "were but nine miles distant from one ano-

οἷδα τις πρὸ αὐτοῦ, ἐποίησεν αὐτὴν πόλιν· καὶ λαβὼν ἀπὸ Νικαίας πραγματευομένους, κατέστησεν ἐκεῖ· καὶ τὸ ἔθος ἀπὸ τότε ἕως νῦν τοῦτο κρατεῖ· ἂν λείψῃ ἐν Βασιλινουπόλει πραγματευόμενος, ἀπὸ Νικαίας πέμπεται ἐκεῖ· καὶ πάλιν ἀπὸ Βασιλινουπόλεως μεθίσταται ἐν Νικαίᾳ· καὶ ἡ πρότερον οὔσα ῥεγέων πάλιν μετὰ ταῦτα ἐγένετο πόλις· ἐξ ἐκείνου φαίνεται ὁ Νικαίας ἐπίσκοπος χειροτονήσας ἐκεῖ καὶ ἅπαξ καὶ δεύτερον.

^q Plin. lib. v. c. xxxiii. (Paris. 1543. p. 81.) Nunc reliqua in ora, a Cio intus in Bithynia Prusa, ab Annibale sub Olympo condita: inde Nicæam xxv. mill. pass. interveniente Ascanio lacu.

^r Ferrar. Lexic. in Baudrand. p. 519, voce *Nicæa*. Nicæa . . . inter Nicomediam ad boream xlv. et Prusam in eorum xxxv. mill. pass. dissita. — Id. voce *Drepanum*. Drepanum, urbs in Bithynia, ad sinum Astacenum, postea Helenopolis, in honorem Helenæ Constantini Magni matris, appellata; episc. sub archiepiscopo Nicomediensi, media fere inter Nicomediam ad boream et Nicæam ad meridiem.

^s Baudrand. Lexic. voce *Apamea*, p. 49. Apamea Bithyniæ sedet prope Cium sinum, ix. mill. pass. a Prusa in Africam, et l. a Cyzico in orsum.

ther; for these lay in the southern parts of Bithynia, and were some of the last in the Pontic civil diocese toward the Asiatic diocese;" where, as I observed before, the cities were more numerous, and thicker set together; and, consequently, the episcopal dioceses were generally less than in the other provinces, as will appear by taking a distinct view of them in order as they lay.

SECT. VIII.—*Provinces in the Asiatic Diocese, Hellespontus.*

In the Asiatic diocese, the first province next adjoining to Bithynia was Hellespontus, so called from the straits of the sea, named Hellespont, which was its western border. It was anciently part of Mysia and Phrygia Minor, bordering on Phrygia Major eastward, and Asia to the south. In this province Carolus a Sancto Paulo has observed nineteen dioceses in the ancient councils:—1. Cyzicus, the metropolis. 2. Germa. 3. Poëmanium. 4. Occa. 5. Bares. 6. Adrianotheræ. 7. Lampsacus. 8. Abydus. 9. Dardanum. 10. Ilium. 11. Troas. 12. Melitopolis. 13. Adriana. 14. Scepsis. 15. Pionia. 16. Præconnesus. 17. Ceramus. 18. Parium. 19. Thermæ Regiæ. But the last of them, Holstenius thinks, is mistaken for Germa, by a corrupt reading of the ancient subscriptions. The *Notitia* of Leo Sapiens has but thirteen of these, so that five of them were sunk and united to others in the eighth century. The greatest distance that I can find, of any of these cities, was not above twenty miles from one another; which was the distance between Cyzicus and Parium, and Lampsacus and Abydus. But, then, Dardanum was but seventy furlongs, or eight miles, from Abydus; Ilium, but thirteen miles from Dardanum; Troas, but twenty-seven miles from Abydus, though Pionia, Ilium, Bares, and Dardanum, lay between them. So Præconnesus was but a very small island, and Poëmanium a castle, once belonging to the territory of Cyzicus; as Ferrarius has noted out of Strabo, Stephanus, and other ancient writers.

SECT. IX.—*Asia Lydiana, Proconsularis.*

The two next provinces I join together, because we some-

times find them under the common name of Asia Lydiana, or Proconsularis, under which title Bishop Ussher has a most accurate dissertation^t upon them, where he distinguishes the several acceptations of the name Asia, either for the greater Asia, or Asia Minor, or Asia *proprie dicta*, which were the Romans' first conquests in Asia, containing the provinces of Phrygia, Mysia, Caria, and Lydia; or, lastly, for Asia Lydiana, or Proconsularis, which was those two provinces, which, in Constantine's division, are called distinctly Asia and Lydia, as we here now take them. In this sense we may call the former Asia *maxime proprie dicta*, which is bounded, on the north, by the province of Hellespontus; on the east, by Phrygia and Lydia; on the south, by the river Mæander, which separates it from Caria; and on the west, by the Ægean sea. In it, Carolus a Sancto Paulo has found forty-two ancient dioceses:—1. Ephesus, the metropolis. 2. Hypæpa. 3. Trallis. 4. Magnesia ad Mæandrum. 5. Elæa. 6. Adramyttium. 7. Ass-us (or -um). 8. Gargara. 9. Mastaura. 10. Brullena, al. Priulla. 11. Pitane. 12. Myrrhina. 13. Aureliopolis. 14. Nyssa. 15. Metropolis. 16. Valentinianopolis. 17. Aninetum. 18. Pergamus. 19. Anæa. 20. Priene. 21. Arcadiopolis. 22. Nova Aula. 23. Ægea. 24. Andera. 25. Sion. 26. Fanum Jovis. 27. Colophon. 28. Lebedus. 29. Teos. 30. Erythræ. 31. Antandrus. 32. Pepere, or Perpere. 33. Cuma, or Cyme. 34. Aulium, al. Aulii Come vel Vicus. 35. Naulochus. 36. Palæopolis. 37. Phocæa. 38. Bargaza, al. Baretta. 39. Thymbri. 40. Clazomenæ. 41. Magnesia. 42. Smyrna. To these Holstenius adds four more,—Evaza, Areopolis, Temnus, and Argiza. And thirty-eight of these are the same that are mentioned in the *Notitia* of Leo Sapiens, in the seventh chapter of this Book. Now this was but a very small province

^t As the Lesser Asia (now called Natolia or Anatolia) was a part of the Great, and Asia, properly so called, a part of the Lesser; so the Lydian Asia was a parcel of that Asia which was properly so called. The Romans having possessed themselves of the countries which had formerly belonged unto the Pergamen kings, reduced them into the form of a province, which they called Asia. This is by Cicero distinguished into four members: Phrygia, Mysia, Caria, and Lydia.—Ussher's Works, vol. vii. 8vo.

for so many dioceses, if we examine either the whole extent of it, or some particular dioceses therein. The extent of it in length was from Assus, near Troas, to the river Mæander, or the cities Bargasa and Sion; which was anciently the country of Ionia, Æolis, and part of Mysia, about two hundred miles in length, upon the Ægean Sea. But the breadth was nothing answerable to its length, being not above fifty miles, taking one part with another. As to particular distances of places, I find some of them thus noted by Ferrarius and Baudrand. Assus, in the most northern border, was fifteen miles from Gargara, and thirty from Antandrus; but Anæa and Andera lay between, or near unto them. From Antandrus to Adramyttium is also reckoned thirty miles; but then Tremenothyra, in Phrygia, and Nova Aula, in this province, come between them. On the same shore, we find Naulochus and Pitane; and then Elea, Myrina, and Cyme; whereof Myrina was but seven or eight miles from Elea, and Cyme the same distance, sixty furlongs, from Myrina. Between Pergamus and Cyme is reckoned twenty-six miles; but the forementioned cities, Myrina and Elea, with Aminetum and Hierocæsarea, lay between them. On the south of Cyme lay Phocæa, ten miles from the mouth of the river Hermus; and about the same distance from Cyme. From Phocæa to Smyrna, is computed twenty-five miles; and from Smyrna to Colophon, twenty miles; but Lebedus lay in the middle way between them. Colophon and Metropolis, upon the Caystrus, were, each of them, twenty miles from Ephesus; and Ephesus seems not to have had any nearer neighbour, unless it was Priene, towards the river Mæander, from whence we may conclude, that Ephesus was the largest diocese in all this province. And, by these few hints, we may judge of the general extent of them.

In the other province of Lydia, Carolus a Sancto Paulo reckons twenty-six dioceses:—1. Sardis, the metropolis. 2. Philadelphia. 3. Tripolis. 4. Thyatira. 5. Septe. 6. Gordus. 7. Trallis. 8. Silandus. 9. Mæonia. 10. Fanum Apollinis. 11. Mostena. 12. Apollonia. 13. Attalia. 14. Bana. 15. Balandus. 16. Hierocæsarea. 17. Acrassus. 18. Daldus. 19. Stratonicia. 20. Satala. 21. Gabala,

22. Heraclea. 23. Areopolis. 24. Hellene. 25. Sena, al. Setta. 26. Civitas Standitana. To which Holstenius adds three more,—Maustaura, Cerasa, and Orcanis, or Hyrcani, which Tristan and Carolus a Sancto Paulo both mistake for a city somewhere among the Hyrcanians; but Holstenius shows it belonged to Asia Minor, and this province of Lydia. I will not stand to examine the particular bounds and extent of dioceses throughout this province; it being sufficient to observe, in general, that both it and Asia put together were not larger than the provinces of Pontus Polemoniacus and Hellenopontus; and yet there were not above ten or eleven dioceses in those two provinces, whereas we have discovered in these above seventy-five, which is almost the disproportion of eight to one, and fully makes out the observation I at first made of Asia Minor, that it had some of the greatest and some of the smallest dioceses, quietly enjoying the same form of government together.

SECT. X.—Of Caria.

The next province on the south of Asia and Lydia, is Caria, bounded on the east with Lycia; and on the south and west with the Ægean sea, having the rivers Mæander and Calbis for its inland bounds. Here Carolus a Sancto Paulo has found twenty-five dioceses:—1. Aphrodisias, the metropolis. 2. Stauropolis. 3. Cybira. 4. Heraclea Salbaci. 5. Apollonias. 6. Heraclea Latmi. 7. Tabæ. 8. Antiochia ad Mæandrum. 9. Neapolis. 10. Orthosias. 11. Harpasa. 12. Alabanda. 13. Stratonice. 14. Alinda. 15. Amyzon. 16. Jassus. 17. Bargyla. 18. Halicarnassus. 19. Larima, al. Halarima. 20. Cnidus. 21. Myndus. 22. Ceramus. 23. Anastasiopolis. 24. Eris-a (or -i). 25. Miletus. The *Notitia* of Leo Sapiens increases the number to thirty-one. Miletus was the place whither St. Paul called the elders of Ephesus, which was about forty miles distant from it. But several dioceses lay between them, as Heraclea, near Mount Lathmus, which Ferrarius computes but twelve miles from Miletus; so also Briullium, Sion, and Arpasa in the same coast, toward Ephesus. On the south of Miletus, the other way, we have Jassus, fifteen miles from it, and Tabæ placed

between them. From Jassus to Halicarnassus is computed fifty-five miles; but Barg-illia (-yla) and Myndus stand between them. From Halicarnassus to Cnidus is thirty miles; but Ceramus is an intervening diocese. And so the reader may find all the dioceses of this province scarce exceeding the compass of ten or fifteen miles throughout. But this was territory sufficient to make them exceed single congregations, and we need not question but it was true of them all what Sozomen (lib. v. c. xx.) particularly observes of Miletus, that "in the time of Julian it had several Christian oratories in its neighbourhood." For he says ^u Julian sent orders to the governor of Caria, "that whereas there were several oratories or churches built in honour of the martyrs, near the Temple of Didymæum, (so the Temple of Apollo was called, that stood before Miletus;) he should, if they were covered and had communion-tables in them, burn them with fire; or, if they were half decayed of themselves, he should take care utterly to demolish and destroy them." There were, it seems, churches, then, in the suburbs, or country region, of Miletus; which Julian, remembering what had lately happened to the Temple of Apollo, at Daphne, in the suburbs of Antioch, was so careful to have destroyed, because they were an annoyance to his god.

SECT. XI.—*Of Lycia.*

The next province to Caria on the sea-coast is Lycia, where Carolus a Sancto Paulo reckons twenty-eight dioceses:—1. Myra, the metropolis. 2. Mastaura. 3. Telmessus (or *i*). 4. Limyra. 5. Araxa. 6. Podalæa. 7. Sidyma, al. Diduma. 8. Olympus. 9. Zenopolis. 10. Tlos. 11. Corydalla. 12. Caunus, al. Acaleia. 13. Acarassus. 14. Xanthus. 15. Marciana. 16. Choma. 17. Phellus. 18. Antiphellus. 19. Phaselis. 20. Aucanda. 21. Eudoxias.

^u Sozom. lib. v. c. xx. (Aug. T. p. 194. D 5.) Πυθόμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἐπὶ τῇ τιμῇ μαρτύρων εὐκτηρίους οἴκους εἶναι πλησίον τοῦ ναοῦ Διδυμαίου Ἀπόλλωνος, ὃς πρὸ τῆς Μιλήτου ἐστίν, ἔγραψε τῷ ἡγεμόνι Καρίας, εἰ μὲν ὀροφὸν τε καὶ τράπεζαν ἱερὰν ἔχουσι, πυρὶ καταφλέξαι· εἰ δὲ ἡμίεργά ἐστι τὰ οἰκοδομήματα, ἐκ βάθρων ἀνασκάψαι.

22. Patara. 23. Nysa vel Nesus. 24. Balbura. 25. Ceneanda. 26. Bubon, al. Bunum. 27. Calinda. 28. Rhodia. The *Notitia* of Leo Sapiens has most of the same names, and eight more, for it makes the whole number of dioceses thirty-six. But the lesser number in so small a province is sufficient to show the narrow extent of its dioceses, in comparison of those of the Pontic provinces; for this province was not above eighty or one hundred miles square, and the cities therefore, one may easily conclude, lay pretty close together. Phellus is reckoned but six miles from Antiphellus one way, and ten from Myra, the metropolis, another way. Antiphellus was nine from Patara, and Telmessus and Patara scarce so much from Xanthus; for Baudrand reckons but seventy furlongs. By which it is easy to make an estimate of the remaining cities of this province, which lay about equal distances from one another.

SECT. XII.—*Of Pamphylia Prima and Secunda.*

The next province on the same shore is Pamphylia, divided by the Romans into two, called Pamphylia Prima and Secunda. In the second of them, which bordered upon Lycia, Carolus a Sancto Paulo reckons twenty-six dioceses:—1. Perg-a (or -æ,) the metropolis. 2. Termessus. 3. Eudoxias. 4. Maximianopolis. 5. Palæopolis. 6. Pentenesus. 7. Diciozanabrus, al. Zenopolis. 8. Ariassus. 9. Pugla. 10. Adriana. 11. Attalia. 12. Magidis. 13. Olbia. 14. Corbasa. 15. Lysinia. 16. Cordylus. 17. Lagania. 18. Panemoticus. 19. Geone. 20. Commachum. 21. Silvium. 22. Pisinda, al. Sinda vel Isinda. 23. Talbonda. 24. Unzela. 25. Gilsata. 26. Pella. To which Holstenius adds five more, Colobrassus, Coracesium, Senna, Primopolis, and Seleucia. But three of these are by Carolus a Sancto Paulo set in the other Pamphylia, with nine more, in this order:—1. Sida, the metropolis. 2. Aspendus. 3. Etene. 4. Erymne. 5. Cassus. 6. Semneum, which is the same with Senna, before mentioned. 7. Carallus. 8. Coracesium, mentioned before. 9. Syedra, or Sysdra. 10. Lyrbæ. 11. Colibrassus. 12. Selga. To which Holstenius adds Cotana, which makes the whole number

in these two provinces forty-one : and the number is some evidence that they were comparatively but small. Sometimes, as Holstenius has observed, two of them were united together ; for, in the Council of Constantinople under Flavian, one Sabinianus subscribes himself bishop of Eudocias, Termessus, and Jobia^v, which we find in the first session of the Council of Chalcedon. And in the time of Leo Sapiens some more of them were united together, for his *Notitia* has but thirty-six dioceses in both the provinces ; yet any of them, single, were of a competent extent to confute the notion of those who make episcopal dioceses only parish churches.

SECT. XIII.—Of *Lycaonia*.

On the north of Pamphylia, more within land, lay the province of Lycaonia, where we find nineteen dioceses :—
1. Iconium, the metropolis. 2. Lystra. 3. Derbe ; all mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles. 4. Onosada, al. Usada. 5. Amblada. 6. Honomada. 7. Laranda. 8. Baratha. 9. Hyda. 10. Sabatra. 11. Canna. 12. Berinopolis. 13. Ilistr-a (or -um.) 14. Perte. 15. Arana, al. Baratta. 16. Isaura. 17. Misthium. 18. Corna. 19. Pappa. To which Holstenius adds another, called Hydmautus, or Gadamautus, in the Acts of the Council of Chalcedon ; but the *Notitia* of Leo Sapiens has but fifteen.

SECT. XIV.—Of *Pisidia*.

In the next province of Pisidia, Carolus a Sancto Paulo finds twenty dioceses :—1. Antiochia, the metropolis. 2. Sagalassus. 3. Sozopolis. 4. Apamea. 5. Tity-assus (or Tyti-). 6. Baris. 7. Adrianopolis. 8. Limenopolis. 9. Laodicea Combusta. 10. Seleucia. 11. Adada. 12. Mallus. 13. Si-niandus. 14. Metropolis. 15. Paralau. 16. Bindeum. 17. Philomelium, which some place in Phrygia. 18. Prostama. 19. Gortena. 20. Theodosiopolis. The *Notitia* of Leo Sapiens augments the number to twenty-three. I stand

^v Conc. Chalced. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 231. D 9.) Σαβινιανὸς τῆς κατὰ Τερμισσὸν, καὶ Εὐδοκιάδα, καὶ Ἰωβίαν, ἁγίας τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας, ὁρίσας ὑπέγραψα.

not to make any particular remarks upon these dioceses, because any reader that knows these two provinces, will easily imagine they are not to be compared with the other dioceses in the northern parts of Pontus.

SECT. XV.—*Of Phrygia Pacatiana and Salutaris.*

The last provinces in the Asiatic diocese are those which the old Greeks and Romans called by one common name, Phrygia Major; but the Roman emperors divided it at first into two, and then into three provinces; one called Phrygia Salutaris, from the medicinal waters found there; another, Phrygia Pacatiana, or, as some books read it corruptly, Capatiana; and a third Pacatiana Secunda. In Phrygia Salutaris, Carolus a Sancto Paulo reckons up twenty dioceses.—1. Synnada, the metropolis. 2. Dorylæum. 3. Polybotus. 4. Nacolia. 5. Midaium. 6. Hipsus. 7. Prymnesia. 8. Myrum, or rather Merum. 9. Eucarpia. 10. Lysias. 11. Augustopolis. 12. Brysum. 13. Otrum. 14. Stectorium. 15. Cinnaborium. 16. Amadassa. 17. Cotyaium. 18. Præpenissus (or *e*). 19. Docimæum. 20. Amorium.

In Phrygia Pacatiana Prima he recounts twenty-nine:—1. Laodicea, the metropolis. 2. Tiberiopolis. 3. Azana (or *s*). 4. Itoana, or Bitoana. 5. Ancyra Ferrea, which Holstenius observes to be sometimes attributed to the province of Lydia adjoining. 6. Cidiss-us (or -i). 7. Egara, which Holstenius corrects into Aliana. 8. Pelte. 9. Apira. 10. Cadi. 11. Tranopolis, vel Trajanopolis. 12. Sebasta. 13. Eumenia. 14. Temenothyrae. 15. Aliona. 16. Trapezopolis. 17. Silbium. 18. Ilusa. 19. Nea. 20. Chæretapa. 21. Colossa, now called Chone. 22. Sinna-i (or -us). 23. Philippopolis. 24. Themisonium. 25. Sanis. 26. Acmonia. 27. Theodosiopolis. 28. Bleandrus. 29. Atanassus. Holstenius strikes out one of the number, for Nea is but a corruption of the Greek for Sanæa or Sanans, as he shows; but he finds out another, called Dioclia, to supply its room.

In Pacatiana Secunda, there were but five dioceses, being by much the least of all the provinces:—1. Hierapolis, the metropolis. 2. Dionysiopolis. 3. Anastasiopolis. 4. Mosynus.

5. Attudi. But this province being of later erection, these dioceses are more commonly attributed to Phrygia Pacatiana without any distinction. Now, I observe of Phrygia, in general, that some of its dioceses, bordering upon Galatia, were like those of Galatia and the other Pontic provinces, of a larger extent than the rest about Hierapolis and Laodicea: which two metropolical sees were not at a very great distance from one another. Ferrarius, in one place, says but six miles; but it seems to be a typographical error: for in another place he makes Colossæ^w to be between Hierapolis and Laodicea, upon the confluence of the rivers Lycus and Mæander, at twenty miles' distance from them both; so that there must be a mistake one way or other. Pliny is very exact in describing the situation of Laodicea^x; for, he says, it stood upon the Lycus, and had its walls washed also with the Asopus and the Caprus. But yet he does not tell us how far the confluence of these rivers was from the confluence of the Lycus with the Mæander, where Colossæ stood; but it may be concluded it was at no great distance from it, since all authors agree that Laodicea stood near the Mæander; and these three cities, Colossæ, Hierapolis, and Laodicea, which St. Paul joins together, are said by Chrysostom, Theodoret, and others, to be very near each other. They who have opportunity to consult Antonine's Itinerary (which at present I have not), may perhaps find them more exactly described, and limited with more certain bounds than I can pretend to assign them. If the first opinion of Ferrarius be true, and agreeable to Antonine, that they lay but six miles asunder, then it will readily be concluded that the dioceses in this part of Phrygia were comparatively very small, since, by Carolus a Sancto Paulo's description, Itoana, Trapezopolis, Attudi, Mosynus, and Antioch, upon the Mæander in Caria, seem not to have been at much greater distances from one another.

^w Ferrar. Lexic. voce *Colossæ*. Colossæ, Chone, teste Porphyrog. urbs Phrygiæ magnæ, olim episc. sub Sardibus, nunc metrop. ad Lycum fluv. ubi in Mæandrum influit, inter Laodicæam et Hierapolim xx. mill. pass. ultra Sardes clx. stad. in ort. teste Xenoph. cis Celænas deccclx.

^x Plin. lib. v. c. xxix.

SECT. XVI.—*Of Isauria and Cilicia.*

Besides these several provinces of the Asiatic and Pontic dioceses in Asia Minor, there were also three provinces in it which were reckoned to the eastern diocese and the patriarchate of Antioch, viz. Isauria, Cilicia Prima, and Cilicia Secunda, which must be spoken of in this place. Isauria was anciently reckoned only a part of Cilicia, but from the time of Constantine, both in the civil and ecclesiastical account, it was esteemed a distinct province. Carolus a Sancto Paulo mentions twenty-two dioceses:—1. Seleucia, the metropolis. 2. Celenderis. 3. Anemurium. 4. Lamus. 5. Antiochia ad Tragum. 6. Selinus (or *e*), al. Trajanopolis. 7. Jotape. 8. Diocæsarea. 9. Philadelphia. 10. Domitiopolis. 11. Titiopolis. 12. Hierapolis. 13. Nephelis. 14. Dalisandus. 15. Claudiopolis, al. Isaura. 16. Germanicopolis. 17. Sbide, al. Isis. 18. Cestrus. 19. Olbus. 20. Lybias. 21. Hermopolis. 22. Irenopolis. To which Holstenius adds two more, Charadra, and Lauzada, which are sometimes written corruptly Vasada and Nauzada (p. 290).

In Cilicia Prima, there were eight dioceses:—1. Tarsus, the metropolis. 2. Pompeiopolis. 3. Sebaste. 4. Coricus. 5. Adana. 6. Mallus. 7. Zephyrium, and 8. Augusta, added by Holstenius, who shows it to be a distinct place from Sebaste.

In the other Cilicia, there are reckoned nine:—1. Anazarbus, the metropolis. 2. Mopsuestia. 3. Æge. 4. Epiphania. 5. Irenopolis. 6. Flaviopolis. 7. Castabala. 8. Alexandria, now called Scanderoon. 9. Rossus, in the confines of Syria. The greatest part of these were large dioceses, like those of Syria, as any one that computes the distance between Epiphania, Alexandria, Rossus, &c. will easily imagine.

SECT. XVII.—*Of Lazica, or Colchis.*

Some reckon Lazica, which was anciently called Colchis, an appendix to Asia Minor, and therefore I mention it in this place. It is all the country on the Euxine sea from Trebisond in Pontus to Phasis, which Strabo reckons near two

hundred miles. The modern *Notitiæ* speak but of five dioceses; but that of Leo Sapiens, in Leunclavius, has fifteen. It was first made a Roman province in the time of Justinian, who mentions the cities^γ that were in it, Petra and Justiniana, with four castles, Pityus, Sebastopolis, Archæopolis, and Rhodopolis, which had anciently been in the hands of the Romans; and four other castles,—Scandias, Sarapens, Murisios, and Lysieros, which he had lately taken out of the hands of the Persians. Of these, one is as ancient as the Council of Nice. For Stratophilus, bishop of Ptyusium or Pityus, subscribes there among the bishops of Pontus Polemoniacus, to which province it was then annexed, as lying in Solo Barbarico, and not constituting any other province. In the sixth General Council there is mention of Petra and Phasis, the metropolis. And that is all the account we have of them in the ancient councils.

SECT. XVIII.—*Of the Isle of Lesbos and the Cyclades.*

Another appendix to Asia Minor are the lesser islands of the Ægean Sea, which constituted a province by themselves. Carolus a Sancto Paulo reckons four dioceses in Lesbos itself,—Mitylene, Methymna, Tenedos, and Poroselene. But Poroselene and Tenedos were distinct islands by themselves, which sometimes had bishops of their own, and sometimes were united to Lesbos. In the Council of Sardica, Dioscorus subscribes himself bishop of the isle of Tenedos alone; but in the second Council of Ephesus, and in the Council of Chalcedon, Florentius subscribes himself bishop of Lesbos and Tenedos together. Now, as we must say, that Tenedos was but a small diocese by itself, for it was but ten miles in compass, as Ferrarius computes; so when Lesbos was joined with it,

^γ Justin. Novel. xxviii. Præfat. Πιτυοῦντα δὴ καὶ Σεβαστόπολιν ἐν φρουρίοις μᾶλλον ἀριθμητέον ἢ πόλεσιν. . . . Μεθ' οὗς ἡ τε ἡμετέρα καθέστηκε Λαζική, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἡ Πετραίων ἐστὶ πόλις (ὅφ' ἡμῶν τὸ πόλις εἶναί τε καὶ ὀνομάζεσθαι προσλαβοῦσα, κεχρημένη τε τῷ τῆς ἡμετέρας εὐσεβείας ὀνόματι, καὶ Ἰουστινιανῇ καλουμένῃ), Ἀρχαιοπόλις τε καὶ Ῥοδόπολις, φρούριά τε μέγιστα καὶ ἀρχαῖα ἐν οἷς δὴ καὶ τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν ἐστὶν ἐκ Περσῶν ἀναληφθέντα φρούρια, Σκάνδις τε καὶ Σαραπανίς, καὶ Μουρίσιός τε καὶ Λύσιρις, καὶ εἴ τι ἕτερον ἡμῖν ἐν Λαζοῖς ἐκπεπόνηται. (Gotting. p. 184.)

it was a large one. For Pliny says^z, Lesbos alone had nine famous towns, and Strabo^a makes it eleven hundred stadia, or one hundred and forty miles in compass.

The other islands, called Cyclades, were divided into eleven distinct dioceses;—1. Rhodus, the metropolis. 2. Samos. 3. Chios. 4. Coos. 5. Naxus. 6. Paros. 7. Thera. 8. Delos. 9. Tenos. 10. Melos. 11. Carpathus. Now the largest of these, Rhodes, Samos, and Chios, were about one hundred, or one hundred and twenty miles in compass, as Pliny^b informs us. But the lesser sort of them, Tenos and Thera, were not above fourteen or fifteen miles long, or forty in compass. So that among these we find dioceses of different extent, as in the rest of Asia, but all agreeing in the same species of episcopal government; and some of them, as Lesbos, having their *chorepiscopi*, but none so small as to be confined to a single congregation.

And so we have gone over all the provinces of the East under the civil government of the *præfectus-prætorio Orientis*, except the six provinces of the Thracian diocese; which, because they are European provinces, we will consider as such among the provinces of Europe, and give them the first place in the following chapter.

^z Plin. lib. v. c. xxxi. Clarissima Lesbos, a Chio lxxv. mill. passuum. Hermerte, et Lasia, Pelasgia, Ægira, Æthiope, Macaria appellata fuit, octo (al. novem) oppidis incluta.

^a Strabo, lib. xiii. p. 616. (p. 916. C. edit. Amstelod.) Οὔσης τῆς περιμέτρου σταδίων χιλίων ἑκατὸν, κ. τ. λ.

^b Plin. lib. v. c. xxxi. (p. 79.) Pulcherrima et libera Rhodus, circuitu cxxx. mill. pass.: aut, si potius Isidoro credimus, ciii. . . . Samon liberam, circuitu lxxxvii. mill. passuum: aut, ut Isidorus, centum. . . . Par claritate ab ea distat . . . cum oppido Chios libera, quam Æthalam Ephorus prisco nomine appellat; Metrodorus et Cleobulus *Chiam*, a Chione nympa; aliqui a nive, et Macrin et Pityusam. Montem habet Pellensæum, marmor Chium: circuitu cxxv. mill. pass. colligit, ut veteres tradidere: Isidorus ix. millia adjicit.

CHAPTER IV.

A CONTINUATION OF THE FORMER ACCOUNT IN THE
EUROPEAN PROVINCES.SECT. I.—*Of the Six Provinces of Thrace. And first of
Scythia.*

IN pursuance of the former inquiry, we are led out of Asia Minor into the provinces of Europe, where the six provinces of the Thracian diocese,—Europa, Thracia, Hæmimontis, Rhodope, Moesia Secunda, and Scythia, first offer themselves to consideration. This was all the country from Macedonia and the river Strymon to the Danube, which is now Romania and Bulgaria. A country extending from Constantinople to Sardica, above three hundred miles one way, and from the Ægean Sea to the Danube, almost as much the other. In all these provinces, the dioceses were very large. For in Scythia, the most northern province, there was but one bishopric, though there were many cities. For the bishop of Tomi was the sole bishop of this whole region, as is noted by Sozomen^a, and Theodoret^b, and other ancient writers, by whom he is sometimes called the bishop of Tomi, and sometimes the bishop of Scythia, as being the only superintendent of all the Churches in that Scythia, which was made a province of the Roman empire.

SECT. II.—*Of Europa.*

The province of Europa had also large dioceses; for several cities were under one bishop. We find, in the Acts of the Council of Ephesus^c, a petition offered to that council by the

^a Sozom. lib. vi. c. xxi. (Cambr. p. 244. 11.) Μητρόπολις δέ ἐστι Τόμις, πόλις μεγάλη καὶ εὐδαίμων παράλιος, ἐξ εὐωνύμων εἰσπλέοντι τὸν Εὐξείνου, καλούμενον Πόντον· εἰσέτι δὲ καὶ νῦν ἔθος παλαιὸν ἐνθάδε κρατεῖ, τοῦ παντὸς ἔθνους ἓνα τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἐπισκοπεῖν.—Id. lib. vii. c. xix. (Cambr. 307. 5.) Ἀμίλει Σκύθαι πολλὰ πόλεις ὄντες, ἓνα πάντες ἐπίσκοπον ἔχουσιν.

^b Theodoret. lib. iv. c. xxx. et xxxii. Καὶ Βρετανίων παντοδαπῇ μὲν λαμπρυνόμενος ἀρετῇ, πάσης δὲ τῆς Σκυθίας τὰς πόλεις ἀρχιερατικῶς ἰθύνειν πεπιστευμένος, κ. τ. λ.

^c Conc. Eph. part. ii. act. vii. (tom. iii. Conc. p. 810, tot.)

bishops of this province. wherein they pray, “that an immemorial custom of their country might be continued, whereby the bishop of Heraclea had also Panium in his diocese; the bishop of Bizya had Arcadiopolis; the bishop of Coele had Callipolis; the bishop of Subsadia had Aphrodisias.” To which petition the council agreed, and ordered, “that no innovation should be made in the matter.” Nor was there any alteration in the time of the Council of Chalcedon; for there we find one Lucian^d styled bishop of Bizya and Arcadiopolis still. But, in the Council of Constantinople, under Mennas^e, we meet with some alteration; for there Panium has a distinct bishop from Heraclea, and Callipolis from Coele. And in the *Notitia* of Leo Sapiens, in Leunclavius, Bizya and Arcadiopolis are not only distinct bishoprics, but both of them advanced to the honour of *autocephali*, or ‘titular metropolitans’ in the Church. In this province stood also Byzantium, once subject to Heraclea, the metropolis, till it was rebuilt, and advanced to be the royal city by Constantine: after which it grew so great and populous, as to equal Old Rome. Sozomen^f says, Constantine adorned it with many noble oratories; and it appears from one of Justinian’s Novels^g, that, in his time, four of these churches had no less than five hundred clergy of all sorts belonging to them. The Novatians themselves (as Socrates^h observes), had three churches within the city; and in the suburbs, or region belonging to the city, the Catholics had many parishes and churches at a considerable distance, as Hebdomum, Sycæ, Marianæ, Hieron, Elæa, Therapea, and Hestiae, otherwise called Michaelium, which

^d Conc. Chalced. act. xvi. (tom. iv. p. 799. B.) Λουκιανὸς ἐπίσκοπος Βύζης καὶ Ἀρκαδιουπόλεως ὀρίσας ὑπέγραψα.

^e Conc. sub Menna, act. iii. et iv. (tom. v. Conc. p. 59. E. p. 74. B.)

^f Sozom. lib. ii. c. iii. (Aug. T. p. 45.) Ταύτην μὲν οὖν ὥσεί τινα νεοπαγῇ Χριστοῦ πόλιν καὶ ὁμώνυμον ἑαυτῷ, γεραίρων Κωνσταντῖνος, πολλοῖς καὶ μεγίστοις ἐκόσμησεν εὐκτηρίοις.

^g Justin. Novel. iii. Εἶναι τὸν πάντα ἀριθμὸν τῶν εὐλαβεστάτων κληρικῶν τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας ἐν τετρακοσίοις εἰκοσιπέντε προσώποις· καὶ ἑκατὸν πρὸς τούτοις τῶν καλουμένων πυλωρῶν.

^h Socrat. lib. ii. c. xxxviii. (Cambr. p. 140. 17.) Εἰς τὰς ἄλλας τρεῖς, τοσαύτας γὰρ ἐντὸς τῆς πόλεως ἔχουσιν οἱ τῶν Ναυατιανῶν ἐκκλησίας, συνερχόμενοι ἀλλήλοις συνηύχοντο.

Sozomen¹ says, was thirty-five furlongs from the city by water, and seventy by land. I think it needless to be more particular in the description of this diocese, since these are sufficient indications of the largeness of it. I shall only add, concerning this province of Europa, that though Carolus a Sancto Paulo reckons thirteen dioceses in it,—Heraclea, Panium, Coelos (or *a*), Callipolis, Cyla, Aphrodisia, Theodosiopolis, Chersonesus, Drusipara, Lysimachia, Bizya, Selymbria, and Arcadiopolis; yet really there were but nine; for Coelos and Cyla, as Holstenius has observed^k, were two names for the same city, and Callipolis was joined in the same diocese with it, in like manner as Panium was annexed to Heraclea, and Arcadiopolis to Bizya; so that these were anciently dioceses of great extent.

SECT. III.—*Of Thracia* (p. 224).

In the province of Thracia, properly so called, there were but four dioceses,—Philippopolis, Diocletianopolis, Nicopolis, and Diospolis: and the modern *Notitiæ*, that of Leunclavius only excepted, have but three; for Nicopolis is not mentioned in them.

SECT. IV.—*Of Hæmimontis*.

In the province of Hæmimontis there were anciently six dioceses,—Hadrianopolis, Mesembria, Sozopolis, Plotinopolis, Develtus, and Anchialus. The later *Notitiæ* reckon but the four first; and Zoida instead of the two last, which are omitted, as being sunk or united into one.

SECT. V.—*Of Rhodope* (p. 225).

In the province of Rhodope, Carolus a Sancto Paulo finds six dioceses,—Trajanopolis, Maximianopolis, Abdera, Mariona,

¹ Sozom. lib. ii. c. iii. (Cambr. p. 48. l.) 'Ἐν ταῖς ἑστίαις . . . τόπος δὲ οὗτος, ὁ νῦν Μιχαήλιον ὀνομαζόμενος, . . . διεστὼς αὐτῆς πλωτῆρι μὲν, ἀμφὶ τριάκοντα καὶ πέντε στάδια . . . ἐβδομήκοντα δὲ καὶ πρὸς κύκλῳ περιοδεύοντι τὸν διὰ μέσου πορθμόν.

^k Holsten. Adnotat. Geog. p. 131. (ap. Car. a S. Paul. p. 223.) *Cyla*] hæc est Coela, quam modo recensuimus.

Ænus; and Cypsela. To which Holstenius adds Topirus; which the other, by mistake, places in Macedonia. But these were so far from increasing in later ages, that they sunk into three, Trajanopole, Anastasiopole, and Perus, which are all that the modern *Notitiæ* mention.

SECT. VI.—*Of Mœsia Secunda.*

In Mœsia Inferior, or Secunda, the last of the six Thracian provinces, which is now much the same with Bulgaria, Carolus a Sancto Paulo reckons nine dioceses,—Martianopolis, Nicopolis, Novæ, Abritum, Durostorum, Dionysiopolis, Odesus, Apiaria, Comæa. To which Holstenius adds another, called Tirista, or Prista, by Socrates, and Nicephorus Calistus, Σεξαντάπριστα: but whether increased or diminished we know not, for there is no account of them in the *Notitiæ* of later ages. I make no further remark upon these dioceses, save that they were generally large ones, as any one that will cast his eye upon a map, or examine particular distances of cities, will easily be convinced. And we may make the same general observation upon most of the dioceses of the European provinces in Macedonia, Dacia, and Illyricum, till we come as far as Italy. For which reason, it will be sufficient to give the reader only a catalogue of the names of dioceses in every province of those regions, according to the order and distribution of them in the Church, following the model of the civil government, which divided these countries into three great dioceses, and seventeen or eighteen provinces, under the general name of Illyricum Orientale and Occidentale.

SECT. VII.—*Provinces in the Civil Diocese of Macedonia.*
Episcopal Dioceses in Macedonia Prima and Secunda.

The first of these are the provinces of Greece, which, by the Romans, are all comprehended under one common name of the civil dioceses of Macedonia; which, with the diocese of Dacia, was anciently the district of the *præfectus-prætorio Illyrici Orientalis*. In the diocese of Macedonia were anciently six provinces; or, according to Hierocles's account, seven,—Macedonia Prima and Secunda, Epirus Vetus, and Epirus

Nova, Thessalia, Achaia, and the Isle of Crete. Carolus a Sancto Paulo confounds the two Macedonias together, and reckons seventeen dioceses in both:—1. Thessalonica, the metropolis of the first Macedonia. 2. Philippi, the metropolis of the second. 3. Stobi, the old metropolis of the second province. 4. Berrhœa. 5. Dium. 6. Particopolis. 7. Dober-us (or Debor-). 8. Cassandria. 9. Neapolis. 10. Heraclea Pelagonia. 11. Torone. 12. Lete. 13. Topiris. 14. Serre. 15. Heraclea Strymonis. 16. Isle of Thassus. 17. Hephæstia, in the Isle of Lemnos. To which Holstenius¹ adds Primula and Zapara, but rejects Topiris, as belonging to Rhodope, a province in the Thracian diocese; and observes of Serre that it was but another name for Philippi.

SECT. VIII.—*Of Thessalia* (p. 197).

The next province upon the Ægean Sea is Thessalia, where Carolus a Sancto Paulo finds but eight dioceses,—Larissa the metropolis, Demetrias, Echinus, Cypera, Metropolis, Lamia, Triccæ, and Thebæ Phthioticæ. But Holstenius^m adds three more, Dicæsarea, Gomphi, and Scarphia: the last of which Carolus a Sancto Paulo confounds with Echinus. The *Notitia* in Leunclavius calls this province Hellas Secunda, and names eleven dioceses in it, four of which retain their old names, by which it is reasonable to conjecture, that Hellas Secunda and Thessalia were but two names for the same province; and the number of dioceses agreeing exactly in both accounts, we may conclude there never was above eleven dioceses in all this province.

¹ Holsten. Geog. p. 114. (p. 197, in Caroli a S. Paul. Geog.) Primula Hierocli, in Actis Conc. Constantinopol. sub Flavio: 'Primopolis, cujus episcopus Timotheus ibidem subscripsit.'—Ibid. Zapara Hierocli, Macedoniæ secundæ civitas in Conc. V. Constantinopol. col. ii. legitur, Sabinianus episcopus Zaparenæ civitatis Illyricianæ dioceseos.

^m Ibid. p. 115. (p. 197.) 'Cæsarea' vel 'Dicæsarea' Hierocli. Timotheus episcopus Dicæsariensis in Conc. Romano Bonifacii Papæ II. 'Gomphi' Ptolem. Steph. et Hierocli. Eustathius Gomphiensis episcopus legitur in Conc. Bonifacii II. 'Scaphia' Ptolem. ibid. Steph. et Hierocli. Cyriacus ejus episcopus subscripsit synodicæ Gennadii Patriarchæ Constantinop. tom. i. Juris Gr. Rom. Ea etiam nunc nomen retinet, teste Sophiano: sed noster hic (Car. a S. Paulo) cum Echino confundere videtur, quamvis infra inter incertos posuerit, ubi Stephanum ejus episcopum habet.

SECT. IX.—*Of Achaia, Peloponnesus, and Eubœa.*

The next province to Thessaly is Achaia, which was a very large province, including not only what the ancients called Attica and Achaia, but also all Peloponnesus, and the Isle of Eubœa. Here Carolus a Sancto Paulo finds twenty-six dioceses, four of which were in the Isle of Eubœa :—1. Chalcis, now called Negroponte. 2. Oreum. 3. Porthmus. 4. Caristus. Nine in Peloponnesus :—1. Corinthus, the metropolis of the whole province. 2. Argos. 3. Tegea. 4. Megalopolis. 5. Lacedæmon. 6. Messene. 7. Corone. 8. Patræ. 9. Helice. Thirteen in the other part of Achaia :—1. Athenæ. 2. Megara. 3. Thespiæ. 4. Naupactus. 5. Secorus. 6. Elatea. 7. Opus. 8. Strategis. 9. Thebæ. 10. Platea. 11. Tanagra. 12. Marathon. 13. Carsia, al. Corissia. Holstenius adds another Corone, or Corona, in Bœotia, beside the Corone that was in Peloponnesus. The *Notitia* of Leo Sapiens, in Leunclavius, and the seventh chapter of this Book, makes three provinces of this, calling them Hellas Prima, and Peloponnesus Prima and Secunda. The number of dioceses is pretty near the same ; by which we may guess no great alteration was made in them for several ages. The largeness of these dioceses may easily be concluded from the greatness of many of the cities and their large territories, which the reader may find already demonstrated by Dr. Maurice, in his Discourse of Diocesan Episcopacy (p. 380), concerning Thebes, Athens, Lacedæmon, Megalopolis, and other cities of this province in particular.

SECT. X.—*Of Epirus Vetus, and Epirus Nova.*

The next region is Epirus, separated from Achaia by the river Achelous. This was anciently one kingdom, but the Romans divided it into two provinces, Epirus Vetus, and Epirus Nova. In the former, Carolus a Sancto Paulo reckons ten dioceses :—1. Nicopolis, the metropolis. 2. Anchiasmus. 3. Phœnicia. 4. Dodone. 5. Adrianopolis. 6. Buthrotum. 7. Euria. 8. Photica. 9. Isle of Cephallenia. 10. Isle of Corcyra. In the new Epirus, only eight :—1. Dyrrachium, or Doracium, the metropolis. 2. Scampes. 3. Apollonia. 4. Aulon. 5. Amantia. 6. Lychnidus. 7. Bullidum, or

Bullis. 8. Prina, or Prisna. To which Holstenius adds Listra, or Helistra, but with some doubting, whether it do not rather belong to Lycaonia. These were very large dioceses, above forty or fifty miles long; notwithstanding which, two of them were sometimes united together. For, in the Acts of the Council of Ephesus, as Holstenius has observed, one Felix is calledⁿ bishop of Bullis and Apollonia together. In the Greek *Notitia* of Leo Sapiens, Old Epirus goes by the name of Ætolia, and has the same number of ten dioceses only, though not the same names. The other Epirus has sixteen, but then the province of Prævalitana is joined to it, and most of its dioceses taken in to make up the number. Whence I conclude that the dioceses in these provinces have been of great extent in all ages; the Isle of Corcyra itself being reckoned by some geographers forty-five miles long, and by Pliny^o no less than ninety-seven.

SECT. XI.—*Of the Isle of Crete.*

In the Isle of Crete, which was the last of the Macedonian provinces, Carolus a Sancto Paulo names eleven dioceses:—
1. Gortyna, the metropolis. 2. Gnossus. 3. Hierapetra. 4. Lappa. 5. Subrita. 6. Eleuthera. 7. Cherronesus. 8. Cydonia. 9. Cysamus. 10. Siteum. 11. Cantanum. The *Notitia* of Leo Sapiens, in Leunclavius, makes them twelve; but Hierapetra is there, by mistake of some transcriber, divided in two, which, being corrected, reduces them to the same number. Whence I conclude this was pretty near the standing number for several ages. Now Crete is reckoned, by Ferrarius and others out of Pliny and Strabo, two hundred and seventy, or three hundred miles long, and fifty broad; which makes these twelve dioceses equal to the rest of the Macedonian provinces, all which appear visibly to be dioceses of great extent, without descending any further to give a more particular account of them.

ⁿ Conc. Ephes. act. i. (tom. iii. p. 447. C.) Φήλικος Ἀπολλωνίας καὶ Βελλιάδος.

^o Plin. lib. iv. c. xii. (Paris. 1543. p. 55.) Coreyra . . . cum urbe ejusdem nominis Coreyra . . . pass. nonaginta septem mill. in longitudinem patens.

SECT. XII.—*Of the Five Provinces in the Diocese of Dacia.
Of Prævalitana* (p. 201).

The other civil diocese of Illyricum Orientale went by the common name of Dacia, consisting of five provinces,—Prævalitana, Moesia Superior, Dacia Mediterranea, Dacia Ripensis, and Dardania. Prævalitana lies on the north of Epirus, to the Adriatic Sea, being part of that country which is now called Albania. Carolus a Sancto Paulo names but two dioceses in it, Scodra, the old metropolis of the province, and Achrida, which was anciently called Prævalis, but afterwards Justinian honoured it with his own name, Justiniana Prima, and advanced it to patriarchal dignity, assigning it all the five provinces^p of the Dacian diocese, and the two Pannonias, in the diocese of Illyricum Occidentale, for the limits of its jurisdiction. Besides these two bishoprics, Holstenius has found out two more in this province, Rhizinium and Lissus, now called Alessio, on the Adriatic Sea. Carolus a Sancto Paulo, also, by mistake, places Scodra in the province of Dalmatia, making Justiniana Prima a metropolitan see without any suffragans under it.

SECT. XIII.—*Of Moesia Superior.*

On the north of Prævalitana, to the Danube, lay Moesia Superior, between Pannonia on the west, and Dacia on the east. Carolus a Sancto Paulo confounds the episcopal dioceses of this province and the Dacias together, making Sardica the metropolis of them all, and calling them from that by the common name of Provincia Sardicensis. And beside Sardica, he finds but three more dioceses in the three provinces,—Remessiana, Aquæ, and Castrum Martis. But Holstenius is a little more accurate, and treats distinctly of them. He assigns to Moesia Superior, Castrum Martis, and another called Margus, seated on the confluence of the river Margus and the Danube.

^p Justin. Novel. cxxxix. c. iii. Τὸν κατὰ καιρὸν μακαριώτατον ἀρχιεπίσκοπον τῆς πρώτης Ἰουστινιανῆς τῆς ἡμετέρας πατρίδος, ἔχειν ἀεὶ ὑπὸ τὴν οἰκίαν δικαιοδοσίαν τοὺς ἐπισκόπους τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν Δακίας μηδιτεβρανέας καὶ Δακίας ῥιπενσίας, Τριβαλλέας, Δαρδανίας, καὶ Μυσίας τῆς ἀνωτέρας, καὶ Παννονίας, κ. τ. λ.

SECT. XIV.—*Of Dacia Mediterranea, and Dacia Ripensis.*

To Dacia Mediterranea, he assigns Sardica, the metropolis, and Romatiana, and Naissus; which he and Pagi make to be the birthplace of Constantine the Great. In the other Dacia, called Ripensis, from its running along the banks of the Danube, between Mœsia Prima and Secunda, he places Aquæ, which is mentioned in the Council of Sardica, in St. Hilary's Fragments; and Iseus, or Iscopolis, another city, whose bishop subscribed out of the same province, in the foresaid council. In his Annotations, also, upon Ortelius^a, he observes two other episcopal cities in this province, one called Martis by Hierocles, or Stramartis by Procopius; and another called Budine, now Bodine, in Bulgaria, upon the Danube. But perhaps these are both modern sees, for he cites no other authority but that of the *Notitiæ* for them; and Stramartis seems to be a corruption of Castra Martis.

SECT. XV.—*Of Dardania, and Gothia.*

On the south of Dacia, between it and Macedonia, was the province of Dardania, divided from Macedonia by Mount Scardus, and from Thracia, by part of Mount Hæmus. It is now part of Servia, and was anciently a part of Mœsia, as Dacia also was, till the Daci, passing over the Danube, got themselves planted in the middle of Mœsia; which, from that time, was called Dacia Nova, as the other beyond the Danube was called Dacia Antiqua, and Gothia. In this province of Dardania, Carolus a Sancto Paulo finds four dioceses:—1. Scupi, the metropolis. 2. Ulpianum, otherwise called Justiniana Secunda. 3. Diocletiana, which at the time of the Council of Sardica was reckoned a city of Macedonia. 4. Nessyna, or Nessus. Holstenius adds another, called Pautalia, which Hierocles, in his *Notitia*, reckons among the cities of Dacia Mediterranea, and Stephanus and Ptolemy among the cities of Thracia, as lying in the confines of those provinces. Besides these five provinces of the Dacian

^a Holsten. Adnotat. in Ortel. p. 116. *Martis*] fuit civitas episcopalis Daciæ Ripensis. Hierocl. apud Procop. de *Ædific. Justin.* corruptæ *Stramartis*.

diocese, on the south side of the Danube, there was another on the north side, out of the bounds of the Roman empire, called Dacia Antiqua, and Gothia, from the time that the Goths seated themselves in it. Epiphanius^r speaks of one Silvanus, bishop of Gothia, beyond Scythia, taking Scythia for the Roman Scythia on this side the Danube, whereof Tomi was the metropolis. Whence Holstenius rightly concludes that Gothia was that region which is now called Transylvania, or Walachia. But what episcopal sees they had; or whether they had in all this region any more than one bishop, as the Scythians, and Saracens, and some other such barbarous nations, is uncertain. Carolus a Sancto Paulo thinks Zarmizegetusa was the seat of their bishop, because Ptolemy makes it the royal seat and metropolis of the kingdom. And this he supposes to be the same with Gothia mentioned in the *Notitia* of Leo Sapiens among the *autocephali*, ‘or such bishops as had no suffragans under them.’ But, these being matters involved in obscurity, I leave them to further inquiry (p. 204).

SECT. XVI.—*Of the six Provinces in the Diocese of Illyricum Occidentale. Of Dalmatia* (p. 76).

Out of Illyricum Orientale, we pass next into the civil diocese of Illyricum Occidentale, which was under the government of the *præfectus-prætorio* of Italy. In this diocese were six provinces,—Dalmatia, Savia, Pannonia Superior, Pannonia Inferior, Noricum Mediterraneum, and Noricum Ripense. In Dalmatia, Carolus a Sancto Paulo reckons four episcopal dioceses:—1. Salona, the metropolis. 2. Jadera, now called Zara. 3. Epidaurus, now Ragusa. 4. Scodra, or Scutari. But Scodra is wrong placed in Dalmatia; for, as has been noted before, it was rather the metropolis of Prævalitana. But Holstenius adds two more in the room of it, Doclea and Senia, now called Segna, a city upon the Liburnian shore.

^r Epiphan. Hæres. lxx. Audian. n. xiii. (Colon. vol. i. p. 326.) Μετὰ τὴν τῶν ἐπισκόπων αὐτῶν τούτων Οὐρανίου καὶ Σιλουανοῦ τοῦ ἐκ Γοθίας τελευτῇ, πολλοὶ διελύθησαν, κ. τ. λ.

SECT. XVII.—*Of Savia* (p. 74).

The next province to this was Savia, which seems to be so named from the river Savus running through the middle of it. It is sometimes called Pannonia Sava, being part of Pannonia on the Savus, and sometimes Pannonia Sirmiensis and Cibaliensis, from the cities Sirmium and Cilabis, which lay in this part of it. But here we consider it as a distinct province from Pannonia, from which it was separated by the river Dravus, and is what we now call Sclavonia, and part of Bosnia and Servia. In this province were six episcopal dioceses :—1. Sirmium, the metropolis, near the confluence of the Savus and the Danube. 2. Singidinum. 3. Mursa, now called Essek. 4. Cibalis. 5. Noviodunum. 6. Siscia.

SECT. XVIII.—*Of Pannonia Superior, and Inferior* (p. 75).

Between the rivers Dravus and the Danube, lay the two Pannonias, Superior and Inferior, which are now the southern part of Hungary. In the former of these, Carolus a Sancto Paulo, out of Lazius, speaks of four dioceses,—Vindobona, or Vienna, Sabaria, Scarabantia, and Celia. To which Holstenius adds Petavia, now called Petow, which the other confounds with Patavia, or Batava Castra, in Novicum, now called Passaw, in Bavaria. Victorinus Martyr was bishop of this city, though Baronius and many others commonly style him ‘Pictaviensem,’ as if he had been bishop of Poitiers, in France ; whereas he was bishop of this city in Pannonia Prima, called Petavia, or Petow, as is observed by Spondanus, and Pagi, and Du Pin, in their critical remarks upon the life of that ancient writer. In the Lower Pannonia, there were but three dioceses,—Curta, Carpis, and Stridonum, the birthplace of St. Jerome.

SECT. XIX.—*Of Noricum Mediterraneum, and Ripense.*

More westward from Pannonia was the province of Noricum, confined on the north with the Danube ; and on the south and west, with Venetia and Rhætia, two Italic provinces. This the Romans divided into two, Noricum Mediterraneum and

Ripense, in both which Lazius mentions but four dioceses,—Laureacum, now called Lork, Juvavia, or Salsburg, Ovilabis, and Solvia. Carolus a Sancto Paulo, by mistake, adds a fifth, Petavium, Petow; but that, as was said before, belongs to another province. And the rest were not erected till the sixth century, when that part of Germany was first converted which is now Carniola and Carinthia, with part of Bavaria, Styria, Tyrol, and Austria; by which it is easy to judge of what vast extent those dioceses anciently were, as they are now at this day; two of them, as I observed, being as large as ten or twenty in some other parts of the world, particularly in Palestine and Asia Minor, which have been already considered: and the observations will be more fully verified by taking a particular view of Italy; whose episcopal dioceses come now in order, in the next place, to be considered.

CHAPTER V.

A PARTICULAR ACCOUNT OF THE DIOCESES OF ITALY.

SECT. I.—*Of the Extent of the Diocese of the Bishop of Rome.*

ITALY, in the sense we are now to speak of it, as it was taken for the whole jurisdiction of the *præfectus urbis* and *vicarius Italiae* under the Roman emperors, was of somewhat larger extent than now it is; for not only the islands of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, were taken into the account, but also Rhætia Secunda, which is that part of Germany that lies from the Alps to the Danube. In this extent it was divided into two large civil dioceses, containing seventeen provinces of the Roman empire, as has been shown before^a; and in these provinces there were about three hundred episcopal dioceses, the names of which are still remaining, but the places themselves many of them demolished or sunk into villages, and other new bishoprics set up in their room. I shall not concern myself

^a See book ix. chap. i. sect. v.

with the number or extent of the modern dioceses, but only those that were ancient, and erected within the first six hundred years; of which I am to make the same observation in general, as I have done upon those of Palestine and Asia Minor, that here were some of the largest, and some of the smallest dioceses, for extent of ground, of any in the world; and yet the same species of episcopacy retained in all without any variety or distinction. The dioceses of the suburbicary provinces, that lay next to Rome, were generally small, in comparison of those that lay further to the north and west in the Italic provinces; for about Rome the country was extremely populous, and cities much thicker spread, which occasioned so many more episcopal sees to be erected in those provinces above the other. This will plainly appear by taking a view of each particular province, and comparing the dioceses one with another; of which we shall be able to give a more exact account, because so much pains has been taken by learned men in all ages, especially Cluver and Holstenius, Ferrarius and Baudrand, in the last age, to describe minutely and exactly the several places of this country, and their distance from Rome and one another. To begin with Rome itself. This was a very large diocese in one respect, and very small in another. In respect of the city itself, and the number of people that were therein, it might be called one of the greatest dioceses in the world; for Pliny^b speaks of it as the most populous city in the universe, in the time of Vespasian, when it was but thirteen miles about. But Lipsius^c, in his book *De Magnitudine Romana*, and Mr. Mede^d, and some others

^b Plin. lib. iii. c. v. (Paris. 1543. p. 40. 2.) *Mœnia ejus (Romæ) collegere ambitu, imperatoribus censoribusque Vespasiananis, anno conditæ 828, pass. xiii. m. cc. : complexa montes septem: ipsa dividitur in regiones quatuordecim. Compita earum cclxv. Ejusdem spatii mensura currente a milliario, in capite Rom. fori statuto, ad singulas portas, quæ sunt hodie numero triginta septem, ita ut duodecim portæ semel numerentur, prætereanturque ex veteribus septem, quæ esse desierunt. Efficit passuum per directum xxx. m. dcclxv. Ad extrema vero tectorum cum castris prætoriis ab eodem milliario per vicos omnium viarum mensura colligit paullo amplius lxx. mill. passuum. Quodsi quis altitudinem tectorum addat, dignam profecto æstimationem concipiat, fateaturque nullius urbis magnitudinem in toto orbe potuisse ei comparari.*

Lipsius de Magnitud. Roman. lib. iii. pp. 421—423. (edit. Antv. 1637, fol.)

^d Med. in Apocalyps. p. 488.

think, that is meant only of the city within the walls; for otherwise it was but forty-two miles in compass when St. John wrote his Revelations in the time of Domitian. And afterward it received considerable additions, for, in the days of Aurelian, the historian^e speaks of it as no less than fifty miles in circumference. And before this time the Christians made a considerable figure in it: for Cornelius, who lived in the middle of the third century, speaks of forty-six presbyters^f, besides deacons, sub-deacons, and other inferior clergy, belonging to the Church in his time. And within half an age more, we find an account of above forty churches in it: for so many Optatus^g says there were, when Victor Garbiensis, the Donatist bishop, was sent from Afric to be the anti-bishop there. Though there were forty churches and more in the city, yet he could not obtain one of them, to make his handful of sectaries look like a Christian congregation. This, as Baronius and Valesius have rightly observed, was spoken by Optatus, not of his own times, but of the time when Victor Garbiensis came to Rome, which was in the beginning of the Diocletian persecution; whence it may be rationally inferred, that if there were above forty churches in Rome before the last persecution, there would be abundance more in the following ages, when the whole city was become Christian. But as, by the vast increase of this city, the dioceses were very large within, so, for the same reason, it became very small without; for that which was at first the territory of Rome seems afterward to have been swallowed up in the city itself by the prodigious increase of it. Insomuch that some have thought that, in the time of

^e Vopisc. Vit. Aurel. p. 645. (p. 222. B. Par. 1620.) Muros urbis Romæ sic ampliavit (Aurelianus), ut quinquaginta prope millia murorum ejus ambitus teneant.

^f Cornel. Epist. ad Fab. ap. Euseb. lib. vi. c. xliii. (p. 171. C.) 'Ο ἐκδικητὴς οὖν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου οὐκ ἠπίστατο ἓνα ἐπίσκοπον δεῖν εἶναι ἐν καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ· ἐν ᾗ οὐκ ἠγνόει πῶς γάρ; πρεσβυτέρους εἶναι τεσσαράκοντα ἕξ· διακόνους ἑπτὰ· ὑποδιακόνους ἑπτὰ· ἀκολουθούς δύο καὶ τεσσαράκοντα· ἐξορκισταὶ δὲ καὶ ἀνάγνωσταὶ ἅμα πυλῶροις δύο καὶ πεντήκοντα, κ. τ. λ.

^g Optat. lib. ii. p. 49. (Oberthür, vol. i. p. 25.) Missus est Victor. Erat ibi filius sine patre, tiro sine principe, discipulus sine magistro, sequens sine antecedente, inquilinus sine domo, hospes sine hospitio, pastor sine grege, episcopus sine populo. Non enim grex aut populus appellandi fuerant pauci, qui inter quadraginta et quod excurrit basilicas, locum, ubi colligerent, non habebant.

Innocent I., the diocese of Rome had no country parishes belonging to it, but that they were all within the city; because in his epistle to Decentius, bishop of Eugubium^h, he seems to make this difference between other dioceses and that of Rome, “that in the Roman diocese the custom was to send the sacrament from the mother church to the presbyters officiating in other churches, because all their churches lay within the city; but this was not proper to be done in other places which had country parishesⁱ, because the sacraments were not to be carried to places at too great a distance.” But however this was, (for learned men are not exactly agreed upon it, and I conceive it to be a mistake,) this is certain, that the diocese of Rome could not extend very far any way into the country region, because it was bounded on all sides with neighbouring cities, which lay close round it. On the north, it had Fidenæ, a bishop’s see in those times; though, as Cluver^j and Ferrarius^k show out of Dionysius Halicarnassensis, it lay but forty stadia, or five miles, distant from it. On the east, it was bounded with the diocese of Gabii, which some, by mistake, place seventy miles from Rome; but Holstenius^l and Cluver, who are more accurate, tell us, it lay in the middle way between

^h Innocent. Epist. i. ad Decent. c. v. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1247.) De fermento, quod die dominica per titulos mittimus, superflue nos consulere voluisti, quum omnes ecclesiæ nostræ intra civitatem sint constitutæ. Quarum presbyteri, quia die ipsa propter plebem sibi creditam nobiscum convenire non possunt, idcirco fermentum, a nobis confectum, per acolythos accipiunt, ut se a nostra communionem, maxime illa die, non judicent separatos.

ⁱ Ibid. Quod per parochias fieri debere non puto, quia nec longe portanda sunt sacramenta: nec nos per cœmeteria diversa constitutis presbyteris destinamus, et presbyteri eorum conficiendorum jus habeant atque licentiam.

^j Cluver. Ital. lib. ii. p. 564. lin. xxxix. seqq. Situm urbis (Fidenarum) maxime indicavit Dionysius Halicarnassensis, de Romulo loquens, lib. ii. Ἐπὶ τὴν Φιδηναίων ἐστράτευσε πόλιν, ἀπὸ τετταράκοντα σταδίων τῆς Ῥώμης κειμένην, μεγάλην τε καὶ πολυάνθρωπον οὔσαν τότε. — Lib. iii. Τετταράκοντα δ’ ὄντων σταδίων τῶν μεταξὺ Φιδήνης τε καὶ Ῥώμης, ἐλάσας ὁ Τύλλος τὸν ἵππον ἀνὰ κράτος, παρῆν ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα.

^k Ferrar. Lexic. Geogr. voce *Fidenæ*. Fidenæ, Fidena Juvenali, Fidene Livio . . . a Marco Æmilio, quod a Romanis rebellasset, funditus eversa, nunc exiguum castrum, ab urbe xl. stadiis, teste Halicarnassensi, distans.

^l Holsten. Adnotat. in Ortel. p. 85. *Gabiis*] sunt Gabii [xiii. ab urbe milliario] optime, sed via Prænestina, non Salaria. — Cluver. Ital. p. 255. In via Prænestina, inter Romam et Præneste, fuit ipsum oppidum Gabii, etc.

Rome and Præneste, about twelve or thirteen miles from each. In the same coast lay Tusculum, but twelve miles from Rome. A little inclining to the south, lay the diocese of Subaugusta, close by Rome. Here Helena, the mother of Constantine, was buried, whence it was called Subaugusta Helena. Holstenius^m says, the remains of it are still visible at the place called Turris Pignataræ. It was so near Rome, that the writers which speak of Helen's interment, commonly say she was buried at Rome, in the church of St. Marcelline, in Via Lavicana; which is to be understood of St. Marcelline's church in Subaugusta, which lay in the way betwixt Rome and Lavici, whence the way was called Via Lavicana. If we look to the south of Rome, down the river Tiber toward the sea, there we find three dioceses in three cities, none of them above three miles from each other, nor above sixteen miles from Rome. These were Ostia, Portus Augusti, and Sylva Candida; the first and second of which lay within two miles of each other: Ostia on the east side, and Portus on the west side, of the river Tiber, and Sylva Candida a little more west from Portus. The site and distance of Ostia and Portus from Rome, we have exactly delivered both from ancient and modern geographers. In Antonine's Itinerary it is called eighteen: but Holsteniusⁿ observes that the ancient miles were shorter than the modern; and therefore both he, and Ferrarius, and others, reckon these places precisely but sixteen miles from Rome. Now these, being sea-ports, had probably the chief extent of their dioceses toward Rome, which takes off from the largeness of the former. On the west, it was bounded with the diocese of Lorium, which lay in Tuscia, in the Via Aurelia, betwixt Rome and Turres; which Holstenius^o says was but twelve miles from Rome, and ten from

^m Holsten. Adnotat. in Geogr. Car. a S. Paulo, p. 11. Subaugusta, etc. Augusta Helena dicebatur.] Vestigia exstant ad Turrim Pignataram vulgo dictam, ubi ecclesia fuit Sanctorum Petri et Marcellini. Ibidemque condita fuit Helena Augusta, mater Constantini Magni.

ⁿ Holsten. in Cluver. Ital. p. 79. A Roma in portum, m. p. xix. Others reckon but 12 modern miles. So Lipsius out of Appian. [Nota. Nihil heic de antiquis milliaribus observatum lego.—Grischov.]

^o Holsten. in Cluver. Ital. p. 43. [Nota. Heic quidem de Lorio loquitur, sed nihil de ejus distantia ab urbe Roma dicit.—Grischov.]

Turres. And many other dioceses lay in the same circle about Rome, not at much further distance; for Nepe, in Tuscia, was but twenty miles from Rome, and Sutrium but four from Nepe. Nomentum, among the Sabines in Valeria, was but twelve miles from Rome; and Tibur, in the same tract, about sixteen. Lavici, in Campania or Latium, was but fifteen; and Tres Tabernæ, according to some accounts, but twenty-one; and Velitræ so near that Gregory the Great united them together. But we shall see more of this in specifying the dioceses of each particular province, and assigning the bounds of such as were most remarkable for their nearness one to another.

SECT. II.—*Of Tuscia and Umbria.*

I shall begin with those provinces which are properly called Roman, in contradistinction to the rest of the Italic dioceses; and in each of these, assign both the names and number of the ancient episcopal dioceses, that the reader who is curious in this matter may exercise his geographical knowledge in a more particular search into the state of them. The first of these in order is Tuscia and Umbria, which the civil and ecclesiastical account always join together as one province, though they had distinct bounds upon other occasions. Tuscia was the same that was anciently called Etruria, bounded with the Tiber on the east, and the river Macra on the west, the Appennine hills on the north, and the Tuscan Sea on the south; and includes now St. Peter's patrimony in the eastern part, and the dukedom of Florence or Tuscany in the west. In this province, Carolus a Sancto Paulo finds thirty-five ancient dioceses:—1. Portus Augusti, now called Porto. 2. Sylva Candida, now Sancta Rufina. 3. Nepe, *vulgo* Nepi. 4. Aqua Viva, al. Carpenatum Urbs. 5. Phalaris, now Citta Castellana. 6. Ferentium, Ferento. 7. Polymartium, Bomarzo. 8. Hortanum, Horti. 9. Blera, now Bieda. 10. Sutrium. 11. Tarquinia. 12. Salpis; but Holstenius thinks this is mistaken for Sæpinum in the province of Samnium. 13. Tuscania, Toscanello. 14. Balneum Regis, Bagnarea. 15. Perusia, now Perugia. 16. Urbs Vetus, Orvieto. 17. Clusium, Chiusa.

18. Cortona. 19. Aretium, Arezzo. 20. Volsinium, Bolsena. 21. Centumcellæ, now Civita Vecchia. 22. Gravisca, now Montalto. 23. Cornetum. 24. Forum Claudii, now Oriolo. 25. Pisa. 26. Luca. 27. Luna. 28. Sena. 29. Florentia. 30. Fesulæ, now Fiezoli. 31. Suana. 32. Manturanum. 33. Rusella, Rossella. 34. Populonia, Porto Baratto. 35. Volaterræ. To which Holstenius adds Volscæ, or Civitas Bulcentina, Castrum Valentini, and Lorium. Now some of these, as has been already observed, were very near neighbours to Rome, and they were yet nearer to one another. Nepe was but four miles from Sutrium, as Ferrarius^p computes; and so they were afterward united together, as the same author informs us. Portus Augusti was bounded on one side with Ostia, which was but two miles from it, as Ferrarius^q and Cluver inform us; and on the other side was Sylva Candida, which Carolus a Sancto Paulo places about the same distance from it. Faleria, or Phalaris, is reckoned by Cluver^r about five or six miles from Nepe, and four miles from Hortanum, by Ferrarius^s; who says, Hortanum lay upon the Tiber, opposite to Oericuli, in Umbria, and not above four miles to the west of it. Holstenius^t shows, out of the Jerusalem Itinerary,

^p Ferrar. in Baudrand. 517, voce *Nepe*. Nepe . . . Hetruriæ urbs episcopalis, inter urbem Romam et Viterbium ad xx. mill. pass. Sutrio proxima ad iv. mill. passus dissidens. Quarum urbium episcopatus hodie juncti sunt. — It. voce *Sutrium*. Sutrium urbs episcopalis . . . proxima Nepitæ ad iv. mill. pass. ab urbe Roma xxv.

^q Ibid. voce *Ostia*. Ostia colonia et urbs Latii, episcopalis, ad ostia Tiberis, e regione Portus urbis. — It. voce *Portus*. Portus Augusti, qui et Romanus, vulgo *Porto*, urbs Hetruriæ prorsus excisa, apud ostia Tiberis, contra Ostiam urbem etiam extinctam duobus mill. pass. distantem, ab urbe Roma xvi. mill. pass. in meridiem.

^r Cluver. Ital. lib. ii. p. 537. Reliquum iter a Nepete oppido ad Ameriam oppidum Umbriæ, ita in supra dicta tabula itineraria consignatum est :

Nepe,

Faleros, v.

Castello Amerino, xii.

Ameria, ix.

^s Ferrar. Lexic. voce *Hortanum*. Hortanum . . . urbs Hetruriæ, in Faliscis, apud Tiberim fluvium ex adverso Oericuli, ab eo iv. mill. pass. distans in occasum.

^t Holsten. Adnot. in Cluver. p. 80. Aqua Viva mutatio, m. p. xii. Utriculo civitas, m. p. xii.

that Aqua Viva was but twelve miles from Otriculi, and Phaleria lay between them. Polymartium was but five miles west from Hortanum, as Ferrarius^u computes, and Ferentium about the same distance from Polymartium; which two last were united into one before the Council of Rome, under Martin (an. 649), as Carolus a Sancto Paulo collects from the subscriptions of that council. Blera was but nine miles from Forum Claudii, as Holstenius^v shows, from the old Itineraries; and Forum Claudii not above five from Sutrium, according to Cluver's reckoning. Lorium was but twelve miles from Rome, in the way to Civita Vecchia, as has been shown before. Tarquinia is reckoned by Ferrarius^w about five miles from Cornetum, and about the same distance from Gravisca, by Cluver's Tables. Which is more probable, because Holstenius^x observes that these three dioceses were at last united into one. Centumcellæ, or Civita Vecchia, lay upon the sea, twelve miles from Gravisca; as appears from the Jerusalem Itinerary in Holstenius^y. Tuscania, and Volsinium, and Urbs Vetus, now called Orvieto, and Balneum Regis, had much about the same distances from one another: and all these lay within that little compass of land, which is now called St. Peter's patrimony, hemmed in on the east and north with the river Tiber, on the west with the river Marta, and on the south with the Tuscan Sea; a country that is not much above fifty miles square, as Cluver describes it; for, from Rome to

^u Ferrar. voce *Polymartium*. Polymartium, urbs olim Hetruriæ episcopalis, nunc parvum castrum, inter Hortam, v. et Viterbium, x. mill. pass. *Bomarzo* hodie.

^v Holsten. in Cluver. p. 47. A Novis Sabaten iii. plus minus sunt m. p. Inde ii. sunt milliaria Oriolum sive Forum Claudii. Unde porro Bleram sunt m. p. ix. vel x.

^w Ferrar. Lexic., voce *Tarquinia*. Tarquinia . . . colonia et urbs Hetruriæ, olim episcopalis, nunc prorsus jacens, inter Bracianum x. et Cornuetum (quod illi in dignitate episcopali successit) v. mill. passuum.

^x Holsten. Adnotat. in Carol. a S. Paulo, p. 8. *Cornetum*] Hæc civitas conflata est ex Tarquiniis et Gravisca.

^y Holsten. in Cluver. p. 80.

Centumcellas, posit. m. p. v.

Algas, posit. m. p. iii.

Rapinium, posit. m. p. iii.

Graviscas, posit. m. p. vi.

Centumcellæ, or Civita Vecchia, which lies but ten miles from the river Marta, which now divides St. Peter's patrimony from Castro Ducato, Cluver and Holstenius^z, out of Antonine's Itinerary, in the direct course of the Via Aurelia, reckon but forty-seven miles, which do not exceed forty miles, according to the present estimation. So that there being in this compass twenty bishoprics, including Rome in the number, if we will suppose all the dioceses to be equal, each diocese will be about ten or twelve miles square; which confirms the account that has been given of the distance of the several cities from each other. And hence it appears that, as in some parts of the kingdom of Naples, dioceses have been multiplied above what they were in former ages, so in this and other parts of the pope's dominions they have as strangely decreased; for now there are not near half the number, there being sometimes two, or three, or four, united into one. For Ferrarius informs us, that Viterbo was raised (an. 1074) out of the ruins of three old ones, Ferentium^a, Tuscania, and Polymartium; so Citta Castellana arose from the decay of Faleria and Hortanum. Sutrium was united to Nepe; Tarquinia and Gravisca to Cornetum; not to mention any more of this kind, which concern not the present inquiry. As to those dioceses which lay in the western part of Tuscia, now called the dukedom of Tuscany, they were much larger in proportion than the former; for excepting Fesulæ, which lay but

^z Holsten. in Cluver. p. 78.

Via Aurelia per Tusciam:

Lorium, m. p. xii.

Ad Turres, m. p. x.

Pyrgos, m. p. xii.

Castrum Novum, m. p. viii.

Centumcellas, m. p. v.

Procopius (de Bello Gothico, lib. ii. p. 405) reckons it 280 stadia, or 35 miles. Πόλιν ἐπιθαλασσίαν, λόγου πολλοῦ ἀξίαν, Κεντουκέλλας ὄνομα, τῶν ἐπιτηδείων σπανίζοντες, ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἐξέλιπον· ἔστι δὲ ἡ πόλις μεγάλη καὶ πολυάνθρωπος, ἐς τὰ Ῥώμης πρὸς ἐσπέραν ἐν Τούσκοις κειμένη, σταδίοις αὐτῆς ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ διακοσίους ἀπέχουσα.

^a Ferrar. Lexic. voce *Ferentia*. Ferentia, Ferentium Plinio et aliis . . . urbs Hetruriæ olim episcopalis, excisa, cui Viterbium ad v. mill. pass. distans successit in episcopali cathedra, a Viterbiensibus, anno salutis 1074, ob hæresim eversa.

three miles ^b from Florence, all the other dioceses were of greater extent. Of which I need only give this evidence, that this part of Tuscia is reckoned ^c above 200 miles in length, and near 100 in breadth, excluding the pope's dominions; which, being divided among fifteen or sixteen dioceses, will afford a large territory to every one: so that it is needless to look further for a particular account of them.

But if we return back again into Umbria, nearer Rome, there we shall find dioceses of the same size, and as thick as in the patrimony of St. Peter; for it was but a little tract of ground, bounded with the rivers Nar and Tiber, and the Appennine hills; and only a part of the old Umbria, which reached beyond the Appennine to the Adriatic Sea. In the present Umbria, Carolus a Sancto Paulo reckons eighteen bishoprics:—1. Otricoli. 2. Narnia. 3. Tuder, now Todi. 4. Mevania, now Bevagna. 5. Tifernum Tiberinum, now Citta di Castello. 6. Interamna, now Terni. 7. Ameria, Amelia. 8. Trebia, Trevi. 9. Spolegium, Spoleto. 10. Fulginium, Fuligno. 11. Camerinum. 12. Hispellum. 13. Assisium. 14. Forum Novum, now Vescovio. 15. Forum Flaminii, now For-Flammo. 16. Vettonium, Bittona. 17. Nuceria, Nocera. 18. Eugubium, Gubbio. To which Holstenius adds Tadinum ^d and Martula. Now, five of these, Fulginium, Hispellum, Assisium, Forum Flaminii, and Mevania, lay so close together, that none of them was above ten

^b Cluver. Ital. lib. ii. p. 452. Apud Fæulas fuisse, quod oppidum, iii. millia a Florentia dissitum, vulgo etiamnunc Fiesole, infra in hujus descriptione patebit.

^c Ferrar. Lexic. Geogr. voce *Tuscia*. Tuscia sive Thuscia (utroque enim modo scribitur) quæ et Etruria, sive Hetruria, *la Toscana*, provincia Italiæ nobilissima, et antiquissima, peramplaque, inter Liguriam ad occasum Macra fluvio divisa, et Latium Umbriamque ad ortum Tiberi discreta, ad arctos monte Appennino a Gallia Togata separata, ad meridiem pelago Tyrreno definita, longa cclxxxiv. mill. pass. lata nullibi c.

^d Holsten. Adnot. in Carol. a S. Paulo, p. 9. *Tadinum*.] Laurentius, Tadinatis ecclesiæ episcopus, subscripsit synodo Romanæ Symmachi papæ, et apud Gregor. M. lib. vii. indict. ii. ep. lxxxix. et xc. Tadinatis ecclesiæ vacantis visitatio committitur episcopo Eugubino.—Id. in Cluver. p. 98. *Fanum Martis*] Oppidum episcopale deinceps fuisse existimant, cui S. Brictius episcopus Martanus præfuerit. Vide Donno læ Apol. c. xxxvii. et xxxix.; Martyrologium Rom. ix. Julii S. Brictii episcopi memoriam ponit Martulæ, etc.

miles' distance from any of the other. Fulginium had, on the north, towards Nuceria, Forum Flaminii to bound it, which Ferrarius^e says was but three miles removed from it. Hispellum was but the same distance in the way to Assisium. Trebia, on the east, was but six miles from Fulginium, and nine from Spoletium, as Ferrarius also informs us^f, who says also it was but fifteen miles from Fulginium to Spoletium; so that Trebia must lie exactly in the way betwixt them. On the south, Fulginium was bounded again with Mevania, which was but six miles from it^g. On the west lay Assisium, famous in modern stories for the birth of St. Francis, the father of the Franciscans; and this, Ferrarius says, was but ten miles^h from Fulginium, and about twelve from Perusi, in Tuscia. If we look a little more northward, from Forum Flaminii to Nuceria is computed nine milesⁱ by Ferrarius. From Nuceria to Tadinum (the remains of which, Holstenius^j says, are yet to be seen in the Via Flaminia, near Gualdo, on the top of the Appennine,) is computed no more than eight miles by Holstenius^k and Baudrand; and from Tadinum to Eugubium must be about thirteen. But here the dioceses began to enlarge toward the western parts of this province, as was observed before of Tuscia; for, westward of Eugubium, there was no city betwixt it and Tifernum Tiberinum, which was

^e Ferrar. Lexic. voce *Forum Flaminii*. Forum Flaminii . . . a Fulginio, quod illi in episcopali honore successit, iii. mill. pass. Nuceriam versus.

^f Ibid. voce *Trebia*. Trebia urbs Umbriæ, episcopalis olim, nunc oppidum, Trevi, in colle, inter Fulginum, vi. et Spoletium, ix. mill. passuum. — It. voce *Fulginium*. Fullinium, Fulginia Silio (Foligno vel Fuligno), urbs Umbriæ episcopalis, ad Tiniam fluvium intermeantem, inter Perusiam ad occasum, xviii. et Spoletium in eorum, xv. mill. pass. — It. voce *Hispellum*. Hispellum . . . urbs Umbriæ olim episcopalis, nunc oppidum amplum in colle, apud Fulginium, inde iii. mill. pass. in occasum Perusiam versus.

^g Ferrar. Lexic. voce *Mevania*. Mevania, *Bevagna*, urbs olim episcopalis Umbriæ, ad Clitumnum fluvium . . . a Fulginio vi. mill. pass. distans, a Perusia xii.

^h Baudrand, voce *Fulginium*. (p. 303.) Fulginium urbs est parva Umbriæ, sed culta, in valle, ad radices montis Appennini, xx. miliaribus distat a Perusia, et x. ab Assisio. — It. voce *Perusia*. Perusia urbs est Italise . . . xii. miliaribus distat ab Assisio in occasum.

ⁱ Ferrar. voce *Nuceria*.†

^j Holsten. Adnotat. in Car. a S. Paulo, p. 9.

^k Ibid. in Ital. Cluver. p. 86.†

twenty miles from it. Nor had Tifernum Tiberinum any nearer neighbours than Aretium, which is reckoned eighteen, and Callium twenty-two, and Perusia twenty-four miles from it, as Baudrand¹ and Ferrarius have computed. But, then, if we look towards Rome again, and descend from the Appennine to the southern parts of this province, toward the rivers Nar and Tiber, we there first meet with Martula, on the river Nar, which Holstenius^m assures us was but six miles to the east of Spoleto. Down the same river lay Interamna, about the same distance from Martula. And below that was Narnia, which Cluverⁿ, from the Jerusalem Itinerary, reckons to be nine miles from Interamna; but Holstenius, who was at the pains to measure it, says^o it was but five miles and two-thirds from the gate of the one city to the gate of the other. A little to the west of Narnia lay Ameria, which Ferrarius^p says, was not quite six miles from it. And to the south of Narnia, more down the river Nar, toward Rome, there was Oriculum, which the Jerusalem Itinerary, in Cluver^q, makes to be twelve miles from Narnia; but Ferrarius, by the modern account, reckons but eight, and four from Hortanum, in

¹ Ferrar. Lexic. voce *Tifernum*. Tifernum Tiberinum cognomine . . . urbs episcopalis in planitie, non procul a Tiberi fluvio, a quo denominatur, vulgo *Citta di Castello*, a Perusia fere xxiv. mill. pass. in Boream et Cæciam, ab Eugubio xx. in occasum Aretium versus.—Baudrand. Lexic. voce *Tifernum*. (p. 268.) Tifernum Tiberinum, urbs est ditionis pontificiæ, regiunculæ cognominis caput, ad Tiberim fluvium, et in limite Etruriæ, uti ducatus Urbini. Distat x. mill. pass. a Burgo S. Sepulchri in meridiem, et xviii. ab Aretio in ortum, Calium versus xxii. estque satis munita.

^m Holsten. Adnot. in Ital. Cluver. p. 98. *Fanum Martis*] Oppidum episcopale deinceps fuisse existimant, cui S. Brictius episcopus Martanus præfuerit: . . . Locus autem, ubi S. Brictius oratorium habebat, vocabatur Sallustrianus in iisdem Actis (Brictii) quæ vi. milliariis Spoleto eum abfuisse scribunt, etc.

ⁿ Cluver. Ital. p. 526.

Urbe Roma

Utriculo, xii.

Narnia, xii.

Interamna, ix.

^o Holsten. Adnot. in Cluver. p. 95. Sunt a Narniensi porta ad portam Interamniæ cannae Romanæ 3760, quæ sunt 5 m. p. $\frac{2}{3}$.

^p Ferrar. voce *Ameria*. Ameria, Amelia, urbs episc. Umbriæ antiquissima, ab ea vix vi. mill. pass. Hortanum versus distans.

^q Cluver. Ital. p. 526. Vid. sub lit. anteced. (n).

Umbria, as has been noted before in speaking of Hortanum. In the middle of this province, upon the confluence of the rivers Tinia and Asius, between Mevania and Perusia, lay Vettonium, which Ferrarius^r accounts six miles from Mevania, and eight from Perusia, in Tuscia. So that all the dioceses of this province, except two or three, were very small; and, one with another, not to be reckoned above eight or ten miles in length, since there was scarce so much distance from one city to another. And upon this account, as the cities decayed, several of these dioceses were united together in after-ages. For Tadinum is joined to Nuceria, as Holstenius^s informs us; Hispellum and Forum Flaminii are swallowed up in Fulgino; so Mevania, and Trebia, and Martula, are sunk and united to other dioceses; and in all this province, that I can learn, there is not one new see erected.

SECT. III.—*Of the Province of Valeria* (p. 55).

Out of Umbria, our next step toward the east is into the province of Valeria, so called, Holstenius thinks, from the Via Valeria, which ran directly through it. It was bounded on the north with the Appennine; on the west with the river Nar, which divided it from Umbria; on the south with the Tiber and the Anio, which divided it from Latium, or that which is now called Campagna di Roma; on the east, it bordered upon Samnium, from which it was divided by a line drawn from the river Aternus to the head of Anio. It was anciently the country of the Sabines and Marsi, and part of Old Latium, and is now called Sabina in that part which runs toward Rome, the rest being now part of the dukedom of Spoleto and Abrusso. In this province, Carolus a Sancto Paulo reckons eleven dioceses:—1. Fidenæ, now called Castel Jubileo. 2. Nomentum, now Lamentana. 3. Tibur, Tivoli. 4. Nursia, Norza. 5. Marsi, al. Marruvium, and Valeria.

^r Ferrar. Lexic. voce *Vettionenses*. Vettionenses, et Vettonenses, populi Umbriæ, quorum oppidum Bittona, quasi Vettonium, apud Tinia et Asii fluviorum confluentiam, inter Mevaniam vi. et Perusiam viii. mill. passuum, olim urbs episcopalis.

^s Holsten. in Ital. Cluver. p. 86.†

6. Præneste, now Palestrina. 7. Furconium, Forconio. 8. Amiternum, now S. Vittorino. 9. Reate, Rieti. 10. Cures, Curese. 11. Lista. But Holstenius^t observes that the last of these is mistaken for Lissum, or Alessio, as it is now called, in Prævalitana, on the other side of the Adriatic Sea; and Præneste belongs to Latium; instead of which he substitutes two others, Pitinum and Forum Novum or Sabinum, now Vescovio, once a chief city among the Sabines. Now, of these, Fidenæ was but five miles from the gates of Rome, as has been noted before. Nomentum was about eight from Fidenæ, and twelve from Rome, as Baudrand^u shows out of Sanson and Brietius; though others place it beyond Tibur ten miles, and twenty-six from Rome. Tibur itself was but sixteen miles^w from Rome, and twelve from Præneste; but it was a pretty large diocese for all that. For Holstenius^x observes, that Sublaqueum was a dependent on it, till it became a monastery exempt from all episcopal jurisdiction; and Ferrarius^y says that abbey had fourteen villages belonging to it. Præneste was thirteen miles from Gabii, and fourteen from Anagnia, and not so much from Nomentum. Cures, now called St. Anthimo, was only ten miles from Reate, according

^t Holsten. Adnot. in Carol. a S. Paulo, p. 16. (p. 56, in Geog. Caroli a S. P.) *Lista*] Lista etiam nunc nomen retinet 'Monte di Lista,' iii. mill. pass. Reate distans. Certissimum vero est, eum locum numquam habuisse episcopum, cujus nulla, nisi apud unum Dionysium, mentio exstat, qui inter vetustissima Aboriginum oppida commemorat. Ea autem Dionysii tempore fere omnia interierant. Lissitana autem ecclesia, cui Joannes præfuerat, in Lisso, in ora maris Adriatici oppido fuit.

^u Baudrand. voce *Nomentum*. (p. 524.) Nomentum, urbs olim episcopalis, excisa nunc, et in pagum redacta, in Sabinis, ad Anienem fluvium, apud Vicum Varronis, supra Tibur x. mill. pass. ub urbe Roma xxvi.

^w Ferrar. voce *Tibur*. Tibur, Tybur Ovidio et aliis . . . urbs Latii episcopalis, ad Anienem fluvium, in Sabinorum confinio, a Catillo Arcade classis Evandri præfecto ante Romam condita, a qua xvi. mill. pass. in boream versus Marsos distat.

^x Holsten. in Ital. Cluver. p. 147. Sublaqueum Tiburtino episcopo parebat, antequam vicinum monasterium ita excrevisset, ut episcopi jurisdictioni eximeretur.

^y Baudrand. voce *Sublaqueum*, p. 220. Sublaqueum, seu melius Sublacum, oppidum Æquorum in Latio. Hodie dicitur vulgo Subiaco, cujus abbatia, quæ nullius est diocesis, quatuordecim vicos sub se habet, in confinio regni Neapolitani.

to Ferrarius^z, and probably something nearer to Nomentum, because Carolus a Sancto Paulo^a observes out of an epistle of Gregory^b the Great, that it was united in his time to Nomentum. Some confound Cures with Sabinum, or Forum Novum; but Holstenius^c shows, that Sabinum was a distinct city, and stood in the place which is now called Vescovio, where the ruins of the cathedral church are still remaining, which Baudrand says^d was but three miles from Reate, and eleven from Interamna; but the site of this place may be passed over as a little uncertain. The ruins of Amiternum are still to be seen, Cluver says^e, near where Aquila now stands. Ferrarius^f thinks it was only five miles from it. Pitinum was but two miles from Aquila, and, consequently, as Holstenius observes^g, must be near Amiternum. Furconium was another see in that neighbourhood, but eight miles from Aquila, as Ferrarius^h acquaints us. So that these three

^z Ferrar. voce *Cures*. Cures urbs Sabinorum, Numæ Pompilii patria, a Medio Fidio Sabinorum deo condita, nunc pagus *Torre* vel *Turre*, teste Leandro dictus, ad Himellam fluvium a Reate x. mill. pass. in occasum, a Tybure supra xx. in arctos, Interamnam versus supra xvi.

^a Carol. a S. Paulo, Geog. Sacr. p. 58, (p. 16.) Cures . . . hanc sedem probabile est eandem fuisse cum ea, quæ dicitur Sancti Anthimii, cujus meminit divus Gregorius, ep. ii. (leg. xx.) lib. ii. indict. xi. et quam uniit Nomentanæ.

^b Gregor. lib. ii. epist. xx. ad Gratosum episcopum Numentanum, (Labbe, vol. v. p. 1109. C 9.) Ideoque fraternitati tuæ curam gubernationemque sancti Anthemii ecclesiæ, in Curium Sabinorum territorio constitutæ, prævidimus committendam, quam tuæ ecclesiæ aggregari uniri que necesse est: quatenus utrarumque ecclesiarum sacerdos recte Christo adjuvante possis existere, etc.

^c Holsten. Adnotat. in Carol. a S. Paulo, p. 9. *Forum Novum*, etc. *inter Forum Flaminii et Spoletum*] Hoc falsissimum est: nam sita est in Sabinis, eodem loco ubi nunc oppido deleta ecclesia episcopalis superest, vulgo 'Vescovio' dicta.

^d Baudrand. voce *Cures*. (p. 231.) Cures aliis est *Vescovio*, urbs primaria Sabinæ antea, nunc oppidum, ubi etiam fuit episcopatus Sabinensis Manleanum translatus. Sita est prope Himellam amnem, tribus milliaribus a Reate in occasum, et xi. ab Interamnia in austrum, in ditione pontificia.

^e Cluver. Ital. lib. ii. p. 686, lin. ii. Fuit Amiternum haud procul Fonte Aterni. . . . Visuntur hodieque ruinæ ejus haud procul sinistra amnis ripa, inter fontes ejus et Aquilam urbem, etc.

^f Ferrar. voce *Amiternum*. Amiternum, *S. Vittorino*, urbs olim episcopalis . . . ad Aternum fluvium ab Aquila . . . v. mill. pass. distans.

^g Holsten. Adnot. in Car. a S. Paulo, p. 16. Pitinum non longe fuit ab Amiterno, duobus mill. pass. ab Aquila.

^h Ferrar. voce *Furconium*. Furconium, *Forcone*, urbs Vestinorum olim epi-

dioceses lay in a small compass, and are now swallowed up in the new diocese of Aquila; which arose out of the ruins of them all united together. The largest of these dioceses, in this tract, were Reate, Nursia, and Marruvium, or Marsi; for from Reate to Nursia, Baudrandⁱ calls it thirteen miles, Ferrarius twenty; to Aquila twenty-five miles, and as much to Narnia. But Interamna and Furconium were something nearer to Reate. Marruvium, or Marsi, on the lake Fucinus, was at a considerable distance from Furconium and Sulmo, which cities lay the nearest to it; but the exact distance is not so certain; because it is not agreed on which side the lake Fucinus Marruvium was.

SECT. IV.—*Of Picenum Suburbicarium.*

Out of Valeria and Umbria, cross the Appennine, we come into the province of Picenum Suburbicarium, so called to distinguish it from Picenum Annonarium, which belonged to the Italic diocese. This lay betwixt the Appennine on the south, and the Adriatic Sea on the north, and was divided from Picenum Annonarium by the river *Æsis* on the west, and from Samnium by the river *Aternus*, now called *Pescara*, on the east; and it is now the provinces of *Marca di Ancona* and *Abruzzo Ultra*. In this province *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* reckons fourteen dioceses:—1. *Pinna*, now *Penna*. 2. *Interamna*, now *Teramo*. 3. *Asculum*, *Ascoli*. 4. *Firmum*, *Fermo*. 5. *Tolentinum*, *Tolentino*. 6. *Septempeda*, now *S. Severino*. 7. *Matelica*. 8. *Cingulum*, *Cingulo*. 9. *Auximum*, *Osmo*. 10. *Potentia*. 11. *Numana*, now *Humana*. 12. *Ancona*. 13. *Hadria*, *Adri*. 14. *Aternum*, now *Pescara*. To which *Holstenius*^k adds five more,—*Truentum*, *Aufinia*, *Faleronia*, *Urbs Salvia*, now called *Urbisaglia*, and *Pausola*, or *Pausolæ*, as *Ferrarius* calls it, which now goes by the name of

scopalis, excisa, ex cujus ruinis et Amiterni coaluit Aquila urbs, inde viii. mill. pass. distans.

ⁱ Baudrand. voce *Nursia*. Nursia urbs parva Italiæ . . . intra montes sedet et ad radices Appennini, vi. milliaribus a confinio Marchiæ Anconitanæ distat, xiii. a Reate.—Ferrar. ibid. Nursia, urbs olim episcopalis Umbriæ . . . a Reate xx. mill. pass. in boream, ab Aquila xxx. in occasum.

^k Holsten. Adnot. Geog. in Carol. a S. Paulo, p. 14.

Monte del Olmo. The most eastern city of this province was Aternum, on the mouth of the river Aternus, or Pescara, which (as Ferrarius¹ and Baudrand compute) was but eight miles from Teate, and eleven from Ortona, two cities in the province of Samnium, and not above eleven from Adria, and twelve from Pinna. Pinna was the same distance from Teate and Adria. Interamna is reckoned by Ferrarius twenty miles from Asculum, but Baudrand says only thirteen. In the western parts of the province, Matelica is computed but nine miles from Septempeda; and Septempeda, six from Tolentinum, and ten from Camerinum, and twelve from Cingulum; Cingulum is reckoned but eight from Æsium, in Picenum Annonarium, and twelve from Auximum; Auximum, twelve from Æsium, and the same from Ancona; Ancona, twelve from Numana; Numana, twelve from Potentia: the remains of which last, Holstenius says^m, are still to be seen, not far from Portus Ricanaticus and Laureto. Urbs Salvia, according to Ferrarius's account, was but ten miles from Tolentinum, and by Baudrand's but six. Firmum, Truentum, and Asculum, lay at a greater distance, for Ferrarius reckons them near twenty miles from each other: but then, he says, that Pausulæ was in Comitatu Firmano, and therefore not far from Firmum; and if Faleronia and Aufinia (whose situation is uncertain) lay in those parts also, they might bring the dioceses of Asculum and Truentum to the same pitch with the rest of the province. So that few dioceses in this province could be much above ten miles in extent, and the largest not above twenty, as appears from Ferrarius's and other geographers' computation.

SECT. V.—Of Latium and Campania.

From the Adriatic Sea we must again cross the Appennine, to take a view of Latium and Campania—the ancient glory of

¹ Ferrar. Lexic. voce *Aternum*. Aternum . . . a Teatea viii. mill. pass. quot ab Angulo, inter Hadriam (cui cessit episcopatus Aternensis) et Ortonem ad ortum ad xi. mill. pass.—Baudrand. *ibid.* Aternum . . . xvi. milliaribus distat ab Auxano, et xli. a Pinna in ortum.

^m Holsten. in Car. a S. Paulo, p. 15. Vestigia ejus vidi haud procul a Portu Ricanatico.

Italy—along the Tuscan Sea, eastward, to the river Silarus, from the Tiber and the gates of Rome. This, in the civil and ecclesiastical account, is reckoned but one province; but, since Latium is commonly distinguished from Campania, I will speak first of the dioceses that were in that, as being the nearest neighbours to Rome. This country was anciently bounded with the rivers Tiber, Anio, and Liris, which last divided it from Campania, properly so called. It now contains Campagna di Roma, and part of Lavoro, in the realm of Naples. It had anciently twenty-three dioceses, as Carolus a Sancto Paulo and Holstenius have computed:—1. Subaugusta. 2. Ostia. 3. Gabii. 4. Albanum. 5. Alba. 6. Antium. 7. Tres Tabernæ. 8. Velitræ. 9. Tusculum. 10. Lavici. 11. Præneste. 12. Signia. 13. Anagnia. 14. Ferentinum. 15. Aletrium. 16. Verulæ. 17. Tarracina, (or *e.*) 18. Fundi. 19. Formiæ. 20. Aquinum. 21. Cassinum. 22. Atina. 23. Sora. Of these, as has been observed before, Subaugusta lay close to Rome; Ostia, sixteen miles from Rome, and two from Porto; Gabii, thirteen from Rome, and as many from Præneste. Tusculum, which some mistake for Tusculanum, where Cicero wrote his Tusculan Questions, was a city, now called Frescati, and Ferrarius says but twelve miles from Rome. Signia, now called Segni, lay between Tusculum and Anagnia, six miles from each, nine from Præneste, and thirty from Rome, as Baudrandⁿ informs us from Holstenius. The same author says^o, Ferentinum was but five miles from Anagnia, and four from Aletrium; and Ferrarius^p places Verulæ between Anagnia and Sora,

ⁿ Baudrand. Lexic. voce *Signia*. (p. 194.) *Signia*, *Segni*, urbs alias *Volscorum*, in Latio, nunc *Campaniæ Romanæ*, in ditione pontificia, ducali titulo insignita. Ibi organa inventa fuere et modulationes, quibus utitur Romana ecclesia, inquit Petrarcha, xxx. miliaribus distat ab urbe Roma in ortum, et ix. a Præneste in meridiem; estque in summo jugo Lepini montis, teste Luca Holstenio.

^o Baudrand. voce *Ferentinum*. (p. 288.) *Ferentinum*, *Ferentino*, urbs est parva, in colle, tribus miliaribus ab Anagnia in ortum Verulum versus, et vi. a Frusinone in boream, iv. autem ab Alatro in occasum, sub dominio summi Pontificis, et viii. miliaribus a confinio regni Neapolitani.

^p Ferrar. voce *Verulum*. *Verulum*, *Verulæ Frontino*, *Veruli* vulgo, colonia et urbs Latii episcopalis in Hernicis, apud Cosam fluvium, media fere inter Anagniam ad occasum et Soram ad ortum x. seu ix. mill. passuum.

nine or ten miles from each. Lavici is reckoned by Holstenius^q but fifteen miles from Rome, and yet the diocese of Subaugusta came between them, for it was in the Via Lavicana, the direct way that leads from Rome to Lavici. Albanum and Alba are, by some authors, confounded together; but Holstenius^r reckons them distinct cities, and Ferrarius says^s the one was fourteen, and the other sixteen miles from Rome; but, perhaps, the one might only arise out of the ruins of the other, for they were not above two miles from each other. Velitræ was but four miles from Alba, and twenty from Rome^t; Antium, on the Tuscan shore, fourteen from Velitræ, and twenty from Ostia, as the same Ferrarius informs us. Between Antium and Velitræ lay Tres Tabernæ, the place whither the Christians came to meet St. Paul from Rome^u. Carolus a Sancto Paulo thinks it is the same which is now called Cisterna; but Holstenius says^w it was at some distance from it, in the Via Appia: so near Velitræ, that Gregory the Great united those two dioceses together. Ferrarius says^x it was but five miles from Velitræ, and twenty-six (or, as Baudrand computes, twenty-one) from Rome, five from Aricia, and

^q Holsten. in Ital. Cluver. p. 194. Procehit ad cxx. stadia] mill. pass. xv.

^r Ibid. p. 183. *Albanum*] Immo jam ante hæc tempora Gregorii M. ep. xi. lib. iii. exstat ordini et plebi consistenti in Albano scripta, etc. Petavii errorem] Levissimus sane error: nam prædia illa et villæ proxima erant ipsi Albæ.

^s Ferrar. voce *Alba longa*. Alba longa, urbs Latii excisa, antiquior Roma, ab Ascanio an. 32 post excidium Trojæ condita, anno mundi 3066, manet episcopatus cardinalibus tribui solitus, ab urbe Roma xvi. mill. passuum. Illam circumstant castra Albanum, Savellum, et Gandulphi, ex ruinis ejus, ut ferunt, constructa. — Baudrand. Lexic. ibid. Alba in ruinis jacet. . . . Distat ab urbe Roma, xiv. mill. passuum.

^t Ferrar. voce *Velitræ*. Velitræ . . . colonia et urbs Latii episcopalis in Via Appia, a Roma xx. mill. pass. in eorum, Privernum versus distans, Albæ et Ariciæ vicina ad iii. et iv. mill. pass.

^u Baudrand. Lexic. voce *Antium*. (p. 47.) Antium . . . in ruinis jacet, ab Ostia xx. mill. pass. in eorum, a Velitris xiv. in meridiem.

^w Holsten. Adnot. in Carol. a S. Paulo, p. 9. *Tres Tabernæ*, etc. vulgo *Cisternæ*] Hoc falsum: nam Trium Tabernarum vestigia haud procul inde in ipsa Via Appia conspiciuntur. Gregorius Magnus hanc ecclesiam desolatam Velitrensi conjunxit.

^x Ferrar. voce *Tres Tabernæ*. Tres Tabernæ, urbs olim Latii episcopalis . . . inter urbem Romam xxvi. et Forum Appii xxii. mill. pass. ultra Velitras vi. — Baudrand. (p. 280.) Tres Tabernæ urbs fuit . . . Distabat v. milliariis ab Aricia, et xxi. ab urbe Roma in ortum.

twenty-two from Appii Forum, the other place whither the brethren came to meet St. Paul. Indeed, neither Aricia nor Appii Forum are mentioned as episcopal sees by any ancient writer. But Ferrarius^y seems to make them both so: for, he says, Aricia was a famous city and a Roman colony, which, by the common rule of the Church, had thereby a title to an episcopal see. Nor is it any objection against it that it was but sixteen miles from Rome, and four or five from Alba, Tres Tabernæ, and Velitræ: for we have seen already that many cities in this tract were at no greater distance from one another. Of Appii Forum he speaks more positively, and says it was anciently^z an episcopal see, though from what authority he tells us not. But there is some reason to believe it, because it was a city at a good distance from any other; for Tarracina, on the east, was near twelve miles from it, and Tres Tabernæ, westward, above twenty; so that either Tres Tabernæ and Tarracina must have dioceses of more than ordinary extent in these parts, or else Appii Forum must come between them. But I let this pass, because in matters of doubtful nature, where we are destitute of ancient authorities, nothing can certainly be determined. I go on, therefore, with those that are more certain. From Tarracina to Fundi the modern accounts^a reckon but ten miles, though the Jerusalem Itinerary^b calls it thirteen, and Antonine's Itinerary sixteen. From Fundi to Formiæ, the same Itineraries reckon twelve

^y Ferrar. voce *Aricia*. Aricia, urbs et colonia olim clara Latii, nunc oppidulum, ab urbe Roma xvi. mill. pass. haud procul a Velitris, inde iv. mill. recedens, Albæ quoque finitima.

^z Ibid. voce *Forum Appii*. Forum Appii, urbs Latii, olim episcopalis.

^a Ibid. voce *Fundi*. Fundi, *Fondi*, colonia et urbs episcopalis Latii, in regni Neapolitani initio, primum ex urbe Roma Neapolim proficiscentibus occurrens, post Tarracinam x. mill. pass., media inter illam et Formias.

^b Apud Holsten. Adnot. in Ital. Cluver. (p. 218.) Viæ Appiæ loca et intervalla nostro tempore sic computantur:

Roma Ariciam, m. p. xiii.

Genzano, i.

Torre S. Inelo sub Lanubio, ii.

Cisternam, ix.

Torre Mercata, v.

Casarillo di S. Maria, iii. vel iii½.

Terracinam, xviii.

[Ex

and thirteen, which Ferrarius, from the modern geographers, esteems but ten: cautioning his reader here^c against a great error in Strabo, who makes it four hundred stadia, that is fifty miles, from Tarracina to Formiæ, when indeed it was not half the distance. If we look a little upward, from the sea to the north-eastern part of Latium, there we find Aquinum and Cassinum but five miles from one another; and Atina the same distance from Cassinum; and Sora, twelve miles from Atina, twelve from Ferentinum, sixteen from Cassinum, and sixty from Rome; so that in the compass of seventy old Italian miles, which are not quite sixty of the modern, there were betwixt twenty and thirty bishoprics, answerable to the number of cities in Latium in the most flourishing times of the Roman empire.

From Latium we must pass into Campania, where we first meet with Minturnæ, now called Scaffa del Garigliano, not far from the mouth of the river Liris, which Ferrarius^d computes nine miles from Formiæ, and as many from Sinuessa. A little above these lay Teanum, now called Tiano, eight miles from Suessa, twelve from Capua; and Calenum was the same distance from Capua, and but six from Suessa, and six from Sinuessa, as Ferrarius^e reckons. Carolus a Sancto Paulo

Ex Hierosolymitano Itinerario Viæ Appiæ :

Roma Ariciam, xvi.

Tres Tabernas, v.

Spontas, xiv.

Appii Forum, vii.

Medias, ix.

Terracinam, x.

^c Ferrar. voce *Formiæ*. Cavendus est error hic Strabonis, Formias a Tarracina, cccc. stadiis distare scribentis; quum neque cc. distent. [Nota: De distantia a Fundis nihil lego.—Grischor.]

^d Ibid. voce *Minturnæ*. Minturnæ, colonia Latii novi, in Campaniæ confinio, ad ostia Liris fluvii, olim urbs episcopalis, nunc prorsus extincta. Locus 'la Scaffa del Garigliano,' teste Sanfelicio, nominatur, inter Formias ad occasum, et Sinuessam ad ortum, urbes etiam excisas, ix. mill. passuum, a Fragellis xx.

^e Ibid. voce *Teanum*. Teanum, cognomento Sidicinum Plinio et aliis, *Tiano*, colonia et urbs Campaniæ episcopalis sub archiepiscopo Capuano, inde xii. mill. pass. Cassinum versus xx. in colle, inter Cales iv. et Suessam viii.—Ibid. voce *Calenum*. Calenum, *Carinola*, urbs Campaniæ, in regno Neapolitano, in agro Stellate, apud montem Massicum, Suessæ propinqua ad vi. mill. pass. totidem

takes Calenum for Cagli, and others for Cales; but Holstenius^f shows it to be the same with Carinola, which is now a bishop's seat; and as Baudrand computes, but four miles from Suessa, and as many from the Tuscan shore. Next beyond these lay Vulturnum, now called Castel di Bitorno, at the mouth of the river Vulturnus, eight miles from Sinuessa, and nine from Linternum, and ten from Capua. Five miles beyond Linternum, on the same shore, was Cumæ; and three miles below that, Misenum; from whence to Puteoli was but three miles likewise; and from Puteoli to Naples six, according to Ferrarius's computation. About eighteen miles beyond Naples was Stabiæ; and six from that, Surrentum, on the same shore; beyond which, was Amalphia and Salernum: the last of which is reckoned by Ferrarius but twenty-four miles from Naples. On the north and east of Naples lay Nola, which could not be above twelve miles from it; for Holstenius observes^g, that "Octavianum, the village where Octavius Augustus died, under Mount Vesuvius, was in the way between them, five miles from Naples, and seven from Nola." Between Nola and Capua lay Acerræ, six miles from Nola, and eight from Naples, and ten from Capua; for from Nola to Capua was but twenty old Italian miles, as we learn from Paulinus, bishop of Nola^h, who could not be mistaken. Naples and Capua were but sixteen miles asunder; and yet

fere a Sinuessa urbe excisa, episc. sub archiepiscopo Capuano, inde xii. mill. Sinuessam versus.

^f Holsten. Adnotat. in Cluver. p. 258. Ipsam Carinolam olim Celenam vel Celennam dictam conjicio primum ex versu Virgilii, lib. vii.

Quique Rufas Batulumque colunt, atque arva Celennæ.

Quum enim Rufæ . . . fuerint, ubi nunc Presenzanum, Theanensis diocesis oppidum exstat, Celennam quoque in hac Campaniæ parte ponendam existimo, cui planitiem magnam subjectam Virgilius ostendit. Deinde qui Julianus Pelagianus episcopus Campanus, Celanensis episcopus a Beda vocatur, quod ad Virgilii Celennam non male trahit Rosweidus in notis ad Paulinum. Nam Celamensis civitas, ut apud Prosperum in Chronicis legitur, extra Campaniam in Hirpinis fuit. Julianum vero alicubi in Campania episcopum fuisse testatur idem Prosper in epigrammate, quo eundem Julianum perstringit.

^g Holsten. in Ortel. p. 133. Octavianum, villa Octavii imperatoris sub Vesuvio monte v. m. p. a Neapoli, et vii. ab urbe Nola, ubi etiam mortuus est.

^h Paulin. ad Cyther. Carm. xiii. (p. 499, edit. Antverp. 1622, 8vo.)

Ab urbe Capua, quæ locis sedis meæ

Bis dena distat millia, etc.

Atella, now called S. Arpino, or S. Elpidio, lay between them ; which, Ferrariusⁱ says, was eight miles from each. Calatia was but the same distance to the north of Capua ; Venafrum but ten miles from Cassinum ; Abellinum was the largest diocese in all Campania, sixteen miles from Beneventum ; and as much from Nola, Salernum, and Frequentum, in the province of Samnium ; to which, Baudrand^k says, it was afterward united. If, now, we put all these Italian dioceses, hitherto enumerated, together, they amount to above one hundred and ten ; whereof twenty were in that little part of Tuscia, which is now called St. Peter's patrimony ; twenty in Umbria ; eleven in Valeria ; nineteen in Picenum Suburbicarium ; and forty-three in Latium and Campania : and yet, all this country put together, was not, in the longest part of it, above two hundred miles on the Tuscan shore ; for, from the river Marta, on which lay Tarquinia and Gravisca, to Rome, is reckoned fifty modern miles ; from Rome to Naples, one hundred and twenty-five ; and from Naples to Salernum, the utmost diocese in Campania, but twenty-four, according to the computations of Ferrarius. On the Adriatic shore it was only the length of Picenum Suburbicarium, between the rivers Æsis and Aternus, which was not above one hundred and twenty miles. The breadth of it, in the widest part of it, from Ancona, on the Adriatic Sea, to Ostia, on the Tuscan Sea, was but one hundred and sixty-four miles ; and in the narrower parts, from the mouth of the river Aternus to the mouth of the Liris, not above one hundred and twenty miles. Which the curious may divide among one hundred and ten dioceses, and then examine whether they exceed the proportions which I have before assigned them.

SECT. VI.—Of Samnium.

I will not stand so nicely to examine the rest of the Italian dioceses, but only recount the number in each province, and make a few remarks upon the largest, as I have hitherto done

ⁱ Ferrar. voce *Atella*. *Atella urbs Campaniæ episcopalis . . . media inter Capuam et Neapolim viii. mill. pass. utrimque.*

^k Baudrand. voce *Abellinum*. (p. 3.) *Abellinum urbs, principatus titulo clara, sedet in regno Neapol. . . . ejus episcopus unitus est cum Frequentino.*

upon the smallest: that the reader may pursue this inquiry further at his own pleasure, and see that the greatness or smallness of a diocese anciently bred no division or disturbance in the Catholic Church. The next province, then, in order to be spoken of is Samnium, which lay on the coast of the Adriatic Sea, between Picenum Suburbicarium on the west, from which it was divided by the river Aternus, or Pescara, and Apulia on the east, from which it was separated by the river Frenta. In this province, Carolus a Sancto Paulo reckons but ten dioceses:—1. Beneventum. 2. Sæpinum. 3. Sulmo. 4. Bovianum, now called Boiano. 5. Theatea, now Chieti. 6. Ortona. 7. Frequentum, Fricenti. 8. Alipha. 9. Samnium. 10. Corfinium, or Valva. To which Holstenius adds Istonium and Æclanum; but Baudrand thinks Æclanum was the same with Frequentum. However it was, Holstenius¹ observes, that “it had the name of Decimum Quintum, because it was fifteen miles from Beneventum.” Corfinium and Sulmo were nearer to one another, and were afterward united together. Ortona, Theatea, Sæpinum, Bovianum, and Istonium, were some ten, some twelve miles from one another. So that these dioceses were neither so little as those about Rome, nor so large as those of the western provinces in the Italic diocese.

SECT. VII.—*Of Apulia and Calabria.*

Next to Samnium lay Apulia, and beyond that, Calabria, in the utmost corner of Italy, to the Adriatic Sea. These two regions made but one province in the civil and ecclesiastical account, and therefore I join them together. In Apulia, Carolus a Sancto Paulo reckons twelve dioceses:—1. Ignatia, now called Ignazzo. 2. Barrium, Barri. 3. Trantum, Trani. 4. Cupersanum, Conversano. 5. Canusium, Canosa. 6. Sipontum, Siponto. 7. Arpi, now Sarpi. 8. Melphia, Melfi. 9. Venusia, Venosa. 10. Acherontia, Acerenza. 11. Vigiliæ,

¹ Holsten. Annot. in Car. a S. Paulo, p. 18. Æclanum Samnii, vel potius Campaniæ civitas, cujus vestigia exstant prope Mirabellam, xv. mill. pass. a Benevento, unde postea Decimum Quintum appellata fuit, ut in monumentis Beneventanæ ecclesiæ legi, cui postea suffraganea fuit.

Biseglæ. 12. Cannæ. To which the diligence of Holstenius has added five more:—13. Bivinum, Bovino. 14. Herdona, Ardonæ. 15. Rubisium, Ruvo. 16. Salapia, Salpe. 17. Æcæ, or Æquana, since called Troja. In Calabria, Carolus a Sancto Paulo found but seven dioceses, but Holstenius makes them ten:—1. Brundisium, Brindisi. 2. Aletium, Lecci. 3. Hydruntum, Otranto. 4. Callipolis, Gallipoli. 5. Tarentum, Taranto. 6. Uria, Oira. 7. Lypia, or Luspiæ. 8. Neritum, Nardo. 9. Uxentum, Ugento. 10. Alexanum, before called Leuce, now Alessano.

SECT. VIII.—*Of Lucania and Bruttia.*

Next to these, toward the lower sea, lay the regions of Lucania and Brutia, which are reckoned together, likewise, as one province. In Lucania, Carolus a Sancto Paulo could find but five bishoprics; but Holstenius augments them to eight:—1. Potentia, Potenza. 2. Buxentum, which Carolus a Sancto Paulo takes to be Pisciotæ; but Holstenius and others, Polycastro. 3. Pæstum, Pesto. 4. Acropolis, Agropoli. 5. Blanda, which some take for Belvedere; but Holstenius calls it Porto di Sapri. 6. Grumentum, Agrimonto. 7. Velia. 8. Cocilianum, the bishop of which is sometimes styled also Marcellianensis; as Holstenius^m observes, from Marcellianum, a seat or suburbs belonging to the diocese of Cocilianum. In Bruttia, Carolus a Sancto Paulo reckons up sixteen dioceses:—1. Rhegium, now Rezo. 2. Taurianum, Seminara. 3. Vibo-Valentia, now called Bivona. Out of these two dioceses, Holsteniusⁿ observes that Roger, earl

^m Holsten. Not. in Carol. a S. Paulo, p. 22. Cosilianum antiquissima Lucaniæ civitas, Cassiodor. Var. lib. viii. epist. xxxiii. suburbium habuit Marcellianum, sive Marcellianum, unde Marcellianensis episcopus et Cosilinas promiscue dicebatur.

ⁿ Ibid. in Ital. Cluver. pp. 299, 300. In diplomate Rogerii, comitis Calabriæ et Siciliæ, quo continentur fundatio ecclesiæ Miletensis, dato anno orbis conditi SΦGE. ind. x. tempore Gregorii VII. sic legitur: 'Quoniam ecclesiæ episcopales Bibonæ et Taurianæ ab hominibus desertæ atque deperditæ sunt, ego Rogerius, etc. volui duas has cathedras in unam ecclesiam Miletensem redigere, et hanc unam, nec Bibonæ nec Taurianæ nomine, sed Miletensem vocari,' etc.—Cui deinde utriusque ecclesiæ bona attribuit. Fundata fuit hæc ecclesia anno Christi 1087.

of Calabria, raised the new diocese of Mileto (an. 1087). 4. Tropea, or Tropia. 5. Nicotera, Nicodro. 6. Tempsa, now S. Marco. 7. Thurium, Terra Nova, al. Buffalora. 8. Cerillus, Cerilla. 9. Consentia, Cosenza. 10. Crotona. 11. Scyllatium, Squillaci. 12. Locri, Gieraci. 13. Muranum, Morano. 14. Portus Orestis, Porto Ravaglioso. 15. Carina, united to Rhegium by Gregory the Great. 16. Bova. To these Holstenius adds two more, Paternum and Turres; the first of which sees, he says^o, was translated to Umbriatico, and the other united to Taurianum; so that the new diocese of Mileto, which was made out of Taurianum and Vibo, must be, at least, three old dioceses united into one. Whence we may conclude, that though some of the dioceses in this part of Italy are less than they were anciently, yet others are larger, by being united. And the same observation may be made upon Campania, where the dioceses are now more numerous than in any other part of Italy, though some of them are now so small as not to extend beyond the walls of their cities, yet others are larger than formerly, for the reason mentioned; because they were made up of two or three old dioceses put together; as has been noted in its proper place.

SECT. IX.—*Of the Isles of Sicily, Melita, and Lipara.*

To these seven provinces, which lay in Italy, we must add the islands of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, with the lesser islands that lay about them, which make up the ten provinces of the Roman diocese, or city prefecture. In Sicily, Carolus a Sancto Paulo (p. 65) counts thirteen dioceses:—1. Syracusæ. 2. Tindarium, Tindaro. 3. Leontini, Lentini. 4. Lilybæum, now called Marsala. 5. Tauromenium, Taormina. 6. Messana. 7. Thermæ, Thermine. 8. Catana. 9. Triocala. 10.

^o Holsten. Adnot. in Cluver. Ital. p. 294. Vocabula, etc. præter Turreis.] Locus ille ad Turres fuit circa Amatum fl. ubi nunc Maida. Nam intervallum exacte quadrat. Videtur fuisse episcopale oppidum. Nam D. Gregor. M. (lib. ii. epist. xxxviii.) Turritanam ecclesiam episcopo suo destitutam Scyllatino commendat, utpote viciniore.—Ibid. p. 306. Barrius Paternensem episcopatum Umbriaticum translatus fuisse adfirmat, certe illo tractu hoc oppidum fuit, et notandum Paternum hic eodem intervallo a Turiis poni, quo Petelia in Tabula Itineraria.

Agrigentum, Girgenti. 11. Panormus, Palermo. 12. Alæsa, now Caronia. 13. Camarina, Comarana. To which are added the two islands of Lipara, and Melita, or Malta, which had each their bishop in the time of Gregory the Great. The latter *Notitiæ* speak of seven more in Sicily; and Baudrand takes notice of others, which, he says, were old episcopal sees, as Charidum, Drepanum, Gela Nova, Myle, now called Melazzo, and Trojanopolis, or Troyna; but where he found those names, he does not inform us. However, these must be large dioceses; for this was the greatest island in all the Mediterranean Sea. Baudrand says Cluver was at the pains to measure it; and his account is ^p that it is six hundred miles in compass; which being divided between thirteen or eighteen bishoprics, will easily prove them to be large dioceses, without standing to examine the distance of particular places. The isle of Malta, Ferrarius^q says, was twenty miles long, and eleven broad; but Baudrand makes them twenty-five one way, and fifteen another; by either of which accounts it was larger than some four or five Italian dioceses. Lipara, the chief of the seven Vulcanian or Æolian islands, was not so large; for it was but eighteen miles in compass. But here was a city, and several appendant villages, which, with the lesser islands, were enough to make a considerable diocese, larger than many of those about Rome.

SECT. X.—Of Sardinia and Corsica.

Sardinia is sometimes reckoned to the African diocese, and sometimes to the Roman. In the *Notitia* of the African Church, published by Sirmondus, there are said to be five dioceses; and Carolus a Sancto Paulo (p. 60) speaks but of

^p Baudrand. Lexic. Geog. *Sicilia*. (p. 191.) Sicilia insula ampla . . . Separatur ab Italia augusto freto md. pass. ejusque circuitus est dc. mill. pass., teste Cluverio. Ipsius enim latus boreale a Lilybæo promontorio ad Pelorum est cclv. mill. pass. latus australe a Lilybæo promontorio ad Pachynum est exc. mill. pass. et latus orientale a Pachyno ad Pelorum est clv. mill. pass. ut pluribus refert Cluverius, qui totam insulam dimensus est.

^q Ferrar. voce *Melita*. Melita . . . inter Siciliam et Africam, a Pachyno promontorio, lxx. mill. pass. a Camarina, lxxxiv. ipsa longa xx. lata xi. circuitu lx. — Baudrand. *ibid.* Ejus longitudo est xxv. milliarium, latitudo, xv.

six :—1. Carallis, Cagliari. 2. Sulchi, Solo. 3. Tegula. 4. Turris Libissonis, now called Porto di Torre. 5. Forum Trajani. 6. Phausania, now Terra Nova. For Sanafer he makes to be a little uncertain. Baudrand^r says they were once augmented to eighteen ; but now they are again reduced to seven. However, the country appears to be large enough for eighteen ; for Ferrarius^s reckons it two hundred miles long, and one hundred and seventy broad. Baudrand brings it into a little narrower bounds, making it only one hundred and seventy miles in length, and eighty in breadth, and four hundred and fifty in circumference ; which will make five or six large dioceses, and eighteen much greater than those which lay in the neighbourhood of Rome.

In Corsica, Carolus a Sancto Paulo finds four ancient dioceses ; Holstenius five :—1. Aleria. 2. Urcinium, al. Adiacium. 3. Nebium, Nebio. 4. Tamita. 5. Mariana. Now this island, by the lowest computation of Baudrand, was one hundred and six miles in length, and fifty in breadth ; which will allow forty miles to every diocese. So that these may be reckoned the largest dioceses of all the ten provinces, which belonged to the prefecture of Rome.

SECT. XI.—*Of Picenum Annonarium and Flaminia.*

We are now to return into Italy again, and to take a short view of the seven provinces, which made up that which is properly called the 'Italic' diocese, in contradistinction to that of Rome. The first of these which lay nearest to Rome, was Picenum Annonarium, divided from Picenum Suburbicarium by the river Æsis. Carolus a Sancto Paulo (p. 54) by mistake, makes it a province of the Roman diocese ; but in the old *Notitia* of the empire it is joined with Flaminia ; and both together make but one province of the Italic diocese. In this Picenum, there were anciently but nine dioceses :—1. Æsis,

^r Baudrand, voce *Sardinia*. (p. 160.) Urbes Sardiniae hac tempestate, quæ xviii. olim episcopali sede decoratæ, nunc vii. sunt.

^s Ferrar. voce *Sardinia*. Sardinia . . . insula ingens Italiae, inter mare Tyrrhenum et Balearicum . . . longa cc. lata, ubi plurimum clxx. — Baudrand. ibid. Ejus longitudo est clxx. mill. pass. latitudo major xc. circuitus autem d.

now called Giesi. 2. Senogallia, Sinigalia. 3. Fanum Fortunæ, now Fano. 4. Pisaurum, Pesaro. 5. Ariminum, Rimini. 6. Urbinum, Urbino. 7. Tifernum Metaurense, so called to distinguish it from the other Tifernum, upon the Tiber, from which it was sixteen miles' distance. It is now called St. Angelo in Vado, and is only a part of another diocese called Urbanea, from its founder, Pope Urban VIII. 8. Forum Sempronii, Fossombrune. 9. Callium, Cagli. In Flaminia, which lay westward of Picenum, between the Rubicon and the Padus, or Po, Carolus a Sancto Paulo (p. 62) names eleven dioceses:—1. Ravenna. 2. Sarsina. 3. Cæsæna (and *e*). 4. Forum Populi, or Popilii. 5. Ficoclæ, now called Cervia. 6. Forum Livii, Forli. 7. Faventia, Faenza. 8. Forum Cornelii, now Imola. 9. Vicohabentia, Vicovenza. 10. Hadria, Adri. 11. Comacula, Comacchio: of all which dioceses I shall stand to make no other observation but this—that they were larger than those about Rome, and less than many others in the western provinces, which lay at a greater distance from it. Ferraria was as yet no diocese of itself, but first made one by Pope Vitalian, in the latter end of the seventh century, as Ferrarius^t informs us.

SECT. XII.—Of *Æmilia*.

The second of these seven provinces was *Æmilia*, divided on the east from Flaminia, by the river Idex; on the north, from Liguria, by the Po; on the west, from Alpes Cottiae, by the river Trebia; and on the south, from Tuscia, by the Appennine. Carolus a Sancto Paulo (p. 63) reckons here but six dioceses:—1. Bononia, Bologna. 2. Mutina, Modena. 3. Brixellum, Bressello. 4. Regium Lepidi, Reggio. 5. Parma. 6. Placentia, Piacenza. These were all very large dioceses; for Bononia, the most eastern in situation, is reckoned twenty miles from Mutina, and as much from Forum Cornelii in Flaminia; twenty-eight from Ferraria, which was in the next diocese northward; and on the south, it had no nearer neighbour

^t Ferrar. voce *Ferraria*. Ferraria . . . urbs *Æmilia*, ad Padum . . . ampla probeque munita et episcopalis . . . episcopali sede a Vitaliano Pontifice Maximo exornata.

than Fesulæ beyond the Appennine, within three miles of Florence. Mutina was fifteen miles from Regium Lepidi; and Regium as much from Parma; and Parma thirty-five from Placentia, according to Ferrarius's computation. Brixellum, on the Po, was but eight miles from Parma; but on other sides it might have a larger diocese; for Ferrarius says it was twenty-four miles from Regium Lepidi, and thirty from Cremona. So that these six dioceses were larger than twenty of those about Rome.

SECT. XIII.—Of *Alpes Cottiae*.

Out of Æmilia, we pass over the river Trebia into one of the Alpine provinces, called *Alpes Cottiae*, which was divided also from Liguria by the Po, from which it extended to the Tuscan Sea, including part of Piedmont and Montserrat, and the whole republic of Genua, and part of the duchy of Milan on this side the Po. In this province, Carolus a Sancto Paulo finds ten dioceses:—1. Augusta Taurinorum, Turin. 2. Asta, Asti. 3. Dertona, Tortona. 4. Alba Pompeia, Alba. 5. Aquæ Statiellæ, Acqui. 6. Albingaunum, Albenga. 7. Vigintimilium, Vintimiglia. 8. Bobium, Bobio. 9. Genua, Genoa. 10. Savona. To which Holstenius^u adds Nicæa, Nizza. These were large dioceses, for Bobium had no nearer neighbour than Placentia, which Ferrarius reckons^x twenty-five miles from it, and Genua and Dertona thirty-five. Savona was twenty-six miles from Genua, according to the most accurate computation of Holstenius^y. Ferrarius^z says it lay in the middle way,

^u Holsten. Adnot. in Cluver. Ital. (p. 4.) *Nicia*.] In subscriptionibus Concilii I. Arelatensis sub Constantino imperatore, 'Innocentius diaconus ex portu Nicæensi.' Et in epistola Hilarii Papæ, tom. i. Conciliorum Galliæ (p. 136), 'Nicæense castellum, quod Cemelenensi episcopo subjicitur.' Habuit enim ante proprium episcopum. Unde 'Amantius, episcopus Nicensis,' in eodem tom. i. p. 21, legitur; et Concilio Aureliensi V. subscripsit 'Aëtius presbyter directus a Magno episcopo ecclesiæ Cemelensis et Nicaensis.'

^x Ferrar. voce *Bobium*. Bobium urbs episc. Liguriæ sub archiep. Genuensi ad Trebiam fluvium, intra montes . . . inter Placentiam xxv. et Dertonam totidem mill. pass. a Genua supra xxxv. quot a Ticino.

^y Holsten. in Cluver. Ital. (p. 9.) Optima itineraria et tabulæ exactiores tantum xxvi. m. p. ponunt inter Genuam et Savonam.

^z Ferrar. voce *Savona*. Savo, Savona, urbs Liguriæ episcopalis sub archi-

between Genua and Albingaunum, at thirty miles' distance. Aquæ Statiellæ was also twenty-two miles from Savona, as Baudrand computes, but not so far from Asta and Alba Pompeia. For Alba was but eight miles to the north of Aquæ, and Asta twelve more beyond that; but east and west these dioceses might extend very wide: for Turin, the nearest neighbour westward, was twenty miles from Asta, and twenty-eight from Alba; and Dertona as much to the east, according to Ferrarius's computation. Vigintimilium was twenty miles from Nicæa, and Albingaunum forty from Vigintimilium, and Savona between twenty and thirty from Albingaunum. The whole province was one hundred and fifty miles in length, and half as much in breadth; which made those eleven dioceses equal to fifty of those about Rome and Naples.

SECT. XIV.—*Of Liguria* (p. 60).

Out of this province, passing over the Po, we come into Liguria, the province whereof Milan was the metropolis, though the reader must note, that the last-mentioned province, in the Roman historians, is more commonly called Liguria, and this Insubria; but we now speak of them as they stood divided under the Christian emperors. This was a large province, including all that lay between the fountain of the Addua and the Po, and the Alps, and the Athesis, which divided it from Venetia; yet here were but ten dioceses to be discovered by Carolus a Sancto Paulo, and the inquisitive diligence of Holstenius after him:—1. Mediolanum, Milan. 2. Eporedia, Ivrea. 3. Vercellæ, Vercelli. 4. Novaria, Novara. 5. Ticinum, Pavia. 6. Laus Pompeia, Lodi. 7. Cremona. 8. Brixia, Brescia. 9. Bergomum, Bergamo. 10. Comum, Como. Of these, Milan was reckoned the largest city in Italy next after Rome. Ferrarius says, it is now computed to have three hundred thousand people in it; but that is much short of its ancient greatness: for Procopius^a says, in Justinian's time,

episcopo Mediolanensi, in ora occidua, inter Genuam et Albingaunum xxx. mill. passuum.

^a Procop. de Bello Goth. lib. ii. c. xxi. p. 439. C. (Paris. 1662, fol.) Τὴν δὲ πόλιν ἐς ἑδαφος καθέλλον ἄνδρας μὲν κτείναντες ἡβηδὸν ἅπαντας, οὐχ ἥσσαν ἢ μυριάδας τριάκοντα, κ. τ. λ.

when it was taken by the Goths, there were three hundred thousand men put to the sword. When St. Ambrose was bishop there, it had several Christian churches, some of which are named by him in his epistles, as the Basilica Portiana^b, without the walls; and the Basilica Major, or Nova, within the city; the Basilica Fausta^c, and Basilica Ambrosiana. And when it was all become Christian, we must suppose a great many churches more under one bishop; for it never had two, except in the times of the Arian persecution. Without the walls it might also have a large diocese, for no other city among those forementioned was within less than twenty miles of it, and there were some thirty and some forty miles removed from one another; only Novaria and Vercellæ were but ten miles asunder, being nearer neighbours than any other in this province. Cremona was eighteen miles from Placentia, thirty from Brixia, forty from Ticinum, and (if Ferrarius compute right) no less from Mantua; and yet the territories of Cremona and Mantua joined together, as we may guess from that complaint of Virgil, *Mantua vae miseræ nimium vicina Cremonæ*, 'that Mantua was a little too near to Cremona;' because, when Augustus sent his colony of veterans to settle at Cremona, and the territory of Cremona proved too little for them, he ordered fifteen miles to be taken from the territory of Mantua, to make up the deficiency of the former. Whence it is easy to infer, that the dioceses of this province were exceeding large, since the cities were so far removed from one another.

SECT. XV.—*Of Rætia Prima and Secunda.*

In the two next provinces, Rætia Prima and Secunda, the dioceses were yet larger; for in the former, which lay

^b Ambros. Epist. xxxiii. ad Marcelli sororem. (Paris, 1696, vol. ii. p. 852.) Nec jam Portiana, hoc est, extramurana basilica petebatur; sed basilica nova, hoc est intramurana, quæ major est. . . . Præfectus eo venit; cœpit suadere, ut basilica Portiana cederemus.

^c Idem Epist. lxxxv. ad soror. (p. 875. A.) (lib. vii. ep. liv. tom. v. opp. p. 315. M. edit. Paris. 1642.) Vespere jam incumbente, ad basilicam Faustæ venimus: ibi vigiliæ tota nocte, manus impositio. Sequenti die, transtulimus ea in basilicam quam appellant Ambrosianam.

next to Liguria, in the middle of the Alps, and is now the country of the Grisons, Carolus a Sancto Paulo (p. 62) could find but one diocese, which was Curia, now called Coire, and in the other but three :—1. Augusta Vindelicorum, Augsburg. 2. Quintanæ, or Colonia Augusta Quintanorum, now Kyntzen, in Bavaria, on the Danube. 3. Ratispona, or Regium, and Castra Regina, now Regenspurg, or Ratisbon : to which Holstenius adds Augusta Prætoria, now called Aosta, which is reckoned to Piedmont ; and Brixino, now Brixen, in the county of Tyrol. For, as I observed before, all that part of Germany which reaches from the Alps to the Danube, was anciently called Rhætia, and reckoned among the provinces of Italy ; and the dioceses therein were so large, that these five or six were equal for extent of ground, though not for number of people, to thirty or forty of those near Rome.

SECT. XVI.—*Of Venetia and Histria.*

The last of these seven Italic provinces, was Venetia and Histria, which were always joined together as one province. Venetia was divided from Rhætia and Liguria by the river Athesis, from Æmilia and Flaminia by the Po, and from Nirocum Mediterraneum by a line drawn from the fountain of the river Athesis to the rise of the Savus, where Histria was joined to it, lying between the Sinus Tergestinus on the west, and Sinus Flanaticus on the east, which is the utmost bounds of the north-east part of Italy. In Histria, Carolus a Sancto Paulo reckons but five dioceses :—1. Forum Julii, now Friuli. 2. Tergestum, Trieste. 3. Parentium, Parenzo. 4. Pola. 5. Emona, Æmonia, which he takes to be the same that is now called Citta Nuova ; but Holstenius says it is Lubiana, or Labach, on the Save. In Venetia, he recounts eighteen dioceses :—1. Aquileia. 2. Patavium, Padua. 3. Torcellum. 4. Altinum, Altino. 5. Acelum, Asolo. 6. Tarvisium, Treviso. 7. Marianum. 8. Verona. 9. Gradus, Grado. 10. Nova (eversa). 11. Caprula, Cahorla. 12. Ceneta, Ceneda. 13. Tridentum, Trent. 14. Feltria, Feltri. 15. Bellunum, Belluno. 16. Sabiona, Siben. 17. Opitergium, Oderzo. 18. Celina, Celine. Some of these were very large

dioceses: Trent was above thirty miles from Verona; and Sabiona, and Forum Julii, and Æmonia, and Tergestum, Parentium, and Pola, were no less from one another. The rest were ten or twenty miles removed from any other neighbouring city: only Altinum and Torcellum, Ferrarius^d says, were but five miles apart; but he questions whether they were both bishops' sees at the same time, and thinks rather that Torcellum came only in the room of Altinum, when that was destroyed by Attila, toward the middle of the fifth century. However, the greatest part of these dioceses were one way or other of large extent, as most of the northern dioceses in Italy were, in comparison of those which lay round about Rome. And now, I think, the observation made in the beginning of this chapter has been fully verified, that in Italy there were anciently some of the smallest, and some of the largest dioceses in the world, and yet the same species of episcopacy preserved in them all: the bishop of Eugubium, as St. Jerome words it, being *ejusdem meriti*, and *ejusdem sacerdotii*, 'of the same merit,' and 'equal as to his priesthood,' with the bishop of Rome. A larger or smaller diocese made no division in the unity of the Catholic Church.

CHAPTER VI.

OF THE DIOCESES IN FRANCE, SPAIN, AND THE BRITISH ISLES.

SECT. I.—*Of the Ancient Bounds and Divisions of Gallia into Seventeen Provinces.*

I HAVE now gone through all parts of the Christian world, except France, Spain, and Britain, which made up three civil dioceses, and twenty-nine or thirty provinces of the Roman

^d Ferrar. voce *Altinum*. Altinum, urbs præclara olim Venetiæ episcopalis sub archiep. Aquileiensi, ab Hunnis eversa, apud Silis flum. ostium, quando Aquileia et Concordia ab Attila excisæ fuerunt, media ferme inter Petavium et Concordiam paullo supra xxx. mill. passuum. Illi Torcellum successit, episc. sub archiep. Veneto, medium inter Venetias et Altinum, v. mill. pass. utrimque.

empire. But I shall not need to be so nice and particular in inquiring into the bounds and extent of episcopal dioceses in these countries, because their number being but small in proportion to the largeness of the countries, it will easily appear to any man, that the dioceses were large, as they continue to be at this day, though some alterations have been made in their bounds since the original settlement of them. France, as it now stands, is but a part of old Gallia, which included also some of the Belgic, Helvetic, and German provinces. It was at first divided by Augustus into four parts, Narbonensis, Aquitania, Lugdunensis, and Belgica. Afterwards, about the time of Adrian, or Antoninus, as De Marca thinks, these four were made fourteen:—Narbonensis was divided into four,—Narbonensis, Viennensis, Alpes Maritimæ, and Alpes Graiæ, or Penninæ; Aquitania was made three,—two Aquitains, and Novempopulania; Lugdunensis likewise three,—Lugdunensis Prima and Secunda, and Maxima Sequanorum. And Belgica was turned into four,—Belgica Prima and Secunda, and Germania Prima and Secunda. Last of all, about the time of the Emperor Gratian, three more provinces were made out of these. For Lugdunensis Tertia, otherwise called Turonia, was taken out of Lugdunensis Secunda; and Lugdunensis Quarta, or Senonia, out of Lugdunensis Prima; and the new province of Narbonensis Secunda out of the province of Vienna. And about this time, or a little after, Viennensis Secunda, otherwise called Arelatensis, was made a province also. Some think, also, that Gallia had once the name of *Septem Provinciæ*, ‘the Seven Provinces,’ because it was divided into so many. But De Marca^a proves this to be a vulgar error; for it never was divided into seven provinces: but sometimes we meet with the distinction of Gallia and the five provinces, and Gallia and the seven provinces; and in the *Notitia* of the empire, the word ‘seven’ provinces is once put for ‘seventeen,’ which occasioned the mistake. Now the five provinces were either nothing but so many parts of the Old Gallia Narbonensis, viz. Narbonensis Prima and Secunda, Viennensis, Alpes Maritimæ and Alpes Graiæ, as Berterius, and De Marca, and

^a Marca, de Primatu Lugdun. n. lxvi.—lxviii.

Quesnellus, account them ; or else the four first of those mentioned with the province Novempopul-ana (and -ania), or Aquitania Prima, instead of Alpes Graiæ, which Mr. Pagi^b shows to be the more probable opinion. So that when the Council of Valence (an. 374) inscribe their synodical epistle, *Episcopis per Gallias et Quinque Provincias*, these ‘five provinces’ are to be understood : as also in Philastrius^c, where he speaks of the Priscillianists, the remains of the Manichees, skulking in Spain and the five provinces. The like distinction occurs in the letter of the Emperor Maximus to Pope Siricius, and some of Symmachus’s Epistles, which De Marca mentions. Afterward we meet with the distinction of Gallia and the seven provinces, which occurs in the letters of Pope Zosimus and Boniface, and is thought to owe its name to the Emperor Honorius, who ordered seven provinces to meet in the Convention of Arles, viz. Narbonensis Prima and Secunda, Viennensis, Alpes Maritimæ, Aquitania Prima and Secunda, and Novempopulana. These are sometimes distinguished from Gallia by the name of *Septem Provinciæ*, which occasioned the mistake of those who take Gallia in the largest extent and the seven provinces to be the same : whereas it appears, that there were not only seven, but seventeen or eighteen provinces in it. The names of the bishoprics in each province, because they occur not in any modern *Notitia*, I will here subjoin, out of Carolus a Sancto Paulo, who has collected them out of the acts of the ancient councils.

SECT. II.—*Of the Dioceses in the Province of Alpes Maritimæ.*

The first of these provinces was that of the Maritime Alps next to Italy, which had seven dioceses :—1. Ebrødunum (or *e*), Embrun, made the metropolis of this province in the fifth century ; for before it was not so, when it was laid to the

^b Pag. Critic. in Baron. an. 374, n. xviii.—xx.

^c Philastr. Hæres. lxii. (Biblioth. Patr. vol. vii.) Ut latrones jam, sub figura confessionis Christianæ, multas animas mendacio ac peculiari turpitudine non desinunt captivare, qui et in Hispania et ‘quinque provinciis’ latere dicuntur, multosque hac quotidie fallacia captivare.

charge of Armetarius, bishop of this see, that he was ordained without the consent of the metropolitan^d, which had been a frivolous accusation, had he himself then been metropolitan of the province. 2. Dinia, Digne. 3. Nicæa, Nice. 4. Cemenensis Civitas, Cimies, which was afterwards united to Nice; for, in the fifth Council of Orleans, Magnus subscribes himself bishop of both churches. Some say it was only six, others thirty miles from Nice. 5. Sanicium, Civitas Saniciensium, or Senez. 6. Glandata, Civitas Glannatina, or Glandeves, which Baudrand says is now translated to Intervallium, Entrevaux. 7. Ventio, Vence.

SECT. III.—*Alpes Graiæ or Penninæ.*

In the second province, called Alpes Graiæ, or Penninæ, were but three bishoprics:—1. Darantasia, the metropolis, which see is now translated to Monasterium, or Moutiers en Tarantaise. 2. Octodurus, Martigni. 3. Sedunum, Sion en Valais; the bishop of which place is now prince of the city, as Baudrand informs us.

SECT. IV.—*Viennensis Prima and Secunda.*

The next province westward was Viennensis, divided into Prima and Secunda. In the first were six dioceses:—1. Vienna, the metropolis. 2. Geneva. 3. Gratianopolis, Grenoble. 4. Civitas Albensium, al. Vivaria, and Alba Augusta, Viviers. 5. Mauriana, St. Jean de Maurienne. 6. Valentia, Valence. In the second, called also Provincia Arelatensis, were ten dioceses:—1. Arelatum, Arles, the metropolis. 2. Massilia, Marseilles. 3. Avenio, Avignon. 4. Cabellio, Cavaillon. 5. Carpentoracte, Carpentras. 6. Tolonium, al. Telonium, Toulon. 7. Arausio, Orange. 8. Vasio, Vaison. 9. Dia, or Dea Vocontiorum, Die. 10. Tricastini, or Augusta Tricastinorum, now called St. Paul de Trois Châteaux, which Bau-

^d Conc. Regens. c. ii. (Labbe, vol. iii. p. 1286.) Ebredunensi ecclesiæ ante omnia mature visum est consulendum. . . . Ordinationem, quam canones irritam definiunt, nos quoque evacuandam esse censuimus, in qua prætermissa trium præsentia, nec expetitis comprovincialium litteris, metropolitanique voluntate neglecta, prorsus nihil, quod episcopum faceret, ostensum est.

drand^e reckons three leagues from Avignon, and four from Vaison.

SECT. V.—*Narbonensis Prima and Secunda.*

Out of the province of Vienna eastward, was also taken another province, called *Narbonensis Secunda*, or *Aquensis*, from the metropolis of it *Aquæ Sextiæ*, Aix; beside which there were six other dioceses in the province. 2. *Apta Julia*, Apt. 3. *Reii*, Riez. 4. *Forum Julii*, Frejuz. 5. *Vapincum*, Gar. 6. *Segestero*, Cisteron. 7. *Antipolis*, Antibes, since translated to Grassa, in Provence. On the west of *Viennensis Secunda*, lay the province of *Narbonensis Prima*, which had ten dioceses:—1. *Narbo*. 2. *Tolosa*. 3. *Bætiræ*, Beziers. 4. *Nemausum*, Nismes. 5. *Civitas Lutevensium*, Lodeve. 6. *Ucetia*, *Castrum Uceciense*, or Uzes. 7. *Carcaso*, Carcassonne. 8. *Agatha*, Agde. 9. *Helena*, Elne. 10. *Magalona*, an island of the Mediterranean, which see is since translated to *Mons Pessulus*, or Montpellier.

SECT. VI.—*Of Novempopulania.*

Westward of *Narbonensis Prima*, lay the province of *Novempopulania*, along the Pyrenæan mountains, to the Aquitanic Ocean, wherein were eleven dioceses:—1. *Elusa*, Euse, the metropolis; whence the province was styled *Elusana*. The see is since translated, and joined to *Augusta Ausciorum*; which was a second see, now called Aux. 3. *Lactoratium*, Lectoure. 4. *Convenæ*, Cominges. 5. *Civitas Consorannorum*, Conserans. 6. *Vasatæ*, Bazas. 7. *Tarba*, Tarbes. 8. *Aturum*, al. *Vico-Julia*, Aire. 9. *Lascara*, Lescar. 10. *Olero*, Oleran. 11. *Aquæ*, Acqs.

SECT. VII.—*Of Aquitania Prima and Secunda.*

Northward of these provinces, from the *Garumna* to the

^e Baudrand. Lexic. voce *Tricastini*. (p. 283.) *Tricastini* populi fuere *Galliæ Narbonensis* . . . Eorum urbs *Augusta Tricastinorum* vulgo *S. Paul* dicitur, in colle una leuca a *Rhodano* dissita, et media fere inter montem *Æmarorum* ad boream et *Arausionem* ad meridiem, iii. leucis utrimque, uti iv. a *Vasione* in *Circium*.

Ligeris, lay the two provinces of Aquitania Prima and Secunda : the latter of which, bordering upon the ocean, had six very large dioceses :—1. Burdigala, Bordeaux, the metropolis. 2. Aginum, Agen. 3. Civitas Engolismensium, Angoulesme. 4. Santones, al. Mediolanum Santonum, Saintes. 5. Pictavi, Poitiers, where St. Hilary was bishop. 5. Petrocorium, Perigueux. In the other province, which lay eastward from this, were nine as large dioceses :—1. Biturigæ, the metropolis, now called Bourges. 2. Arverni, Clermont. 3. Ruteni, Rodez. 4. Arisita. 5. Civitas Caducorum, Cahors. 6. Lemovica, Limoges. 7. Gabalum, al. Mimate, now Mande. 8. Vellava, al. Anicium, now Le Puy en Vellay. 9. Albiga, or Alba Helviorum, Alby : whence the Albigenses, who flourished in these parts, had their denomination.

SECT. VIII.—*Of Lugdunensis Prima, Secunda, Tertia, Quarta, and Maxima Sequanorum.*

North and east of Aquitain lay Gallia Lugdunensis, divided into five provinces ; whereof the first had five dioceses :—1. Lugdunum, Lyons, the metropolis. 2. Matisco, Mascon. 3. Cabillonum, Chalons on the Saone. 4. Lingones, Langres. 5. Augustodunum, Autun. The second, called Lugdunensis Secunda (p. 150), had eight dioceses :—1. Rothomagum, Rouen, in Normandy. 2. Ebroica, Evreux. 3. Lexovium, Lisieux. 4. Baioca, Bayeux. 5. Constantia, Coutance. 6. Abrinca, Avranches. 7. Savium, Siez. 8. Oximum, Hiesmes, since united to Savium ; from whence it is four leagues' distance. Lugdunensis Tertia, otherwise called Turonensis (p. 150), had seven dioceses :—1. Civitas Tur-on (or -um), Tours. 2. Civ. Andicavorum, Angiers. 3. Civ. Cenomanorum, Le Mans. 4. Redones, Rennes. 5. Namnetes, Nantes. 6. Venetia, Venice. 7. Aletum, Alet, since translated to Maclovium (an. 1140). Five others are added by some French writers, viz. Briocum, Dola, Trecora, Ossisma, Corisopitum ; but Carolus a Sancto Paulo makes some question about their antiquity ; because, in the time of Carolus Calvus, Brittany had but four bishoprics in the whole. Lugdunensis Quarta was that part of France where Paris stands, the metro-

polis whereof was Senones, Sens. Next to that, 2. Carnutum, Chartres. 3. Antisiodorum, Auxerre. 4. Trecae, Troyes, in Champain. 5. Aurelia, Orleans. 6. Parisii, Paris. 7. Melda, or Melduorum, Meaux. 8. Nivernum, Nevers. Lugdunensis Quinta was, otherwise, called Maxima Sequanorum; not from Maximus the tyrant, as Carolus a Sancto Paulo and many others think; for it was called so long before, in the time of Diocletian; as De Marca^f shows, from an ancient inscription in Gruter. The ancient metropolis of it was Vijontio, or Visontium, or Bisuntio, Besançon. 2. Aventicum, Avenches: which see was since translated to Lausanne. 3. Augusta Rauracorum, Augst, translated to Basil. 4. Vin-donissa, Winich, since translated to Constance. 5. Belica, Belley; which, De Marca says, arose out of the ruins of a more ancient one; which was Nœodunum, Nions, formerly called Colonia Equestris.

SECT. IX.—*Of Belgica Prima and Secunda.*

The most northern provinces of Gallia were Belgica Prima and Secunda, and Germania Prima and Secunda; which was all the country lying north of the river Matrona, from near Paris and Meaux, to the Rhine; Belgica Prima had but four dioceses (p. 148):—1. Augusta Treverorum, Treves, or Triers, the metropolis. 2. Mediomatricum, Metz. 3. Tullum, Toul. 4. Verodunum, Verdun in Lorrain. In the other Belgica, there were ten dioceses:—1. Remi, Rheims. 2. Augusta Suessonum, Soissons. 3. Civitas Catuellaunorum, or Catalaunum, Chalons in Champagne. 4. Laudunum Clavatum, Leon. 5. Augusta Veromanduorum, Vermand; which being destroyed by the Huns, the see was translated to Neomagus, or Noviodunum, now called Noyon. 6. Cameracum, Cambray. 5. Tornacum, Tournay. 8. Silvanectum, Senlis. 9. Civitas

^f Marc. de Primatu Lugdun. num. lxiv. (Bamberg. 1789. vol. iv. p. 48.) Maxima Sequanorum avulsa erat a Lugdunensi Diocletiani principatu; ut ostendit inscriptio tunc posita apud Gruterum, (p. 166, num. vii.) ‘Aurelio Proculo V. C. prov. Max. Seq.’ ubi aperte Maxima Sequanorum provinciæ nomine insignitur. Unde patet eruditorum error, qui Maximam dictam volunt a nomine Maximi, qui Gallias invasit temporibus Gratiani circiter annum trecentessimum octuagesimum.

Bellovacorum, Beauvais. 10. Ambianum, Amiens. Some add two more,—Taruanna, Therouenne, and Bononia, Boulogne. But Carolus a Sancto Paulo thinks these were not very ancient; for he finds no mention of the former before the time of Pope Zachary (an. 750): and the latter was made out of the former, a great many centuries after, in the time of Charles V. (an. 1350), when the see of Taruanna was divided into three, and translated to Bononia for that part of the diocese which is in France, and to Audomaropolis, or St. Omer, for that part which is in Artois, and to Ypres, for the third part in Flanders.

SECT. X.—*Of Germanica Prima and Secunda.*

Germanica Prima (p. 148) had but four dioceses:—1. Moguntiacum, Mayence, or Mentz. 2. Argentoratum, Strasburg. 3. Spira Nemetum, Spire. 4. Wormacia Vangionum, Worms. And Germanica Secunda had but two:—1. Colonia Agrippina, Cologne. 2. Tungri, or Aduatuca Tungrorum, Tong-res (or -eren,) in Brabant; which see was first translated to Trajectum ad Mosam, Maestricht; and from thence to Leodium, or Liege, where it now continues, having the temporal jurisdiction joined to the spiritual, and twenty-four towns or cities subject to its command. Now, I suppose any one that knows any thing of the state of these countries, will easily conclude, that the greatest part of these dioceses were large, as they are at this day, the whole number being but one hundred and twenty-two, when the bounds of France extended much further than they do at present, including some parts of Helvetia, Germany, and Belgium, which are now reckoned distinct countries of themselves.

SECT. XI.—*The ancient Division of the Spanish Provinces.*

Out of France passing over the Pyrenæan mountains, we come into Spain, which, with the province of Tingitana, in Afric, and the islands called Baleares, made up another great civil diocese of the Roman empire, under the *præfectus-prætorio Galliarum*. The whole country of Spain, then, was divided only into five provinces, — Tarraconensis, Carthaginensis,

Boetica, Lusitania, and Gallæcia; and in these provinces there were never above seventy-four or seventy-six episcopal dioceses when they were most numerous, and they are almost as many at this day.

SECT. XII.—*Of Tarraconensis.*

In the large province of Tarraconensis (S. P. p. 182), which lay next to France, there were only sixteen dioceses:—
 1. Tarracona, now Tarragona, the metropolis. 2. Dertosa, Tortosa. 3. Cæsaraugusta, Saragossa. 4. Tyrassona, al. Turiasso, now Tarazona. 5. Calagurris, Calahorra. 6. Auca, Oca. 7. Osca, Huesca. 8. Pampilona. 9. Ilerda, Lerida. 10. Barcino, Barcelona. 11. Egara, Terrassa, a place near Barcelona, about four or six leagues from it, and now united to it. 12. Ausona, al. Ausa, Vich de Ausona. 13. Gerunda, Gironne. 14. Emporiæ, Ampurias. 15. Orgellum, Urgel. 16. Velia, now Veleia.

SECT. XIII.—*Of Carthaginensis.*

Next to this, on the coast of the Mediterranean, lay the province called Carthaginensis, from the chief city, *Carthago*, 'Carthagena,' which was the ancient metropolis of the province, though Toledo afterward gained the privilege of being a new metropolis, and at last succeeded to the dignity of the whole province. Beside these two, Carolus a Sancto Paulo (p. 178) reckons twenty-two more dioceses in this province:—
 1. Complutum, now Alcala de Henares. 2. Oxoma, Osma. 3. Pallentia, Palencia. 4. Valeria, now Valera la Vieja. 5. Saguntum, al. Segontia, Siguenza. 6. Segobia, Segovia. 7. Arcabrica, Arcas. 8. Oretum, Oreto. 9. Valentia, Valencia. 10. Dianium, Denia. 11. Setabis, Xativa. 12. Basti, Baza. 13. Mentesa, Mentexa. 14. Salaria. 15. Acci, now Guadix. 16. Segobrica, Segorbe. 17. Castulo, Gazlona. 18. Bigastrum. 19. Illici, or Illicias, which some make the same as Alicante, others Origuela, or Elche. 20. Ergavica, a place of more doubtful situation, some taking it for Alcaniz, near Toledo, others for Penna Escritta, or Santaver. 21. Eliocrata, now Lorca. 22. Urçi, al. Virgi, now Orce.

SECT. XIV.—*Of Bætica.*

The next province of Bætica (p. 181) had but eleven dioceses:—1. Hispalis, Seville. 2. Italica, now Sevilla la Vieja. 3. Ilipa [Ilipla] Niebla. 4. Astygis, now Ecija. 5. Corduba, Cordova. 6. Egabro, or Egabrorum, Cabra. 7. Eliberi, or Illiberis, Elvira. 8. Malaca, Malaga. 9. Acinda, al. Assidonia, now Medina Sidonia. 11. Tucci, now Martos. 11. Abdara, Adra.

SECT. XV.—*Of Lusitania.*

In the province of Lusitania (p. 181), there were but nine dioceses:—1. Emerita, Merida, the metropolis. 2. Abula, Avila. 3. Salmantica, Salamanca. 4. Ebora [Elbora], Evora. 5. Cauria, Coria. 6. Pax Julia, now Beja, which some by mistake confound with Pax Augusta, now called Badajos, which is but a modern bishopric. 7. Ossonaba, Estoy. 8. Olisippo, Lisbon. 9. Egita, Eidania.

SECT. XVI.—*Of G[C]allæcia.*

Gallæcia was a large province, and yet never had above thirteen or fourteen dioceses. In the Council of Lucas Augusti, or Lugo, under King Theodimir (an. 569), a complaint was made that the dioceses here were so large, that the bishops could scarce visit them in a year; upon which an order was made, that several new bishoprics, and one new metropolis should be erected: which was accordingly done by the bishops then in council, who made Lugo to be the new metropolis, and raised several other episcopal sees out of the old ones, as is declared^s in the Acts of that council. Bracara, now called Braga, was the old metropolis, which after the division had no more than seven dioceses subject to it:—1. Dumium. 2. Portus Calensis, now called El Puerto. 3. Conimbrica, Coimbra. 4. Viseum, Viseu. 5. Lamecum, Lamego. 6. Valentia ad Minium, Valenza al Minho. 7. Legio, Leon. The other metropolis, Lucas Augusti, had but five suffragans:—1. Iria Flavia, El Padron. 2. Auria,

^s Conc. Lucens. (tom. v. p. 874. C. D.)

Orense. 3. Tude, Tuy. 4. Asturica, Astorga. 5. Britonia [Britonium], Bretagna. Of these, Legio and Asturica are thought by many learned men to have been but one diocese in the time of Cyprian, because he joins them together in the same epistle^h, writing to the Church in both places; but I think the argument is hardly cogent, because he joins Emerita with them in the same inscription. There is another place, which some say had no diocese, but a monastery, that is Dumium, near Braga. But this is a great mistake; for though there be an instance or two in ancient historyⁱ of bishops being ordained in monasteries without any diocese at all, yet we nowhere read that their monastery was their diocese. And in the present case it was far otherwise: for, as a learned man^k has showed, Dumium had another diocese beside the monastery. In the Acts of the Council of Lugo^l it is said to have *familia regia*, 'the king's court,' belonging to it; for Martin Braccarensis, commonly called the apostle of Gallæcia, having converted Theodimir, king of the Suevi, from the Arian heresy, was created bishop in the monastery of Dumium (which he had built), not for the service of the monastery, but the king's court, till he was translated to Bracara, or Braga, the metropolis of the province. And further, in the distribution of dioceses made by King Wamba, the bounds of this diocese are marked, from Duma to Albia, and from Rianteca to Adasa: which, though they be such obscure places as geographers take no notice of, yet they argue the diocese to be larger than the monastery; or, at least, this monastery, like that of Sublaqueum, in the diocese of Tibur, in Italy, had several villages under its jurisdiction. And so it might have a sufficient diocese, though not so large as the rest of the province of Gallæcia, which were so vastly great as to need the wisdom and consideration of a council to contract them.

^h Cyprian. Ep. lxxvii. (Fell. p. 170.) Cyprianus, Cæcilius, Primus . . . Felici presbytero et plebibus consistentibus ad Legionem et Asturicæ; item Lælio diacono, et plebi Emeritæ consistentibus, fratribus in Domino, salutem.

ⁱ See Book iv. chap. vi. sect. iii.

^k Maurice's Defence of Dioces. Episc. p. 149.

^l Conc. Lucens. (tom. v. Conc. p. 875. A.) Ad Dumio familia servorum. Nota: In margine sic legitur, 'Ad sedem Dumiensem familia regia.'

SECT. XVII.—*Of the Islands Majorica, Minorica, &c.*

To these Spanish provinces we must join the Spanish islands, Majorica, Minorica, and Ebusus, which Carolus a Sancto Paulo (p. 67), by mistake, places with Sardinia as appendants of the Roman diocese. Majorica, the largest of the Baleares, was one hundred and ten miles in circuit; yet it never had above one episcopal diocese, whose chief seat was Palma, now called Mallorca, which is the name that the inhabitants at present give to the whole island, by others called Majorca. Minorica, Minorca, is sixty miles in compass, and anciently enjoyed a bishop of its own, whose see was Jamna, now called Citadella, the capital city of the island. Ebusus, now called Yvica, was less than these, yet large enough to make a distinct diocese, being forty-two miles in compass, having a city of the same name, with several villages, under its jurisdiction; so that in all the Spanish provinces the dioceses were generally very large, and not one among them whose bounds did not far exceed the limits of a single congregation.

SECT. XVIII.—*The State of the Spanish Church evidenced from some of her most ancient Councils.*

And that this was the true state of the Spanish Church in ancient times, appears from some of her most early councils. The Council of Eliberis, which was held (an. 305) in the beginning of the Diocletian persecution, has a canon, which plainly supposes the dioceses to have country parishes, when it says^m, “If any deacon, who has the care of a people, shall baptize any one without a bishop or presbyter, the bishop shall consummate him by his benediction.” The same is more plainly intimated by a canon of the first Council of Toledo (an. 400), which directs the presbyters of every Churchⁿ

^m Conc. Illiber. c. lxxvii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 978.) Si quis diaconus, regens plebem, sine episcopo vel presbytero aliquos baptizaverit, episcopus eos per benedictionem perficere debet.

ⁿ Conc. Toletan. I. c. xx. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1226.) Placuit, ex hac die nullum alium, nisi episcopum, chrisma conficere, et per diœcesim destinare: ita ut de singulis ecclesiis ad episcopum ante diem paschæ diaconi destinentur, aut

throughout each diocese to send to the bishop before Easter for chrism, to be used in baptism at Easter, and other solemn times when baptism was to be administered. This supposes the Spanish dioceses to have country parishes, where presbyters and deacons resided without the bishop; and it serves to confirm the account that has been given of the original state and division of those Churches.

SECT. XIX.—*Of Ireland and Scotland.*

Out of Spain we come at last to the British isles, part of which only was under the Roman government, and called the *Britannic diocese*: for Ireland and the greatest part of Scotland never came under that denomination. Yet in our passage it will not be amiss to say something of them, as well as England, if it were for no other reason but to set aside and censure some fabulous reports that are made of them. When Ireland was first converted, or by whom, is not very material here to be inquired, since before the time of St. Patrick (an. 433), there is little mention of bishops or dioceses in this kingdom; and, after him, the accounts of them are so uncertain and dark, that Carolus a S. Paulo does not pretend to give any other catalogue of them but what he has from Camden and the *Provinciale Romanum*, both of which are modern accounts; for they make mention of the diocese of Waterford, which, as Dr. Cave^o and other learned men have observed out of Eadmerus^p was not erected till the year

subdiaconi; ut confectum chrisma, ab episcopo destinatum, ad diem paschæ possit occurrere.

^o Cave, *Histor. Litterar.* (Basil. 1745. vol. ii. p. 180.) *Hibernicum* (Concilium) an. 1097, loco incerto habitum. In quo Murchertachus rex, ejusque clerus et populus, ab Anselmo Cantuariensi, tanquam primate suo, petunt, ut oppidum Waterfordiense in episcopalem sedem erigatur, etc. (See the following note.)

^p Eadmer. *Histor.* lib. ii. p. 36. Rex Hiberniæ Murchertachus nomine, et Dofnaldus episcopus cum ceteris episcopis, et quique nobiles cum clero et populo ipsius insulæ, miserunt nuntios ac litteras ad Anselmum, innotescentes ei, civitatem quamdam, Waterfordiam nomine, in una suarum provinciarum esse, cui ob numerosam civium multitudinem expediret episcopum institui, simulque petentes, ipse quatenus primatus, quem super eos gerebat, potestate, et quaungebatur vicis apostolicæ auctoritate, sanctæ Christianitati ac neces-

1097, when King Murchertachus, and the clergy of his kingdom, petitioned Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, who was then primate of that part of Ireland, to let Waterford be made a bishop's see: to which petition he consented, and ordained one Malchus, whom they had elected, first bishop of the place. Nay, both these catalogues also take notice of four archbishoprics in Ireland, which number of metropolitans was first introduced by Pope Eugenius (an. 1151), as Baronius has observed out of Roger Hoveden: and the same thing is

sariæ plebium utilitati instituendo eis pontificem subveniret. Jam enim sæcula multa transierant, in quibus eadem civitas, absque providentia et cura pontificali consistens, per diversa tentationum pericula jactabatur. Elegerant autem iidem ipsi in hoc officium quemdam gentis suæ virum vocabulo Malchum, eumque sacrandum cum communi decreto ad Anselmum transmiserunt. Decretum autem hoc est. 'Anselmo, Dei gratia, Anglorum archiepiscopo, clerus et populus Waterfordiæ cum rege Murchertacho et episcopo Dofnaldo, salutem in Domino. Pater sancte, cæcitas ignorantiae nos diu detrimenta salutis nostræ sustinere coëgit, quod magis eligimus serviliter dominico jugo colla subtrahere, quam liberaliter pastoralis obedientiæ subesse. Nunc autem quantum proficiat pastorum causa agnovimus, cum aliarum rerum similitudines ad mentem revocamus; quia sine regimine, nec exercitus bellum, nec navis marinum audet attemptare periculum. Navicula ergo nostra, mundanis dedita fluctibus, sine pastore contra callidum hostem qua ratione pugnabit? Propterea nos et rex noster Murchertachus, et episcopus Dofnaldus, et Dermeth dux noster, frater regis, eligimus hunc presbyterum Malchum, Walkelini Wintonensis episcopi monachum, nobis sufficientissime cognitum, natalibus et moribus nobilem, apostolica et ecclesiæ disciplina imbutum, fide Catholica prudentem, moribus temperatum, vita castum, sobrium, humilem, affabilem, misericordem, liberalem, hospitalem, suæ domui bene præpositum, non neophytum, habentem testimonium bonum in gradibus singulis. Hunc nobis petimus a vestra paternitate ordinari pontificem, quatenus regulariter nobis præesse valeat et prodesse, et nos sub ejus regimine salubriter Domino militare possimus. Ut autem omnium nostrorum vota in hanc electionem convenire noscatis, huic decreto canonico promississima voluntate singuli manibus propriis roborantes subscripsimus. Ego Murchertachus rex Hiberniæ subscripsi. Ego Dermeth dux frater regis subscripsi. Ego Dofnaldus, episcopus S. S. Ego Idunan episcopus Midiae S. S. Ego Samuel Dunelmensis episcopus S. S. Ego Ferdornachus Laginiensium episcopus S. S.' Subscripserunt his multo plures, quos nos brevitati studentes notare non necessarium duximus.—Igitur Anselmus, considerans et intelligens eos justa et utilia petere, petitioni eorum libens annuit. Electum ergo pontificem diligenter in his quæ sacra jubet auctoritas, examinatum, ac multorum cum vitæ suæ testimonio dignum episcopatu comprobatum, sumta ab eo ex more de subjectionis suæ obedientia professione, sacravit eum Cantuariæ quinto Kal. Januarii, assistantibus et co-operantibus sibi in hoc ministerio suo, duobus episcopis suis, Radulfo scilicet Cicestrensi, et Gundulfo Roffensi.

noted by Matthew Paris, Simeon Dunelmensis, Gervasius' Chronicon and others of our English writers. Yet because we have no catalogues of Irish dioceses older or more authentic than these, it will not be amiss to insert them in this place. That in Camden has the four archbishoprics and their suffragans in this order.

Archiepiscopo Armachano subsunt

1. Midensis, vel Elnamirand. 2. Dunensis, al. Dundalethglas. 3. Clochorensis, al. Lugundunensis. 4. Connerensis. 5. Ardachadensis. 6. Rathbotensis. 7. Rathlucensis. 8. Daln-liguiensis. 9. Dearrihensis.

Sub Archiepiscopo Dublinensi.

1. Glendelacensis. 2. Fernensis. 3. Osseriensis, al. De Canic. 4. Lechlinensis. 5. Kildarensis.

Sub Archiepiscopo Cassiliensi.

1. Laoniensis de Kendalnan. 2. Limricensis. 3. De Insula Gathay. 4. De Cellumabrath. 5. Melicensis, al. De Emileth, 6. Rossiensis, al. Roscreensis. 7. Waterfordiensis, al. De Baltifordian. 8. Lismorensis. 9. Clonensis, al. De Cluanania. 10. Corcagiensis. 11. De Rosalither. 12. Ardefertensis.

Sub Archiepiscopo Tuamensi.

1. Duacensis, al. Killmacduoc. 2. De Mageo. 3. Enachdunensis. 4. De Cellaiaro. 5. De Roscomon. 6. Clonfertensis. 7. Achadensis. 8. Ladensis, al. Killaleth. 9. De Conany. 10. De Killmunduach. 11. Elphinensis.

The other catalogue in the *Provinciale Romanum*, published by Carolus a S. Paulo in the appendix to his Geography, advances the number of suffragans to fifty-three, in the following order, (p. 168).

Sub Archiepiscopo Armachano.

1. Connerinensis. 2. Deconnannas. 3. Dedamlialiagg. 4. Dedundalehglas. 5. Deardarchad. 6. Dedarrich. 7. Ingundunum. 8. Deralhboth. 9. Dunensis, al. Drumorensis. 10. Elualnirand, al. Midensis. 11. Derathlurig. 12. Re-

nensis, al. Reuelensis, al. Crocorensis. 13. Cluanensis, al. Cluanerdensis. 14. Rochinocensis, al. Rathbotensis. 15. Artagadonensis, al. Ardacadensis. 16. Conerensis. 17. Heugamensis.

Sub Archiepiscopo Dublinensi.

1. Glendelacensis. 2. Caldetensis, al. Kiscarensis. 3. Glensis, al. Gluisonensis. 4. Ossinensis. 5. Darensis. 6. Gaininch. 7. Licelinensis.

Sub Archiepiscopo Cassellensi [Cassiliensi].

1. Decendaluensis, al. Laonensis. 2. Derostreensis, al. Wldifordianus. 3. Deardefertensis. 4. Lunech. 5. Lismorensis. 6. Firmaberensis, al. Fymbarrens. 7. De Insula. 8. Deduanamensis, al. Cluanensis. 9. Laudensis. 10. Carthax. 11. Tubricensis. 12. Decelleninabrach. 13. Deconeagia, vel Corcagensis. 14. Artfertelensis. 15. Denulech, al. Umblicensis. 16. Derosailitchir. 17. Waterfordensis.

Sub Archiepiscopo Tuamensi.

1. Demageonensis. 2. Achadensis. 3. Nelfinensis. 4. Decellaid. 5. Deconairi. 6. Eacduensis. 7. Roscomon. 8. Decelmundaiach. 9. Cluartifertensis. 10. Deculuanferd. 11. Duacensis. 12. Bladensis.

This seems to have been the greatest number of bishops that ever Ireland had since it was a Christian nation. For as to the pretence of some modern writers, that there were at one time no less than three hundred and sixty-five bishops, ordained by St. Patrick, it is solidly refuted by Dr. Maurice, who shows^a plainly that the story is not to be understood of so many bishops at once, but of that number in the reign of four kings successively, and in the compass of one hundred years; which any one that carefully reads Bishop Ussher's Antiquities^r, whence the ground of the story is fetched, will easily discern. And it is no hard matter to conceive then,

^a Maurice's Defence of Dioces. Episc. p. 155.

^r Usser. Antiquit. Eccles. Britan. p. 490 tot.

how there might be three hundred and fifty, or, as Nennius tells the story, three hundred and sixty-five bishops in the compass of a whole century, though there were not above fifty, or threescore, at any one time, living together. Another error committed by Carolus a Sancto Paulo in reference to the bishops of this nation, which makes the whole number of them subject to a single abbot, has been already rectified in speaking of the ascetics; where I have shown^s he mistakes Hibernia for the little Isle of Huy, in the north of Scotland, where a monastery was founded by Columbanus, the abbots of which, by an unusual custom, as Bede calls it, had some sort of superiority over the province of the northern Picts, and the provincial bishops too; but this has no relation to Ireland, nor any other part of Scotland, than what has been now mentioned.

As to the original state of dioceses in Scotland, Carolus a Sancto Paulo, for want of light from ancient history, could give no account of them, and therefore he only sets down the modern names. Under the archbishop of St. Andrew's, eight dioceses:—1. Dunkeld. 2. Brechin. 3. Aberdeen. 4. Ross. 5. Moravia, or Moray. 6. Caithness. 7. Dunblane. 8. The islands called Orcades. Under the archbishop of Glasgow three:—Candida Casa, or Whiterne, Lismore, and the Islands, that is, the Hebrides, or Western Islands, whereof Iona was one of the chief. The principal town of this island, called Sodor, was made a bishop's see by Gregory IV. (an. 840), whence the bishop of all those forty-four islands, together with the Isle of Man, which then was but a part of that diocese, had the name of *Episcopus Sodorensis*. But when the Isle of Man fell into the hands of the English, the Western Islands withdrew their obedience from their ancient bishop, who commonly lived in this island, and set up another bishop of their own, who for a long time retained the title of *Sodorensis*, but at last he relinquished that title to the bishop of the Isle of Man, and took the name of *Insulanus*, 'bishop of the Isles,' which he still retains. The *Provinciale Romanum* makes no mention either of this diocese or of these islands, or

^s See Book vii. chap. iii. sect. xiv.

that other of the Orcades, but speaks of one called Dearegar-chel, belonging to the pope, and makes Glasgow only a suffragan to St. Andrew's ; by which it appears that it is not many ages since Glasgow was made an archbishopric, the bishop of St. Andrew's being then the only metropolitan among them. But about ancient dioceses we must not be very solicitous ; for whatever fabulous writers affirm, it is certain, from Bede, that no part of this nation possessed by the Picts was converted till the fifth century, when first, in the time of Arcadius and Honorius, the southern Picts were converted by Ninias, a Briton, who built a church at Candida Casa, which was the first cathedral in that part of Scotland, and which gave the denomination of Whithorn (or *ho*) to the place, as Bede observes, because the church was built of stone : which was not a very usual thing among the Britons in those days. The northern Picts were not converted till above a hundred and fifty years after this. For their apostle was Columbanus, the famous monk, who came out of Ireland in the time of Justin Junior (an. 565), to preach the Gospel to them, as Bede informs us in the same place. So that it would be in vain to search after episcopal dioceses, before we have any certainty that Christianity was planted among them. In the following ages, we have no particular account of any other diocese, save this of Candida Casa, in Bede^t, or any other authentic writer. For though they speak of bishops, both among the southern and the northern Picts, yet they take no

^t Bede, lib. iii. c. iv. (Colon. Agr. 1688. vol. iii. p. 54.) Anno Incarnationis Dominicæ quingentesimo sexagesimo quinto (quo tempore gubernaculum Romani imperii, post Justinianum, Justinus minor accepit) venit de Hibernia presbyter et abbas, habitu et vita monachi insignis, nomine Columbanus, in Britanniam ; prædicaturus verbum Dei provinciis septentrionalium Pictorum ; hoc est, eis qui arduis atque horrentibus montium jugis ab australibus eorum sunt regionibus sequestrati. Namque ipsi australes Picti, qui intra eosdem montes habent sedes, multo ante tempore (ut perhibent), relicto errore idololatriæ, fidem veritatis acceperant, prædicante eis verbum Nynia episcopo reverendissimo et sanctissimo viro, de natione Brittonum, qui erat Romæ regulariter fidem et mysteria veritatis edoctus ; cujus sedem episcopalem, sancti Martini episcopi nomine et ecclesia insignem (ubi ipse etiam corpore una cum pluribus sanctis requiescit), jam nunc Anglorum gens obtinet. Qui locus ad provinciam Berniciorum pertinens, vulgo vocatur *Ad Candidam Casam* ; eo quod ibi ecclesiam de lapide, insolito Brittonibus more, fecerit.

notice of the names of their sees, whence some have concluded that the Scottish bishops had no proper sees, but were ordained at large for the whole country; and others, that there was but one bishop for all the region. The first of which opinions is incredible, because it is against the known rule of the Catholic Church, which forbade any bishop to be ordained at large; and the other is expressly refuted by Bede^u, who speaks of several bishops in the province of the northern Picts; and by the writer of the Life of Ninias, in Bishop Ussher's Antiquities, who says^x, that Ninias, having converted the southern Picts, ordained them presbyters, and consecrated them bishops, and divided the whole region into certain *parochiæ*, or 'dioceses,' and so returned to his own Church again, meaning Candida Casa, before mentioned. Whence it is evident there were bishops both among the northern and southern Picts, though the names of their dioceses be not mentioned. As for the diocese of Candida Casa, Bishop Ussher truly observes that it was not properly in any part of the Picts' dominions, but in that part, or province, of the Romish Britain, which was called Valentia, and afterwards Bernicia, by Bede, when it was under the dominion of the Saxons. Bishop Ussher^y thinks it was also sometimes called

^u Bed. lib. iii. c. iv. p. 55. Habere solet ipsa insula rectorem semper Abbatem Presbyterum, cujus juri et omnis provincia, et ipsi etiam episcopi, ordine inusitato, debeant esse subjecti, etc.

^x Vit. Niniae, ap. Usser. Antiq. p. 350. Ordinavit presbyteros, episcopos consecravit, et totam terram per certas parochias divisit: confirmatisque in fide omnibus, ad ecclesiam suam est regressus.

^y Usser. Antiq. (Ussher's Works, London, vol. vi. p. 205.) Certum est, inter Britannos suos sedem episcopalem constituisse Ninianum, in loco olim *Candida Casa*, hodie (a candido quoque colore appellatione retenta) Whit-herne nominato. Unde ad ecclesiam Glascuensem, in Glottæ sive Cluidæ fluvii (qui ditionis Romanorum et relictorum ab eis Britonum extremus erat terminus), ripa sitam, a Kentigerno translata fuisse videtur. Glascuensem enim diocesim eo tempore eosdem cum Cumbrensi illo regno limites habuisse, et ad murum illum celebratissimum protensum fuisse et, quod hinc est consequens, *Candidam Casam* complexu suo continuisse, in Kentigerni vita pariter legimus. Ulterius etiam:—Ejus versus austrum episcopatus tunc temporis ultimum finem fuisse ad Crucem Regiam infra Stanemore, in Scotichronico traditum invenimus. Quod autem Hector Boëthius *Candidam Casam* sub Mordaci Scotorum regis ditione fuisse vult, quem anno 731 (in quo ecclesiasticam suam historiam terminavit Beda) defunctum fuisse notat; tam verum est, quam quod de Beda statim

the kingdom of Cumbria, or Cumberland ; and that the diocese of Casa Candida was sometimes of equal extent with that kingdom, reaching from Glasgow, on the river Clota, or Clyde, to Stanemore Cross in the borders of Westmoreland ; and that in the time of Kentigern the see was removed to Glasgow. But when the Irish Scots had seized this country, and given it the name of Galloway, this and the neighbouring regions were all subjected to the bishop of Sodora, whose residence was in the Isle of Man, till Malcolm the Third, king of Scots, made Candida Casa a bishop's see again, and assigned it the country of Galloway for its diocese ; which continues to be so to this day. I cannot give any such particular account of any other diocese in the kingdom of Scotland, for want of certain

subdit : ' Beda locum Pictiminiam vocat, Accamque antistitem, qui sub id tempus sacræ sedi *Candida in Casa* præfuit ; eumque virum primum post D. Ninianum ibidem gessisse episcopatum.' Nam neque ita locum hunc uspiam vocavit Beda, neque illum loci ejus nominavit antistitem : et in Anglorum non in Scotorum potestate Candidam Casam eo tempore fuisse, clarissime confirmat. Anno enim illo 731, præsulatum tenuisse scribit : ' Accam in Hagustaldensi ecclesia, Pecthelmum in ea quæ *Candida Casa* vocatur ; quæ nuper (inquit) multiplicatis fidelium plebibus, in sedem pontificatus addita, ipsum primum habet antistitem.' Hanc vero ' jam tunc Anglorum gentem obtinuisse, et ad provinciam Berniciorum pertinuisse,' et ipse apertissimis verbis antea scripserat, et Joannes Major ingenue agnoscit ; ' pro tempore suo et non futuro Bedam scripsisse' simul admonens. Quo magis Thomæ Dempsteri confidentiam et temeritatem demirari liceat, tam audacter asseverantis, ' hoc certò liquere ; Candidæ Casæ episcopatum semper fuisse ditionis Scoticæ, nec umquam Anglico juri subjectum.' Ut igitur apud Britones primus Candidæ Casæ episcopus erat Ninianus, ita Anglorum primus in ea sede antistes erat Pecthelmus : ad quem popularis sui Bonifacii Moguntini archiepiscopi XI. data legitur epistola. Pecthelmo (ut in Florentii Wigorniensis habetur Chronico), anno 735, defuncto successit Frithwaldus ; eique anno 763, nonis Maii ex hac vita decedenti, successor xvi. Kalend. Augusti datus est Pechtwinus ; eo vero anno 777 mortuo, sequente anno Eboraci xvii. Kalend. Julii episcopus ordinatus est Æthelbertus : cui, anno 791, substitutus est Beadvulfus : ' Nec præterea,' inquit Guilielmus Malmesburiensis, ' plures alicubi reperio ; quod cito defecerit episcopatus, qui extrema Anglorum in ora est, et Scotorum vel Pictorum depopulationi opportuna.' In antiquissimo tamen Anglo-Saxonicorum episcoporum indiculo, huic etiam Heathoredum successisse invenio : post cujus tempora regio illa a Scotis sive Hibernis occupata, Gallwalliæ et Gallovidiæ ab eis nomen accepit. Deinceps vero in Scoticis proditum habetur annalibus, ' Gallovidiam ac vicinas regiones Sodorensi episcopo, cui in Mona insula sedes erat sacra, usque ad Malcolmi tertii regis tempora in rebus paruisse divinis : ' a quo Gallovidiæ Candida Casa, ut hodie manet, episcopalis sedes est constituta.

records; but this is certain, that from the first conversion of it, first by Ninias, and then by Columbanus, they had several bishops among the Picts, part of whose country being made tributary, as well as Valentia, to the Saxon kings of Northumberland, their bishops, consequently, became subject to the metropolitan of York, from whose hands they sometimes had their ordination.

SECT. XX.—*Of the British Church in England and Wales.*

There remains only one country more to be examined, which is our own part of the British nation, a country that embraced the Christian faith as early as any of the Western parts of the world, and therefore may be presumed to have received the same form of government that we have found in all other churches. It has been noted before, that the Britannic diocese was divided by the Romans, at first, into three provinces, and then into five; but, by the injury of time, we have no complete account of what bishoprics were erected in every province. They who speak of a precise number of *flamens* and *arch-flamens*, turned into so many archbishops and bishops, seem rather to deliver their own fancies than relate true history. That which is certain in the case is this,—there were here, in the beginning of the fourth century, such episcopal Churches as were in all other nations; for the bishops of these Churches were summoned to councils as others were. There were British bishops in the Council of Arles,—*Eborius*^z *de Civitate Eboracensi*, *Restitutus de Civitate Londinensi*, *Adelphius de Civitate Colonia Londinensium*. The last of which, Holstenius^a, following Camden

^z Conc. Arelat. I. an. 314. (tom. i. Conc. p. 1430. B. C.) Eborius episcopus, de civitate Eboracensi, provincia Britannia. Restitutus episcopus, de civitate Londinensi, provincia supra scripta. Adelphius episcopus, de civitate Colonia Londinensium; exinde sacerdos presbyter, Arminius diaconus.

^a Holsten. Adnotat. in Carol. a S. Paulo, p. 108. Ad p. 165, Colonia Ant. Camdeno Colchester.] Colonia Camalodunum vocabatur, ut erudite docet Camdenus, qui eam non Colchester, sed Maldon nunc dici ostendit; ut et Seldenus in Notis ad Eutychium Alexandr. p. 119, ubi recte conjicit in subscript. Arelatensis Concilii pro '*Colonia Londinensium*,' legendum *Colonia Camalodunensium*. Hoc enim verissimum est.

and Selden, in his notes upon Eutychius, thinks ought rather to be read *Colonia Camalodunensium*; which some take to be Colchester, others Maldon, others Walden, in Essex. But a late learned antiquary^b, in his posthumous observations upon Antonine's Itinerary of Britain, has happily discovered that the true reading should, in all probability, be Colonia Lindi, which is the old Roman name for Lincoln, as he shows not only out of Antonine and Ptolemy, who call it Lindum, but out of the anonymous geographer of Ravenna, who more expressly styles it Lindum Colonia; which, with a little variation, is the name that is given it also by Bede^c, who calls it Lindocolina, and the region thereabout Provincia Lindissi, whence I presume comes the name of Lindsey Coast, which is the name of one part of that province to this day. But, to return to the ancient bishops of this nation. Some authors say there were British bishops in the Council of Nice; but that does not so evidently appear from ancient history. It is more certain there were three bishops from Britain in the Council of Ariminum, as Sulpicius Severus^d informs us. And Athanasius also^e takes notice of British bishops in the Council of Sardica

^b Thom. Gale, Not. in Antonin. Itin. Britan. p. 96, LINDO. *Lincolne*. Anonymus Ravennas habet expresse Lindum Colonia: hoc uno vocabulo adjecto, quantum lucis affudit historiæ antiquæ! magnas profecto gratias ei debemus, quod tandem subscriptionem Concilii Arelatensis intelligamus. Adelphius episcopus, de civitate Colonia Londi, haud dubie pro Colonia Lindi, hoc ipsum Beda pæne vidit, quum hanc urbem Lindi-colina nominaret. Ptolemæus quoque Lindum dixit, Romana numismata in campis ad boream hujus civitatis inveniri notat Lelandus.

^c Beda, lib. ii. c. xvi. p. 97. Prædicabat autem Paulinus verbum etiam provinciæ Lindissi, quæ est prima ad meridianam Humbri fluminis ripam, pertingens usque ad mare; præfectumque Lindocolinæ civitatis, cui nomen erat Blecca, primum cum domo sua convertit ad Dominum.

^d Sulpic. Sever. lib. ii. (Lips. 1709. p. 267.) Missis per Illyricum, Italiam, Africam, Hispanias, Galliasque magistris officialibus, acciti numerative quadringenti et aliquanto amplius occidentales episcopi, Ariminum convenere. . . . Tres tantum ex Britannia.

^e Athan. Apol. contra Arianos, p. 720, edit. Paris. 1627. (p. 123, edit. Paris. 1698.) 'Εν τῇ μεγάλῃ συνόδῳ τῇ ἐν Σαρδικῇ συναχθείσῃ κατὰ πρόσταξιν τῶν θεοφιλεστάτων βασιλέων Κωνσταντίου καὶ Κώνσταντος ἐν ᾗ καὶ οἱ καθ' ἡμῶν γενόμενοι καθηρέθησαν ὥς συκοφάνται τοῖς τε κριθεῖσιν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν συνεψηφίσαντο μὲν ἐπίσκοποι πλείους τριακοσίων, ἐξ ἐπαρχιῶν Αἰγύπτου, Λιβύης . . . Βρεττανίων.

(an. 347) ; and Hilary inscribes his book, *De Synodis*, to the bishops^f of the British provinces, among many others. Yet none of these authors tell us precisely the number of the whole college ; and, therefore, we can only conjecture from the remains of those British bishops which continued in Wales after the Saxon conquests, and were there at the coming of Austin into England. Bede^g takes notice of seven of those, which came to the synod of Worcester, or Austin's oak, to confer with Austin about the settlement of the Church. And over these there was also a metropolitan, to whom they professed subjection to the council, which was the archbishop of Menevia, or St. David's ; or, as they term him, the archbishop of Caer Leon upon Usk, because that was the ancient metropolitical see, before it was translated to St. David's. The names of the other suffragans, as some of the British historians^h record them in Latin, were then Herefordensis, Tavensis, Paternensis, Banchorensis, Elviensis, Vicciensis, Morganensis ; that is, Hereford, Landaff, Lan-Patern, Bangor, St. Asaph, Worcester, and Morgan. Now, if the number of bishops in other provinces was answerable to this, we may conclude there were more bishops before the invasion of the Saxons than there are at this day ; but when Austin came into England, he found none except the fore-mentioned. However, Gregory the Great gave him orders to settle twenty-six bishops, twelve bishops, suffragans to the bishop of London, and as many subject to the metropolitan of York, and reserve to himself the primacyⁱ over the whole nation. Yet this was

^f Hilar. de Synodis, Provinciarum Britannicarum episcopis.

^g Bed. Histor. Gent. Anglor. lib. ii. c. ii. (Giles, vol. ii. p. 172.) Augustinus, adjutorio usus Ethelberti regis, convocavit ad suum colloquium episcopos sive doctores proximæ Britonum provinciæ, in loco qui usque hodie lingua Anglorum 'Augustines Ac,' id est, robur Augustini, in confinio Wicciorum et Occidentalium Saxonum, appellatur. . . . Venerunt (ut perhibent) septem Britonum episcopi et plures viri doctissimi, etc.

^h Galfrid. Monum. Histor. lib. viii. c. iv.—Vid. Powel. Not. in Girald. Cambrens. Itinerar. Cambriæ, lib. ii. p. 170.

ⁱ Bed. lib. i. c. xxix. (Giles, p. 138.) Quia nova Anglorum ecclesia ad omnipotentis Dei gratiam, eodem Domino largiente, et te laborante perducta est, usum tibi pallii in ea ad sola Missarum solemnia agenda concedimus : ita ut per loca singula duodecim episcopos ordines, qui tuæ subjaceant ditioni, quatenus Londoniensis civitatis episcopus semper in posterum a synodo propria debeat

rather a scheme laid for future ages, when the whole nation should be converted, than any present settlement or constitution of the Church. For above fifty years after this, there were not above seven bishops in all the Heptarchy, or seven Saxon kingdoms, as appears from the account which Bede gives of the Council of Herudford (an. 673), where were present Theodore, archbishop of Dorovernia, or Canterbury^k; Bisi, bishop of the East Angles; Wilfrid, bishop of the Northumbrians; Putta, bishop of Rochester; Leutherius, bishop of the West Saxons; and Winfrid, bishop of the whole province of the Mercians; in which council^l a canon was made, that the number of bishops should be augmented, as the number of converts should increase. But nothing was done for the present, save that Bisi, or Bifus, bishop of the East Angles, being grown old, two others, Acca and Badwin, were consecrated in his room; and from that time to the age in which Bede lived, that province had two bishops, as our author notes in the same place. These were the bishops of Elmham and Dunwich, which were afterward united, and the see removed to Thetford, and from thence to Norwich, whose bishops succeed to the whole kingdom of the East Angles. So that in that age a kingdom and a diocese were almost com-

consecrari, atque honoris pallium ab hac sancta et apostolica (cui, Deo auctore, deservio) sede percipiat. Ad Eboracam vero civitatem te volumus episcopum mittere, quem ipse judicaveris ordinare; ita duntaxat, ut si eadem civitas cum finitimis locis verbum Dei receperit, ipse quoque duodecim episcopos ordinet, et metropolitani honore perfruatur. . . . Tua vero fraternitas non solum eos episcopos quos ordinaverit, neque hos tantummodo, qui per Eboracæ episcopum fuerint ordinati, sed etiam omnes Britanniae sacerdotes habeat, Deo Domino nostro, Jesu Christo auctore, subjectos.

^k Bed. lib. iv. c. v. (Giles, vol. iii. p. 30.) Convenimus autem die xxiv. mensis Septembris, indictione prima, in loco, qui dicitur Herutford. Ego quidem Theodorus, quamvis indignus, ab apostolica sede destinatus Doruvernensis ecclesiae episcopus; et consacerdos ac frater noster reverentissimus Bisi, Orientalium Anglorum episcopus; quibus etiam frater et consacerdos noster Wilfridus, Northanhumbrore gentis episcopus, per proprios legatorios adfuit. Adfuerunt et fratres ac consacerdotes nostri Putta, episcopus Castellum Cantuariorum, quod dicitur Rhofescestir; Leutherius episcopus Occidentalium Saxonum, Wynfrid episcopus provinciae Merciorum.

^l Conc. Herudford. c. ix. (Giles, p. 32.) Nonum capitulum, In commune tractatum est, ut plures episcopi, crescente numero fidelium, augerentur; sed de hac re ad præsens siluimus.

mensurate. In the kingdom of Northumberland, there were at first but two bishops, whose sees were York and Lindisfarne. But not long after (an. 678), Ecgfrid, king of Northumberland, having expelled Wilfrid, bishop of York, from his see, four or five bishops were ordained in his room, one in the province of Deira; another in the province of Bernicia; a third at Hagulstade, or Hexham, in Northumberland; a fourth in the province of the Picts, which was then subject to the English; and a fifth in the province of Lindissi, as Bede^m calls it, which was lately out of the diocess and kingdom of Mercia, and not long after laid to it again. The great kingdom of Mercia (comprehending the counties of Gloucester, Hereford, Worcester, Warwick, Leicester, Cambridge, Rutland, Northampton, Lincoln, Nottingham, Bedford, Buckingham, Oxford, Derby, Stafford, Shropshire, Cheshire, and part of Hertfordshire), was at first but the diocese of one bishop, whom Bede commonly calls the bishop of the Angli Mediterranei, or Mercians, whose see was Lichfield, the royal seat and metropolis of the kingdom of Mercia; till, about the year 678, a new see was erected at Sidnacester, in Lincolnshire, and some time after, another at Dorchester, in Oxfordshire, which were afterward united and removed to Lincoln. Out of this

^m Bede, lib. iv. c. xii. (Giles, 1843, vol. iii. p. 56.) Quo etiam anno (678) orta inter ipsum regem Egfridum et reverentissimum antistitem Wilfridum dissensione, pulsus est idem antistes a sede sui episcopatus, et duo in locum ejus substituti episcopi, qui Northanhumbro- rum genti præessent: Bosa videlicet, qui Deirorum, et Eata, qui Berniciorum provinciam gubernaret. Hic in civitate Eboraci, ille in Hagulstadensi sive Lindisfarnensi ecclesia, cathedram habens episcopalem, ambo de monachorum collegio in episcopatus gradum adsciti. Cum quibus et Eadhædus in provincia Lindisfarnorum, quam nuperrime rex Egfridus superato in bello et fugato Wlfhere, obtinuerat, ordinatur episcopus: et hunc primum eadem provincia accepit præsulem; secundum Ethelwinum; tertium Eadgarum; quartum Cynebertum, quem in præsentem habet. Habebat enim ante Eadhædum, antistitem Sexwulfum, qui etiam Merciorum et Mediterraneorum Anglorum simul episcopus fuit. Unde et expulsus de Lindissi, in illarum provinciarum regimine permansit. Ordinati sunt autem Eadhædus, Bosa, et Eata Eboraci ab archiepiscopo Theodoro; qui etiam post tres abscissionis Wilfridi annos, horum numero duos addidit antistites; Tunbertum ad ecclesiam Hagulstadensem, remanente Eata ad Lindisfarnensem, et Trumwine ad provinciam Pictorum, quæ tunc temporis Anglorum erat imperio subjecta. Eadhædum de Lindissi reversum, eo quod Ædilred provinciam recepisset, Ripensi ecclesiæ præfecit.

large diocese, also, the sees of Worcester and Hereford were taken, as Ely was out of that part which fell to Lincoln; not to mention the dioceses of Chester, Peterborough, Oxford, and Gloucester, which had their rise out of the same at the Reformation. The diocese of Winchester was also very large at first, containing all the kingdoms of the West Saxons, till it was divided by King Ina between Winchester and Sherborne (an. 705); the latter of which was afterward subdivided into the dioceses of Cornwall, Devonshire, Somersetshire, Wiltshire, and Dorsetshire; some of which being united again, made up the dioceses of Exeter, Wells, Salisbury, and Bristol, as they now stand in the present frame and constitution of the Church. I think it needless to carry this inquiry any further, since what has been already suggested sufficiently shows that the dioceses in England were anciently much larger than they are now, and that it has ever been the wisdom of the Church to multiply and contract them; though many of them still remain so large, that if they be compared with some of the ancient Italian dioceses, one of them will be found to be equal to ten or twenty of those which lay round about Rome.

SECT. XXI.—*The whole Account confirmed from some ancient Canons of the Church.*

I shall conclude this chapter with a few ancient canons, which confirm the account that has been given of episcopal dioceses throughout the world, as supposing them generally to have country regions and country parishes belonging to them. The Council of Neocæsarea, which was held some years before the Council of Nice, makes express mentionⁿ of *πρεσβύτεροι ἐπιχώριοι*, ‘country presbyters,’ who are forbidden to officiate in the city church, save only in the absence of the bishop or city presbyters. The Council of Antioch has two canons of the same import. The one describes a bishop’s

ⁿ Conc. Neocæsar. c. xiii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1484.) *Ἐπιχώριοι πρεσβύτεροι ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ τῆς πόλεως προσφέρειν οὐ δύνανται, παρόντος ἐπισκόπου ἢ πρεσβυτέρων πόλεως, οὔτε μὴν ἄρτον διδόναι ἐν εὐχῇ, οὔδὲ ποτήριον. Ἐὰν δὲ ἀπῶσι, καὶ εἰς εὐχὴν κληθῇ μόνος, δίδωσιν.*

diocese^o to be a city, and all the region that was subject to it, wherein he might ordain presbyters and deacons, and order all things according to his own judgment, without consulting his metropolitan. The other is a provision concerning the *chorepiscopi*^p, who were seated in the villages and regions about the city, that they should govern the Churches committed to them, and content themselves with that care, ordaining readers, subdeacons, and exorcists; but not presbyters or deacons, unless commissioned to it by the city bishop, to whom both they and their region were subject. A like provision is made by the Council of Nice^q, in case a Novatian bishop should return to the unity of the Catholic Church, that then the Catholic bishop might provide him the place of a *chorepiscopus* in some part of his diocese, that there might not be two bishops in one city. And, indeed, all the canons that mention the *chorepiscopi*, are full proof that a diocese was not only a city, but a country region, over which those *chorepiscopi* presided, under the inspection of the city bishop, to whom they were accountable. The canons of Sardica^r, and Laodicea^s, do plainly suppose the same thing, when they prohibit bishops

^o Conc. Antioch. c. ix. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 565. B 6.) "Ἐκαστον ἐπίσκοπον ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ παροικίας, διοικεῖν τε κατὰ τὴν ἐκάστῳ ἐπιβάλλουσαν εὐλάβειαν, καὶ πρόνοιαν ποιεῖσθαι πάσης τῆς χώρας τῆς ὑπὸ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πόλιν, ὡς καὶ χειροτονεῖν πρεσβυτέρους καὶ διακόνους, καὶ μετὰ κρίσεως ἕκαστα διαλαμβάνειν.

^p Conc. Antioch. can. x. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 565. C 4.) Τοὺς ἐν ταῖς κώμαις, ἢ ταῖς χώραις, ἢ τοὺς καλουμένους χωρεπισκόπους, εἰ καὶ χειροθεσίαν εἶεν ἐπισκόπων εἰληφότες, ἔδοξε τῇ ἁγίᾳ συνόδῳ εἰδέναι τὰ ἑαυτῶν μέτρα, καὶ διοικεῖν τὰς ὑποκειμένας αὐτοῖς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ τῇ τούτων ἀρκεῖσθαι φροντίδι καὶ κηδεμονίᾳ, καθιστᾶν δὲ ἀναγνώστας, καὶ ὑποδιακόνους, καὶ ἐξορκιστάς, καὶ τῇ τούτων ἀρκεῖσθαι προαγωγῇ μήτε πρεσβύτερον, μήτε διάκονον χειροτονεῖν τολμᾶν, δίχα τοῦ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐπισκόπου, ᾧ ὑπόκεινται αὐτός τε καὶ ἡ χώρα.

^q Conc. Nic. can. viii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 33. B.) 'Ο δὲ ὀνομαζόμενος παρὰ τοῖς λεγομένοις Καθαροῖς ἐπίσκοπος, τὴν τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου τιμὴν ἔξει· πλήν εἰ μὴ ἄρα δοκοίη τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ τῆς τιμῆς τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτὸν μετέχειν· εἰ δὲ τοῦτο αὐτῷ μὴ ἀρέσκοι, ἐπινοήσει τόπον ἢ χωρεπισκόπου ἢ πρεσβυτέρου, ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ ὅλως δοκεῖν εἶναι, ἵνα μὴ ἐν πόλει δύο ἐπίσκοποι ᾦσιν.

^r Conc. Sardic. c. vi. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 632. C 5.) Μὴ ἐξεῖναι δὲ ἀπλῶς καθιστᾶν ἐπίσκοπον ἐν κώμῃ τινὶ ἢ βραχείᾳ πόλει, ἢ τινὶ καὶ εἰς μόνος πρεσβύτερος ἐπαρκεῖ.

^s Conc. Laodic. c. lvii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1505.) "Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἐν ταῖς κώμαις, καὶ ἐν ταῖς χώραις καθίστασθαι ἐπισκόπους, ἀλλὰ περιοδευτάς.

to be ordained in small cities or villages, because a presbyter or itinerant visitor might be sufficient to take care of them. So in the African Canons, one orders the same as the Council of Toledo, that every presbyter^t throughout the diocese, who has the care of a Church, shall have recourse to his own bishop for chrism to be used at Easter. And another^u says, "No bishop shall leave his principal Church to go to reside upon any other Church in the diocese." Which canons speak plain nonsense, unless it be supposed that there were then other Churches in the diocese beside the mother Church.

SECT. XXII.—*And from the Bishop's Obligation to Visit his Diocese once a Year, and Confirm.*

The bishop's obligation to visit his diocese is a further proof of the same thing. For this was a necessary consequent of having several Churches at a distance under his jurisdiction: such as he could not personally attend himself he was obliged to visit, and see that they were provided of a proper incumbent, and that every thing was performed in due order. St. Austin and St. Basil^w, who had pretty large dioceses, speak often upon this account of their being employed in their visitations. And the rule in some places was to visit ordinarily once a year, as appears from the Council of Tarraco, in Spain, which lays this injunction on bishops^x, because it was found by experience, that many Churches in their dioceses were left destitute and neglected; therefore they were obliged to visit them once a year. And if a diocese was so large, that a

^t Conc. Carth. IV. c. xxxvi. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1203.) Presbyteri, qui per dioceses ecclesias regunt, non a quibuslibet episcopis, sed a suis; nec per juniorem clericum, sed aut per ipsos, aut per illum, qui sacrarium tenet, ante paschæ solemnitatem chrisma petant.

^u Conc. Carth. V. c. v. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1216.) Placuit, ut nemini sit facultas, relicta principali cathedra, ad aliquam ecclesiam in diocesi constitutam se conferre.

^w Basil. Ep. cclxiv. (Paris. 1839. vol. iii. p. 528.) Περιοδεύόντων ἡμῶν τὴν παροικίαν.

^x Conc. Tarracon. c. viii. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1565.) Multorum casuum experientia magistrante, reperimus nonnullas diocesanas esse ecclesias destitutas; ob quam rem id hac constitutione decrevimus, ut antiquæ consuetudinis ordo servetur, et annuis vicibus ab episcopo diocesano visitentur.

bishop could not perform this duty annually, that was thought a reasonable cause to divide the diocese, and lay some part of the burden upon a new bishop; which was the reason assigned in the Council of Lugo for dividing the large diocese of Gallæcia, as has been observed before^y, in speaking of the Spanish Churches. St. Jerome has a remark upon the exercise of confirmation, which also mightily confirms this notion of ancient episcopal dioceses. He says^z, it was the custom of the Churches, when any persons were baptized by presbyters or deacons, in villages, castles, or other remote places, for the bishop to go to them, and give them imposition of hands, in order to receive the Holy Ghost; and that many places lay at so great a distance, that the parties baptized died before the bishop could come to visit them. Which is a plain description of such dioceses as we have generally found in every part of the Catholic Church, some few provinces excepted, where the number of cities and populousness of the country made dioceses more numerous and of less extent than in other places.

CHAPTER VII.

THE NOTITIA, OR GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION, OF THE BISHOPRICS OF THE ANCIENT CHURCH, AS FIRST MADE BY THE ORDER OF LEO SAPIENS, COMPARED WITH SOME OTHERS.

For the fuller proof of what has been asserted in the last chapters, and to give the reader a clear view of the state of the ancient Church, I shall here subjoin one of the *Notitiæ*, or 'Catalogues,' of bishoprics, contained in the five greater

^y See sect. xiv. of this chapter.

^z Hieron. Dialog. cont. Lucifer. c. iv. (tom. ii. p. 424. F. edit. Paris. 1643, Venet. vol. ii. p. 182.) Non abnuo, hanc esse ecclesiarum consuetudinem, ut ad eos qui longe a majoribus urbibus per presbyteros et diaconos baptizati sunt, episcopus ad invocationem Sancti Spiritus manum impositurus excurrat. And a little after: Alioqui si ad episcopi tantum imprecationem Spiritus Sanctus defluit, lugendi sunt, qui in villulis, aut in castellis, aut in remotioribus locis per presbyteros aut diaconos baptizati, ante dormierunt, quam ab episcopis inviserentur.

patriarchates, — Constantinople, Rome, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria, according to the account that was taken first by the order of the Emperor Leo Sapiens, about the year 891. For though this does not come up to the antiquity of those other records, which I have generally made use of in this work; yet being the most ancient and perfect account we have in the kind, and agreeing with the scattered remains of antiquity of this nature, it will be useful as a collateral evidence to corroborate the account that has been given of the division and extent of dioceses in the primitive Church. And I the rather choose to insert it here, to satisfy the curiosity of many of my readers, to whose view perhaps this *Notitia* may not otherwise come, being scarce to be met with but in books of great rarity or great price, which fall not into the hands of every ordinary reader. The first of this kind was published by Leunclavius, in his *Jus Græco-Romanum*^a (an. 1596), in Greek and Latin, under the name of Leo Sapiens, the reputed author of it. After which some others, but imperfect, were set forth by Carolus a Sancto Paulo^b in his Geography of the ancient Church. The defects of which were supplied by Jacobus Goar, from a MS. in the French king's library, which he published at the end of Codinus^c, among the Byzantine historians (an. 1648); and by Bishop Beveridge, from a MS. in the Bodleian Library, published in his Notes^d upon the Pandects (an. 1672). The last of which being acknowledged to be the most perfect in the kind, has been since reprinted by the learned Schelstrate^e, with some notes and observations upon the defects and variations of all the former, which, having revised and compared them together, I shall here present to the curious reader, that he may have them all together in one view.

The order of presidency of the most holy patriarchs:—
1. Of Rome. 2. Constantinople. 3. Alexandria. 4. Antioch. 5. Ælia, or Jerusalem.

^a Leunclav. Jus Græco-Rom. tom. ii. p. 88.

^b Carol. a S. Paulo, Append. ad Geog. Sacr.

^c Codin. de Offic. Constant. in Append. p. 337.

^d Bevereg. Not. in can. xxxvi. Conc. Trull.

^e Schelstrat. de Conc. Antioch. Dissertat. iv. c. xiii. p. 425.

The order of presidency of the metropolitans, and *autocephali*, and bishops, subject to the apostolical throne of this divinely preserved and imperial city, viz. Constantinople:—

Provinces.	Metropolitans.
1. Cappadocia.	1. Cæsarea.
2. Asia.	2. Ephesus.
3. Europa.	3. Heraclea, in Thrace.
4. Galatia.	4. Ancyra.
5. Hellespontus.	5. Cyzicum.
6. Lydia.	6. Sardes.
7. Bithynia.	7. Nicomedia.
8. The same.	8. Nice.
9. The same.	9. Chalcedon.
10. Pamphylia.	10. Sida.
11. Armenia.	11. Sebastea.
12. Elenopontus.	12. Amasea.
13. Armenia.	13. Melitene.
14. Cappadocia.	14. Tyana.
15. Paphlagonia.	15. Gangra.
16. Honorias.	16. Claudiopolis.
17. Pontus Polemoniacus.	17. Neocæsarea.
18. Galatia.	18. Pissinus, or Justinianople.
19. Lycia.	19. Myra.
20. Caria.	20. Stauropolis.
21. Phrygia Cappatiana.	21. Laodicea.
22. Phrygia Salutaris.	22. Synnada.
23. Lycaonia.	23. Iconium.
24. Pisidia.	24. Antioch.
25. Pamphylia.	25. Perga, or Sileum.
26. Cappadocia.	26. Mocessus.
27. Lazica.	27. Phasis.
28. Thracia.	28. Philippopolis.
29. Rhodope.	29. Trajanople.
30. Insulæ Cyclades.	30. Rhodes.
31. Hæmimontus.	31. Adrianople.
32. Hæmimontus.	32. Martianople.
33. Phrygia Pacatiana.	33. Hierapolis.

Here ends the account of provinces and metropolitans in the *Notitia* of Bishop Beveridge and Goar; but in Leunclavius these other metropolitans are added, without any mention of provinces at all:—34. Thessalonica. 35. Corinth. 36. Crete. 37. Athens. 38. Seleucia. 39. Patræ. 40. Trapezus. 41. Calabria. 42. Larissa. 43. Naupactus. 44. Philippi. 45. Dyrrachium. 46. Smyrna. 47. Catana. 48. Ammorium. 49. Camachus. 50. Cotyaium. 51. Severiana. 52. Mitylene. 53. Novæ Patræ. 54. Euchaita. 55. Amastris. 56. Chonæ. 57. Hydrus. 58. Kelzene. 59. Colonia. 60. Thebæ. 61. Serræ. 62. Pompeiopolis. 63. Rossia. 64. Alania. 65. Ænus. 66. Tiberiopolis. 67. Achaia. 68. Cerasus. 69. Nacolia. 70. Germania. 71. Madyta. 72. Apamea. 73. Basileum. 74. Drystra. 75. Nazianzus. 76. Corcyra. 77. Abydus. 78. Methymna. 79. Christianopolis. 80. Rusium. 81. Lacedæmonia. 82. Naxia. 83. Attalia. To which the scholiast adds three more,—Sebastopolis, Euripus, and Cybistis Herculis.

After the metropolitans follow the *autocephali*, or ‘independent bishops,’ which the *Notitia*, in Leunclavius, calls ‘archbishops.’ They were such as had neither metropolitans above them, nor suffragans under them, being immediately subject to the patriarch only, as Goar’s *Notitia* informs us. In Bishop Beveridge’s *Notitia* they are as follows:—

Provinces.	Autocephali.
1. Mysia.	1. Odysus.
2. Scythia.	2. Tomi.
3. Europa.	3. Bizya.
4. Paphlagonia.	4. Pompeiopolis.
5. Asia.	5. Smyrna.
6. Isauria.	6. Leontopolis.
7. Rhodope.	7. Maronæa.
8. Bithynia.	8. Apamea.
9. Rhodope.	9. Maximianopolis.
10. Galatia.	10. Germia.
11. Europa.	11. Arcadiopolis.
12. Thracia.	12. Berœa.

Provinces.	Autocephali.
13. Lesbus.	13. Mitylene.
14. Hellespont.	14. Parium.
15. Caria.	15. Melitus, al. Miletus.
16. Thracia.	16. Nicopolis.
17. Insulæ.	17. Proconnesus.
18. Rhodope.	18. Anchialus.
19. Europa.	19. Selymbria.
20. Lesbus.	20. Methymne.
21. Bithynia.	21. Cius.
22. Europa.	22. Aprus.
23. Rhodope.	23. Cypsala.
24. Zicchia.	24. Cherson.
25. Zicchia.	25. Bospori.
26. Zicchia.	26. Nicopsis.
27. Isauria.	27. Cotrada.
28. Elenopontus, al. Hele- nopontus.	28. Euchetæ.
29. Cyclades Insulæ.	29. Carpathus.
30. Rhodope.	30. Ænus.
31. Europa.	31. Drizapara, al. Mesena.
32. Hæmimons.	32. Mesembria.
33. Armenia.	33. Heracliopolis, al. Phy- lactoe.
34. Abasgia.	34. Sebastopolis.
35. Pontus Polemoniacus.	35. Trapezus.
36. Paphlagonia.	36. Amastris.
37. Lycaonia.	37. Misthia.
38. Pisidia.	38. Neapolis.
39. Mare Ægeum.	39. Ægene.
40. Phrygia Salutaris.	40. Cotyaium.
41. Pamphylia.	41. Selga.

To these, in Goar's *Notitia*, are added two more,—Decla, or Derce, and Reni, in Armenia. But that in Leunclavius has but thirty-nine, whereof sixteen are different names, viz.—Nice, Messana, Garella, Brisis, Carabyzia, Lemnus, Leucas, Cudræ, Soteropolis, Pedachthoa, Eroina, Gotthia, Sugdaia,

Phullæ, Pharsala, and Matracha. And several of those which in the Bodleian *Notitia* are called *autocephali*, are in Leunclavius reckoned among the metropolitans, as Trapezus, Smyrna, Cotyaium, Mitylene, Amastris, Pompeiopolis, Ænus, and Apamea. Whence it is easy to conclude, that archbishops and *autocephali* were then a sort of titular metropolitans, who had the privilege of being independent, though they had no suffragan bishops under them.

Now follow the particular provinces, with the number of bishoprics contained in each of them:—

Province of Cappadocia.

1. Cæsarea, the metropolis. 2. Thermæ Regiæ. 3. Nyssa. 4. Methodiopolis Armeniæ. 5. Camuliana. 6. Ciscissus, or Cissus. To which are added, in Leunclavius:—7. Euaissa. 8. Serias. 9. Arathia. 10. Æpolia.

Province of Asia.

1. Ephesus, the metropolis. 2. Hypepa. 3. Tralles. 4. Magnesia ad Mæandrum. 5. Elea. 6. Adramyttium. 7. Assus. 8. Gargara. 9. Mastaura. 10. Caloe. 11. Bryulla. 12. Pittamne. 13. Myrine. 14. Phocia. 15. Aurilopolis, al. Aureliopolis. 16. Nisa, al. Nyssa. 17. Maschacoma. 18. Metropolis. 19. Barette. 20. Magnesia. 21. Aninates. 22. Pergamus. 23. Anea. 24. Priene. 25. Arcadiopolis. 26. Novæ Aulæ. 27. Templum Jovis. 28. Augaza. 29. Sion. 30. Colophon. 31. Levedus, al. Lebedus. 32. Teus. 33. Erythræ. 34. Clazomenæ. 35. Attadri, al. Antandri. 36. Theodosiopolis, al. Peperine. 37. Cymæ. 38. Palæopolis. To which are added, in Leunclavius,—Thyræa and Chliara; but Phocia, Magnesia, and Clazomenæ are wanting.

Here the Province of Thracia and Macedonia is interposed in Leunclavius.

1. Heraclea, the metropolis. 2. Theodoropolis. 3. Rhædestus. 4. Panium. 5. Hexamilium. 6. Calliopolis. 7. Peristasis. 8. Chariopolis. 9. Chalcis. 10. Daoneum. 11.

Madyta. 12. Pamphilus. 13. Medea. 14. Lizicus. 15. Sergentza. 16. Metra. 17. Tzurolloe. 18. Athyra.

In the other Notitiæ, the last Province is called the Province of Europa ; but it has but Six Bishoprics assigned to it, viz.

1. Heraclea. 2. Panium. 3. Callipolis. 4. Chersonesus. 5. Cylæ. 6. Redestus.

Province of Galatia.

1. Ancyra, the metropolis. 2. Tabia, al. Attabia. 3. Heliopolis. 4. Aspona. 5. Berinopolis. 6. Mizzus. 7. Cina. 8. Anastasiopolis.

Province of Hellespont.

1. Cyzicum, the metropolis. 2. Germe. 3. Pœmanium. 4. Oce. 5. Baris. 6. Adrianotheræ. 7. Lampsacus. 8. Abydus. 9. Dardanus. 10. Ilium. 11. Troas. 12. Pæonia. 13. Melitopolis.

Province of Lydia.

1. Sardes, the metropolis. 2. Philadelphia. 3. Tripolis. 4. Thyatira. 5. Seta. 6. Arilliapolis, al. Aureliopolis. 7. Gordi. 8. Troalli. 9. Sala. 10. Silandus. 11. Mœonia. 12. Fanum Apollinis. 13. Hyrcanis. 14. Mustina. 15. Arcastus, al. Acarasus. 16. Apollonius. 17. Attalia. 18. Baga. 19. Dalandus. 20. Mesotymulus. 21. Hierocæsarea. 22. Dale. 23. Stratonicea. 24. Cerasia. 25. Sattala. 26. Gabbala. 27. Hermocapelia.

Provinces of Bithynia.

1. Nicomedia. 2. Prusa, or Theopolis. 3. Prænetus. 4. Helenopolis. 5. Basilinopolis. 6. Dascylium. 7. Apollonias. 8. Adriana. 9. Cæsarea. 10. Gallus, or Lophi. 11. Daphnusia. 12. Eriste.

The same Province.

1. Nice. 2. Modrina, al. Mela, or Melina. 3. Linoe. 4. Taius. 5. Gerduservæ. 6. Numericæ. 7. Maximianæ. It is added in Leunclavius, that Chalcedon, in the same

province, had no sees under it, as being only an *autocephalus*, or 'honorary metropolis.'

Province of Pamphylia.

1. Sida. 2. Aspendus. 3. Ettena. 4. Orymna. 5. Cassa. 6. Semnea. 7. Corallia. 8. Coracissus. 9. Syethra, al. Synedra. 10. Mylone, or Justinianople. 11. Anamanda. 12. Dalisandus, al. Duldusus. 13. Isbi. 14. Lybra. 15. Colybrassus. 16. Manæa.

Province of Armenia.

1. Sebastea (or *i*). 2. Sebastopolis. 3. Nicopolis. 4. Satala (or *æ*). 5. Colonia. 6. Berissa.

Province of Helenopontus.

1. Amasea. 2. Amisus. 3. Sinope. 4. Ibora, al. Pimolissa (or *æ*). 5. Andropa. 6. Zalichus, al. Leontopolis. 7. Zela.

Province of Armenia Secunda.

1. Melitene. 2. Arca. 3. Cucusus (or *o*). 4. Arabissus. 5. Ariarathe. 6. Ceomanæ, al. Comana.

Province of Cappadocia Secunda.

1. Tyana, or Christopolis. 2. Cybistra. 3. Faustinopolis. 4. Sasima.

Province of Paphlagonia.

1. Gangra. 2. Junopolis, al. Ionopolis. 3. Dadybra. 4. Soræ.

Here follows next the Province of Thessalia, in Leunclavius, which is omitted in others.

1. Thessalonica. 2. Citria. 3. Berrhœa. 4. Drugubitia. 5. Servia. 6. Casandria. 7. Campania, al. Castrium. 8. Petra. 9. Herculia, al. Ardameria. 10. Hierissus. 11. Litæ ac Rentenæ. 12. Bardariotæ.

Province of Honorias.

1. Claudiopoli. 2. Heraclea Ponti. 3. Prusias. 4. Tius. 5. Cratea. 6. Hadrianopolis.

Province of Pontus Polemoniacus.

1. Neocæsarea. 2. Trapezus. 3. Cerosantes. 4. Polemonium. 5. Comana. To these are added, in Leunclavius,—6. Halyæum. 7. Rhizæum. 8. Coccus. 9. Eunicus. And the scholiast adds three more,—Aradase, Myrtyropolis, and Hypsela.

Province of Galatia Secunda.

1. Pisinus. 2. Mericium. 3. Eudoxias. 4. Pitanissus. 5. Trochnada. 6. Germocolonia. 7. Spalea, al. Justinianopolis. 8. Orcistus.

Province of Lycia.

1. Myra. 2. Mastæra. 3. Telmessus. 4. Limyra. 5. Araxa. 6. Aprilla. 7. Tatla. 8. Arnea. 9. Sidyma. 10. Zenopolis. 11. Olympus. 12. Otlā. 13. Corydala. 14. Cannas. 15. Xanthus. 16. Acrassus. 17. Marciana. 18. Bobus, al. Sophianopolis. 19. Chomas. 20. Onunda. 21. Phellus. 22. Candana. 23. Phaselis. 24. Antiphellus. 25. Acalissus. 26. Rhodiapolis. 27. Acanda. 28. Lebissus. 29. Eudocias. 30. Paliotæ. 31. Combi. 32. Patara. 33. Barbura. 34. Nessus. 35. Cianeā. 36. Melata.

Province of Caria.

1. Stauropolis. 2. Cibyra. 3. Siza. 4. Heraclea Salbaci. 5. Apollonias. 6. Heraclea. 7. Lacyme (which Leunclavius makes but one, Heraclea Lacymorum). 8. Tabi. 9. Larba. 10. Antiochia Mæandri. 11. Tarpassæ. 12. Harpassæ. 13. Neapolis. 14. Orthysias. 15. Anotetarta. 16. Alabanda. 17. Stratonicea. 18. Alinda. 19. Mylassæ. 20. Mezus, al. Amezon. 21. Jassus. 22. Barbilius. 23. Halicarnassus. 24. Hylarima. 25. Cnidus. 26. Metaba. 27. Mindus. 28. Hieron. 29. Cindrama. 30. Cerama. 31. Promissus.

Province of Phrygia Cappatiana, al. Pacatiana.

1. Laodicea. 2. Tiberiopolis. 3. Azana. 4. Ancyrosuna. 5. Pelta. 6. Appia. 7. Icria. 8. Iluza. 9. Acada. 10. Tranopolis. 11. Sebasta. 12. Eumenia. 13. Timenus Therarum. 14. Agatha Coma. 15. Alina. 16. Tripolis. 17. Attanassus. 18. Trapezopolis. 19. Siblia. Note, in Leunclavius, there are twenty-one cities, whereof many go by different names, in this province: as Acmonea, Chærotopa, Forium Poemæni, Cidissus, Lunde, Helaza, Synæum, Thampsiopolis, Justinianopolis, Dioclea, and Aristeia.

Province of Phrygia Salutaris.

1. Synada. 2. Dorylæum. 3. Nacolea. 4. Medæum. 5. Hipsus. 6. Promissus. 7. Merus. 8. Sibindus. 9. Phytia. 10. Hierapolis. 11. Eucarpia. 12. Lysias. 13. Augustopolis. 14. Bryzus. 15. Otrus. 16. Lycaon. 17. Stectorium. 18. Cinnaborium. 19. Cone. 20. Scordapia. 21. Nicopolis. 22. Ærocla. Here Leunclavius has but twenty cities, and some of those under other names; but Goar's *Notitia* adds two more,—Alopex and Cadenna.

Province of Lycaonia.

1. Iconium. 2. Lystra. 3. Vasada. 4. Ambada, al. Amblada. 5. Vomanoda. 6. Laranda. 7. Bereta. 8. Derbe. 9. Hyda. 10. Savatra. 11. Canus. 12. Berinopolis. 13. Galbana, al. Eudocias. 14. Ilistra. 15. Perta. Leunclavius has the same number, but some names different from these.

Province of Pisidia.

1. Antiochia. 2. Sagalassus. 3. Sozopolis. 4. Apamea. 5. Cibus. 6. Tyrænus. 7. Baris. 8. Adrianopolis. 9. Portus Limenorum. 10. Laodicea Combusta. 11. Seleucia Ferrea. 12. Dada, al. Adada. 13. Zarzela. 14. Timbrias, al. Timomarias. 15. Timandus. 16. Conane. 17. Malus. 18. Sitriandus. 19. Tityassus. 20. Metropolis. 21. Pappa. 22. Parallæ. 23. Mindevus, al. Bindæus.

Province of Pamphylia Secunda.

1. Perga, al. Sileum. 2. Attalia. 3. Magydus, al. Mandus. 4. Telimissus. 5. Isindus. 6. Eudocias. 7. Maximianopolis. 8. Lagina. 9. Palæopolis. 10. Cremnus. 11. Corydala. 12. Peltinissus. 13. Dicytanæra. 14. Ariassus. 15. Pugla. 16. Adriana. 17. Sandida. 18. Barba. 19. Perbæna. 20. Cous.

Note.—The fourteen following provinces are in Leunclavius, but no other *Notitia* :—

Province of Peloponnesus.

1. Corinthus. 2. Damala. 3. Argos. 4. Monembasia. 5. Cephallenia. 6. Zacynthus. 7. Zemenæ. 8. Maina.

Province of Hellas.

1. Athens. 2. Euripus. 3. Diaulia. 4. Coronea. 5. Andrus. 6. Oreus. 7. Scyrus. 8. Carystus. 9. Porthmus. 10. Aulon. 11. Syra.

Province of Crete.

1. Gortyna. 2. Gnossus. 3. Arcadia. 4. Chersonesus. 5. Aulopotamus. 6. Agrius. 7. Lampe. 8. Cydonia. 9. Hieræ. 10. Petra. 11. Sitea. 12. Cissamus.

Province of Peloponnesus.

1. Patra. 2. Lacedæmonia. 3. Methone. 4. Corone. 5. Helos. 6. Boline.

Province of Hellas Secunda.

1. Larissa. 2. Demetrias. 3. Pharsalus. 4. Domocus. 5. Zetonium. 6. Ezerus. 7. Lædoricium. 8. Trica. 9. Echinus. 10. Colydrus. 11. Stagæ.

Province of Ætolia.

1. Naupactus. 2. Bunditza. 3. Aquila. 4. Achelous. 5. Rhegæ. 6. Joannina. 7. Photica. 8. Hadrianopolis. 9. Buthrotus. 10. Chimæra.

Province of Macedonia.

1. Philippi. 2. Theoria. 3. Polystylum. 4. Belicea. 5. Christopolis. 6. Smolæna. 7. Cæsaropolis. 8. Alec-tryopolis.

Province of Epirus.

1. Dyrrachium. 2. Stephaniaca. 3. Chunobia. 4. Croia. 5. Elissus. 6. Dioclea. 7. Scodra. 8. Drivastus. 9. Polatba. 10. Glabinitza, al. Acroceraunia. 11. Aulonæa. 12. Licinida. 13. Antibaris. 14. Tzerinicum. 15. Polycheropolis. 16. Graditzium.

In Asia, under Smyrna, the Metropolis.

1. Phocæa. 2. Magnesia. 3. Anelium. 4. Clazomenæ. 5. Sosandrus. 6. Archangelus. 7. Petra.

In Armenia, under Camachus.

1. Kelzene. 2. Arabraca. 3. Barzanissa. 4. Melus. 5. Melus alter. 6. Romanopolis. 7. Tutileum.

In Phrygia, under Cotyaium.

1. Spora. 2. Cone. 3. Gaiocomis.

In Lesbos, under Mitylene.

1. Erissus. 2. Strongyla. 3. Tenedus. 4. Berbine. 5. Perperine. 6. Marmaritzæ.

In Hellas, under Novæ Patræ.

1. Gazala. 2. Cutzagron. 3. Sibictus. 4. Bariana.

Under Keltzene.

1. Tomus. 2. Chatzoun. 3. Lycopotamia. 4. Cortzene. 5. Mastrabatz. 6. Chuit. 7. Toparchus. 8. Ambra. 9. Tutara. 10. Marmentitzur. 11. Matzierte. 12. S. Nicolai. 13. Eva Deiparæ. 14. Artzesius. 15. Artzica. 16. Amucium. 17. Percin. 18. S. Georgii. 19. Ostan. 20. S. Elissæi. 21. Sedrac Deiparæ.

These fourteen metropolitical sees, with their suffragans, are in Leunclavius only; after which the other *Notitiæ* now proceed again.

Province of Cappadocia.

1. Mocessus. 2. Nazianzus. 3. Colonia. 4. Parnassus. 5. Doara. To which Leunclavius adds Metiana.

Province of Lazica.

1. Phasis. 2. Rhodopolis. 3. Petra. 4. Ecclesia Abisenorum. 5. Ecclesia Ziganeorum. But in Leunclavius there are reckoned sixteen in this province:—1. Trapezus, the metropolis. 2. Cheriana. 3. Chamuzur. 4. Chachæum. 5. Paiper. 6. Ceramea. 7. Tochatzitzi. 8. Bizana. 9. Sacabus. 10. Phasiana. 11. Tochantierz. 12. Toulnutus. 13. Lerium. 14. Tosermatzus. 15. Andacta. 16. Zarima.

Province of Thrace.

1. Philippopolis. 2. Diocletianopolis. 3. Diospolis. But Leunclavius reckons eleven:—1. Philippopolis. 2. Agathonica. 3. Liotitza. 4. Scutarium. 5. Leuca. 6. Bleptus. 7. Dramitza. 8. Joannitza. 9. Constantia. 10. Belicea. 11. Bucuba.

Province of the Islands Cyclades.

1. Rhodus, the metropolis. 2. Samus. 3. Chius. 4. Cous. 5. Naxia. 6. Thera. 7. Parus. 8. Lethrus. 9. Andrus. 10. Tenus. 11. Melus. 12. Pessina. To which Leunclavius adds, Icaria, Lerna, Ostypalia, Trachæa, and Nasura.

Province of Hæmimontus.

1. Adrianopolis. 2. Mesembria. 3. Sozopolis. 4. Plotinopolis. 5. Zoida. To which Leunclavius adds,—6. Agathopolis. 7. Debeltus. 8. Trabyzia. 9. Carabus. 10. Buccellus. 11. Probatus. 12. Scopelus. 13. Brisis. 14. Bulgarophugus.

The same Province.

1. Martianopolis. 2. Rhodostolus. 3. Tramariscus. 4. Nobi. 5. Zecedopa. 6. Sarcara.

The same Province, which is otherwise called Rhodope, in Leunclavius.

1. Trajanopolis. 2. Perus. 3. Anastasiopolis. To which Leunclavius adds,—4. Didymotichus. 5. Macra. 6. Misiopolis. 7. Pora. 8. Xantha. 9. Peritheorium. 10. Theodorum.

Province of Phrygia Cappatiana.

1. Hierapolis. 2. Metellopolis. 3. Dionysopolis. 4. Anastasiopolis. 5. Antæda. 6. Mosina. With six others, which are inserted by mistake from the province of Hæmimontus. But Leunclavius adds,—Autuda, Phobi, Ancyra, Synaus, Tiberiopolis, Cana, and Zana.

Province of Galatia Secunda.

1. Amorium. 2. Philomelium. 3. Docimeum. 4. Claneus. 5. Polybotus. 6. Pissia.

Note.—This province is called Phrygia in Leunclavius; but the cities are the same.

Here it is remarked in all the *Notitiæ*, that the following metropolitans and their suffragans were taken from the Roman diocese, and added to Constantinople, viz.—1. Thessalonica. 2. Syracuse. 3. Corinth. 4. Rhegium. 5. Nicopolis. 6. Athens. 7. Patræ. 8. Novæ Patræ. As also the metropolitan of Seleucia, in Isauria; or, as Leunclavius calls it, Pamphylia, with twenty-three bishops under him: which conclude the *Notitia* in Leunclavius, for it only contains the account of the patriarchate of Constantinople. Carolus a Sancto Paulo also wholly omits the Roman patriarchate, because his manuscript here, he says, was so corrupt, that there was no sense to be made of it. But this defect is supplied by Goar and Bishop Beveridge, in whose *Notitiæ* the following account is given:—

The Province, under the most glorious Eparch of Rome, or Italy.

Province of Rome, called Urbicaria.

1. Brittium. 2. Macæria. 3. Luna. 4. Neapolis. 5. Garanta. 6. Vintimilium. 7. Genues. 8. Sipontus. 9. Ponturoma.

10. Insulæ Centumcellæ. 11. Castrum Euoriæ. 12. Castrum Amalphes. 13. Castrum Getteon. 14. Castrum Tiberias. 15. Castrum Nepes. 16. Insulæ Comaniciæ. 17. Castrum Mulium. 18. Castrum Campsas. 19. Castrum Sorcum. 20. Castrum Susias. 21. Castrum Ilbas. 22. Castrum Anagnia.

Province of Campania.

1. Neapolis. 2. Brettania. 3. Pannonia. 4. Calabria. 5. Venetia. 6. Messina. 7. Vicovarina. 8. Taurata. 9. Apulia. 10. Castrum Opiterbetos. 11. Castrum Samnios. 12. Castrum Susias. 13. Castrum Regium. 14. Castrum Taurata. 15. Castrum Sygnias. 16. Castrum Gradum. 17. Castrum Patriarchias. 18. Castrum Scylaceum. 19. Castrum Martyrium. 20. Castrum Ormuvera. 21. Castrum Ortonos. 22. Castrum Oppiterbitum.

Isle of Sicily.

1. Syracuse. 2. Catana. 3. Tærebenium, al. Tauromenium. 4. Sesena, al. Messana. 5. Cephalœdium. 6. Thermum. 7. Panormus. 8. Lilybæum. 9. Trocalis. 10. Agragas, al. Agrigentum. 11. Tyndarium. 12. Carine, al. Camarina. 13. Leontina. 14. Abeusis, al. Alesa. 15. Gaudus. 16. Melita. 17. Liparis. 18. Burcausus. 19. Didymi. 20. Urica. 21. Onarea. 22. Basiludin.

Province of Calabria.

1. Rhegium. 2. Locris. 3. Scylacias. 4. Cotronum, al. Croton. 5. Constantia. 6. Tropæum. 7. Tauriana. 8. Bibonum, al. Cibonum.

Provincia Annonaria.

1. Ravenna. 2. Phanus. 3. Olcusa, al. Asculum. 4. Polus, al. Fulginum. 5. Pecinus, al. Picenum. 6. Pisaurum. 7. Tergetra. 8. Augustopolis. 9. Talbitau. 10. Castrum Ferentinum. 11. Castrum Solernos. 12. Tulericum. 13. Castrum Zanga. 14. Castrum Nobo. 15. Castrum Eurinica. 16. Castrum Semania. 17. Vicomanto. 18. Castrum Vereles. 19. Castrum Tamia. 20. Castrum Varectelia. 21. Cas-

trum Samugia. 22. Castrum Sora. 23. Castrum Suagallia.
24. Castrum Cisines.

Province of Æmia, leg. Æmilia.

1. Castrum Foropompus. 2. Castrum Brizilium. 3. Castrum Brinti.

Under the most glorious Eparch of Africa.

Province of Bizacia.

1. Carthago Proconsularis. 3. Sybiba. 3. Campsia. 4. Cileos. 5. Junce. 6. Talepte. 7. Cascala. 8. Castellæ. 9. Pezana. 10. Mamida. 11. Madasuba. 12. Colule. 13. Capse. 14. Adramytto.

Province of Numidia.

1. Calama. 2. Tebete. 3. Hippo Regius. 4. Nuzidias. 5. Castamagæ. 6. Bade. 7. Meleum. 8. Leradus. 9. Castrum Bedere, al. Castra Vetera. 10. Scele. 11. Egerinesium. 12. Titessin, al. Tididita. 13. Bage. 14. Constantina. 15. Sitiphi.

Province of Mauritania Prima.

1. Rhinocururum.

Province of Mauritania Secunda.

1. Septum. 2. Septum ad partem Tenessi. 3. Spanias. 4. Mesopot. ad partem Spaniæ. 5. Majurica, al. Majorica Insula. 6. Menyca, al. Minorica Insula. 7. Insula Sardon, vel Sardinia. 8. Carallus Metropolis. 9. Tures. 10. Sanaphas. 11. Sines. 12. Sulces. 13. Phœsiana. 14. Chrysopolis. 15. Aristiane. 16. Limne. 17. Castrum Tutar.

Note.—Goar's *Notitia* reads most of these names differently, and makes but two of these three last,—Christianæ Lacus, and Tucca. Here Carolus a S. Paulo begins again.

In the Diocese of Egypt.

Province of Augustamnica Prima.

1. Pelusium, the metropolis. 2. Sethroetes. 3. Tanes. 4. Thmues. 5. Rhinocurura. 6. Ostracine. 7. Pentaschanon.

8. Casium. 9. Aphtheum. 10. Hiphestus. 11. Panephusus.
12. Geros. 13. Itageros. 14. Thenesus.

Province of Augustamnica Secunda.

1. Leonto Metropolis. 2. Athrabes. 3. Helius. 4. Bubastus.
5. Carbethus. 6. Arabius.

Province of Ægyptus Prima.

1. Alexandria sub duce Augustali. 2. Hermopolis. 3. Mileos.
4. Costus. 5. Vicus Psaneos. 6. Vicus Contrideos. 7. Sais.
8. Leontopolis. 9. Naucratia. 10. Andronicus. 11. Zenonopolis.
12. Paphna. 13. Onuphis. 14. Tava. 15. Cleopatriis. 16. Mareotes.
17. Menelaïtes. 18. Schedia. 19. Ternuthes. 20. Sondra.

Province of Ægyptus Secunda.

1. Cabasa. 2. Phragon. 3. Pachnemon. 4. Diospolis.
5. Sebennytus. 6. Cœno. 7. Busiris. 8. Elearchia. 9. Regeon
Paralus. 10. Vicus Parianæ. 11. Vicus Rhicomerium. 12. Xois.
To which Goar's *Notitia* adds Cyma, and makes Regeon and Paralus two distinct places.

Province of Arcadia.

1. Oxyrynchus. 2. Heracleus. 3. Cœno. 4. Nilopolis.
5. Arinoetes. 6. Memphilitus, al. Memphis. Goar adds,—
Clisma, Theodosiopolis, Aphroditon, and Latopolis.

Province of Thebais Prima.

1. Antinous. 2. Hermopolis. 3. Theodosiopolis. 4. Polyco.
5. Hypsele. 6. Apollonias. 7. Anteios. 8. Panos. Goar
adds Casus.

Province of Thebais Secunda.

1. Ptolemais. 2. Conto, al. Justinianopolis. 3. Diocletianopolis.
4. Diosopolis. 5. Tentyra. 6. Maximianopolis. 7. Thebais.
8. Lato. 9. Iambon. 10. Hermonthon. 11. Apollonos. 12. Vicus Anassæ Magnæ.
13. Thebais Magna. 14. Ibis. 15. Mathon. 16. Trimunthon. 17. Erbon, al. Hermon.

Province of Libya.

1. Dranicon. 2. Paratonium. 3. Tranzala. 4. Ammoniaca. 5. Antipyrgus. 6. Antiphron. 7. Ædonias. 8. Marmarica.

Province of Libya Pentapolis.

1. Sozusa. 2. Cyrine. 3. Ptolemais. 4. Teuchera. 5. Adriane. 6. Beronica.

Province of Tripoli.

1. Tosibon. 2. Leptis. 3. Hyon.

*In the Oriental Diocese.**Province of Cilicia.*

1. Tarsus. 2. Pompeiopolis. 3. Sebaste. 4. Coricus. 5. Adana. 6. Augustopolis. 7. Mallos. 8. Zephyrium.

Province of Cilicia Secunda.

1. Anazarbus. 2. Mopsuestia. 3. Ageia. 4. Epiphania. 5. Eirenopolis. 6. Flavias. 7. Alexandria. 8. Cabissus. 9. Castabula. 10. Rhossus.

Province of Isauria.

1. Seleucia. 2. Cilendre. 3. Anemorius. 4. Titiopoliis. 5. Lamus. 6. Antiochia. 7. Helio-Sebaste, al. Julio-Sebaste. 8. Cestra. 9. Selinuntes. 10. Jostape. 11. Diocæsarea. 12. Olya. 13. Hierapolis. 14. Dalisandus. 15. Claudiopolis. 16. Eirenopolis. 17. Germanicopolis. 18. Neapolis. 19. Zenonopolis. 20. Sbidæ. 21. Philadelphia. 22. Adrassus. 23. Meloe. 24. Domitiopolis. 25. Climata Nauzadeæ. 26. Cassorum. 27. Benæorum. 28. Golgosi. 29. Costradis.

Province of Syria Prima.

1. Antiochia ad Daphnen. 2. Paltus. 3. Seleucia. 4. Berrhoea. 5. Chalcis.

Province of Syria Secunda.

1. Apamea. 2. Arethusa. 3. Epiphania. 4. Larissa.
5. Mariamne. 6. Seleucobelus. 7. Raphanæa.

Province of Euphratesia, or Hagiopolis.

1. Hierapolis. 2. Cyrus, al. Hagiopolis. 3. Samosata.
4. Doliche. 5. Germanicia. 6. Zeugma. 7. Perrhe. 8.
- Europus. 9. Nicopolis. 10. Schenarchia. 11. Cæsaria.
12. Sergiopolis. 13. Orimon. 14. Santon.

Province of Theodorias.

1. Laodicea. 2. Balanæa. 3. Gabala. Goar adds Paltus.

Province of Osdroene.

1. Edessa. 2. Carræ. 3. Constantia. 4. Theodosiopolis.
5. Batnæ. 6. Callinicus, al. Leontopolis. 7. Nova Valentia.
8. Birthon. 9. Monithilla. 10. Therimachon. 11. Moni-
- auga. 12. Macarta. 13. Marcopolis. 14. Anastasia. 15.
- Hemerius. 16. Circisia.

Province of Mesopotamia Superior, or Armenia Quarta.

1. Amida. 2. Martyropolis. 3. Darus. 4. Castrum
- Ricephas. 5. Castrum Turandios. 6. Castrum Mardes.
7. Castrum Lornes. 8. Castrum Ripton. 9. Castrum
- Isphrios. 10. Castrum Tzauras. 11. Castrum Audasson.
12. Castrum Amarmes. 13. Castrum Tzinobias. 14. Cas-
- trum Banabelorum. 15. Castrum Intzietorum. 16. Castrum
- Chaddorum. 17. Castrum Æsudios. 18. Castrum Mas-
- phronas. 19. Castrum Basilicum. 20. Castrum Spelon et
- Odelorum. 21. Castrum Bijubaithas. 22. Castrum Manas-
- sarorum. 23. Castrum Phirtachabras. 24. Castrum Siteon
- Chiphas. 25. Castrum Calonos. 26. Castrum Bibasarorum.
27. Castrum Tzauras. 28. Castrum Birthas. 29. Castrum
- Attachas. 30. Castrum Aphuborum. 31. Castrum Flo-
- rianarum. 32. Castrum Arimachorum. 33. Castrum Ba-
- luos. 34. Castrum Daphnudin. 35. Castrum Samochar-
- torum.

The other Armenia.

1. Dademon. 2. Arsamusaton. 3. Polichne. 4. Chosana.
5. Chosomacha. 6. Citharizæ. 7. Castrum Marticertum.
8. Castrum Baiulæos. 9. Castrum Polios. 10. Castrum Ardon.
11. Clima Sophines. 12. Regio Jalimbana, where Basilius was born, who wrote the present account.
13. Clima Anzetines. 14. Clima Digesines. 15. Clima Garines.
16. Clima Orziacines. 17. Clima Bilabitenes. 18. Clima Astianices.
19. Clima Mamuzurarum.

Province of Phœnicia Maritima.

1. Tyrus. 2. Sidon. 3. Ptolemais. 4. Beritus. 5. Biblus.
6. Tripolis. 7. Arcæ. 8. Orthosias. 9. Botrys.
10. Vicus Gegarta. 11. Arados. 12. Antarados. 13. Paneas.
14. Gonasitii Saltus. 15. Vicus Politianus. 16. Vicus Trieris.

Province of Phœnicia Libani.

1. Emissa. 2. Laodicea. 3. Heliopolis. 4. Abilla. 5. Damascus.
6. Clima Jabrudorum. 7. Evarius, al. Justinianopolis.
8. Talmyra; in Goar it is Palmyra. 9. Clima Maglydorum.
10. Saltum Gonæticum. 11. Salamias. 12. Clima Orientale.

Province of Palestina^a Prima.

1. Ælia, or Jerusalem. 2. Cæsaria. 3. Dora. 4. Antipatris.
5. Diospolis, al. Georgiopolis. 6. Jamnia. 7. Nicopolis.
8. Onus. 9. Sozufa. 10. Joppa. 11. Ascalon. 12. Gaza.
13. Raphia. 14. Anthedon. 15. Diocletianopolis. 16. Eleutheropolis.
17. Neapolis. 18. Sebaste. 19. Regio Apathus. 20. Regio Jericho.
21. Regio Libyæ. 22. Regio Gadara. 23. Azotus Maritima. 24. Azotus Hippinis.
25. Acomazon. 26. Bittymos. 27. Tricomias. 28. Toxus.
29. Saltum Constantiniani. 30. Saltum Geraiticum, al. Balsamon.

^a This province and the next are both wanting in Carolus a Sancto Paulo and Goar.

Province of Palestina Secunda.

1. Scythopolis. 2. Gadara. 3. Pellæ. 4. Abila. 5. Capetomas. 6. Diocæsarea. 7. Maximianopolis. 8. Gabæ. 9. Tiberias. 10. Hippos. 11. Helenopolis. 12. Clima Gælanes. 13. Tetracomia. 14. Comenais.

Province of Palestina Tertia.

1. Petra. 2. Augustopolis. 3. Arindela. 4. Charagmuda. 5. Areopolis. 6. Mapsis. 7. Elusa. 8. Zoara. 9. Birosabon. 10. Elas. 11. Pentacomia. 12. Mamopsora. 13. Metrocomia. 14. Saltum Hieraticum. Goar divides two of these into four, reading them thus, Salton, Mamo, Psora, Hieraticon.

Province of Arabia.

1. Bostra. 2. Adrasus. 3. Dia. 4. Medaba. 5. Gerassa. 6. Neva. 7. Philadelphia. 8. Ebus. 9. Neapolis. 10. Philippopolis. 11. Phenutus. 12. Constantina. 13. Dionysias. 14. Pentacomia. 15. Tricomia. 16. Canothas. 17. Saltum. 18. Bataneos. 19. Exacomia. 20. Enacomia. 21. Vicus Gonias. 22. Vicus Cherus. 23. Vicus Stanes. 24. Vicus Caberæ. 25. Vicus Coreathæ. 26. Vicus Bilbanus. 27. Vicus Caprorum. 28. Vicus Pyrgoaretarum. 29. Vicus Setnes. 30. Vicus Ariacharum. 31. Neotes. 32. Clima Orientalium et Occidentalium. 33. Vicus Ariathæ Saxosæ. 34. Vicus Bebdamus.

Province of Armenia Magna.

Concerning this, the author only remarks, that it is an ‘*autocephalus*’ or ‘independent country,’ not subject to any apostolical throne, but honoured in respect to St. Gregory of Armenia, having two hundred cities and castles.

Province of Cyprus.

The author makes the same observation upon this country, that it is an independent also, in honour of St. Barnabas, the apostle, who was found here, having the Gospel of St. Mark laid upon his breast. The cities in this province are,—

1. Constantia, the metropolis. 2. Citium. 3. Amathus. 4. Curium. 5. Paphus. 6. Arsenæ. 7. Soli. 8. Lapithus, the birth-place of Georgius Cyrius, who wrote the book out of which these were taken. 9. Cyrenia. 10. Tamasus. 11. Cythri. 12. Trimithus. 13. Carpasin.

There is added at the end of Goar's *Notitia*, "This account was taken (an. 6391) in the reign of the Emperor Leo Sapiens; and under the patriarch Photius:" that is, an. 891.

In this description of the Church the reader may observe, that the author being a Greek, is much more accurate in his account of the Greek and Eastern Churches, than of the Western and Latin; for here is no account of France, Spain, Britain, Illyricum, and such confused and imperfect accounts of the provinces of Italy and Afric, as show plainly, that the author was not rightly acquainted with the state of the Church in those countries, at least not in Italy; for in all Italy and Sicily here are not mentioned above a hundred dioceses; and yet it is clear, from the accounts that have been given before out of the subscriptions of ancient councils, that there were nearer three hundred dioceses in those regions. Above one hundred and fifty Italian bishops, of distinct sees, are found subscribed in one age, in the Roman councils, held under Hilary, Felix, and Symmachus; and there were almost as many more not mentioned in those councils, but to be found in other councils and ancient records. And though, when these *Notitiæ* were made, several of the ancient dioceses might be united together, yet it appears from the subscriptions of the Roman councils, under Eugenius II. and Leo IV. in the ninth century, that there were above double the number to what the *Notitiæ* mention; so that it must be owned that they give but an imperfect account of the Latin, or Western Church. But the account of the Greek and Eastern Churches is more complete, and agrees very well with the subscriptions collected out of the ancient councils. And so they one confirm another, and both together fully make out the account that has been given both of the number and extent of dioceses in the ancient Church.

CHAPTER VIII.

OF THE DIVISION OF DIOCESES INTO PARISHES, AND THE
FIRST ORIGINAL OF THEM.SECT. I.—*Of the ancient Names of Parish Churches.*

THERE remains but one thing more to be inquired into on this head, which is the division of dioceses into such lesser precincts as we now call parishes and parish Churches; concerning which I shall here need to say the less, because so much has already been said incidentally in speaking of the extent of ancient dioceses, which we have generally found too large to be confined to a single congregation. All that I shall add upon this subject, therefore, in this place, is only to make a few remarks upon the ancient names of parishes, (because some of them are a little ambiguous,) and show when, and upon what account, and by what degrees, dioceses were divided into parishes, to bring them to the present state and form of the Church. As to the ancient names, I have had occasion to show before, that the words *παροικία* and *διοίκησις*, for the three first ages, were of the same importance, denoting not what we now call a parish Church, but a city, with its adjacent towns, or country region. But in the fourth and fifth ages we find both names promiscuously given, as well to country parishes, as episcopal, or city Churches; for now these lesser divisions of dioceses began to be called *parochiæ*, as may be seen in the Council of Chalcedon^a, which ordered, “that in every Church such country parishes as belonged of old time to any bishop, should continue in his possession without any molestation.” And in the Council of Vaison (an. 442) a decree was made^b, that “country parishes should have presbyters

^a Conc. Chalced. c. xvii. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 764.) Τὰς καθ' ἐκάστην ἐκκλησίαν ἀγροικικὰς παροικίας, ἥ ἐγχωρίους, μένειν ἀπαρασαλεύτους παρὰ τοῖς κατέχουσιν αὐτὰς ἐπισκόποις, καὶ μάλιστα, εἰ τριακονταετῇ χρόνον ταύτας ἀβιάστως διακατέχοντες ψκονόμησαν.

^b Conc. Valens. I. can. ii. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1680.) Hoc etiam pro ædificatione omnium ecclesiarum, et pro utilitate totius populi, nobis placuit, ut non solum in civitatibus, sed etiam in omnibus parochiis, verbum faciendi daremus presbyteris potestatem.

to preach in them, as well as the city Churches." And so the word *parochia* is often used by St. Jerome^c, Sulpicius Severus^d, Theodoret^e, Innocentius^f, and other writers of those ages, though still the name *parochia* continued to signify properly an 'episcopal diocese,' from which it was transferred to denote those lesser *parochiæ*, because they were a sort of imitation of the former; which is the account that Socrates^g seems to give of them, when speaking of the villages of the region of Mareotes that were subject to the bishop of Alexandria, he says, "They were as so many *παροικίαι*, or 'lesser dioceses,' under the city." And, upon the same reason, the name *diæcesis* was sometimes given to a 'parish Church' also, though it most properly belongs to an 'episcopal diocese.' Thus Sidonius Apollinarius^h speaks of his visiting his own dioceses, meaning only the parish Churches under his episcopal jurisdiction; and so, in the Collation of Carthage, it is saidⁱ of one place, that there was perfect unity not only in the city but in all the dioceses, that is, the country parishes or villages belonging to it. Baluzius has observed the same^k in Ruricius Lemovicensis^l, and Gregory of Tours^m, and some other

^c Hieron. cont. Vigilant. c. ii. Auctores sunt hujus dictatiunculæ meæ sancti presbyteri Riparius et Desiderius, qui parochias suas vicinia istius scribunt esse maculatas.

^d Sulpic. Sever. Dial. i. c. viii. (Lips. 1709. p. 397.) Ecclesiam loci illius Hieronymus presbyter regit: nam parochia est episcopi, qui Hierosolymam tenet.

^e Theodoret. Ep. cxiii. (Sirmond. 8vo. vol. iv. p. 1190.) Καὶ ἐν ὀκτακοσίαις ἐκκλησίαις ἔλαχον ποιμαίνειν τοσαύτας γὰρ ἡ Κύριος παροικίας ἔχει.

^f Innocent. Epist. ad Decent. c. v. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1247.) Quod per parochias fieri debere non puto, quia nec longe portanda sunt sacramenta, etc. Vid. ad lib. ix. c. v. sect. i.

^g Socrat. lib. i. c. xxvii. (Aug. T. 1747. p. 55. C 3.) Τάττονται αὐται αἱ ἐκκλησίαι ὑπὸ τῷ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπισκόπῳ, καὶ εἰσιν ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτοῦ πόλιν ὡς παροικίαι.

^h Sidon. Apollin. lib. ix. ep. xvi. Peragratis forte diœcesibus, quum domum veni, etc.

ⁱ Collat. Carth. die i. c. clxxvi. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1398.) Unitas illic perfecta est, non solum in ipsa civitate, verum etiam in omnibus diœcesibus.

^k Baluz. Not. ad Gratian. p. 510.

^l Ruric. Lemovic. lib. ii. ep. vi. (Bibl. Max. vol. viii. p. 566.) Quamobrem studio caritatis, non cupiditatis hos ad sanctitatem vestram presbyterum meum pro diœcesi Gemiliacensi, unde jam pridem vobis scripseram, destinavi.

^m Gregor. Turon. Hist. lib. iv. c. xiii. (Lutet. 1699. p. 152. E.) Erant Qua-

writers. The reason of this appellation being, as I said before, for that these Churches, whereupon single presbyters were fixed, were a sort of lesser dioceses, as the author of the Pontificalⁿ, under the name of Damasus, terms them; and some canons give them^o the name of *ecclesiæ diœcesanæ*, ‘diocesan Churches;’ and others, ‘country or village Churches;’ whence the presbyters residing on them were termed ἐπιχώριοι πρεσβύτεροι, ‘country presbyters,’ by the Council of Neocæsarea^p, in opposition to the city presbyters in the cathedral or mother church. ‘Parish churches’ were also peculiarly called *tituli*, as has been noted before^q, in contradistinction to the bishop’s church; being such churches as had particular presbyters and deacons assigned to them, who upon that account are said to have a title. And some learned persons^r are of opinion, that cardinal presbyters and deacons, at first, were no more but presbyters and deacons so deputed and affixed to the service of particular parish churches, and that as well at Rome as other places.

SECT. II.—*The Original of Parish Churches owing to Necessity, and founded upon the Apostolical Rules of Christian Communion.*

As to the original of parish churches, there is no doubt but it was necessity, and the conveniences of celebrating

dragesimæ dies: et Cautinus episcopus in Brivatensem diœcesim psallendo adire disposuerat. [Nota. Theodoricus Ruinart ad hunc locum hæc habet: ‘*Diœcesis hic pagum designat; nam Brivas, ubi celebris ecclesia S. Juliani, ex diœcesi erat Arvernensi.*’—*Grischov.*] — Id. lib. vi. c. xxxviii. (p. 315.) . . . Transobadus presbyter rejicitur, et Innocentius Gabalitanorum comes eligitur ad episcopatum, opitulante Brunichilde regina. Sed adsumto episcopatu, confestim Ursicinum Cadurcinæ urbis episcopum lacerare cœpit, dicens, quia diœceses Rutenæ ecclesiæ debitas retineret.

ⁿ Pontifical. Vit. Marcelli. Viginti quinque titulos in urbe Roma constituit, quasi diœceses, propter baptismum et pœnitentiam multorum, qui convertebantur ex paganis, et propter sepulturam martyrum.

^o Conc. Tarracon. c. viii. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1565.) Reperimus nonnullas diœcesanas ecclesias esse destitutas: ob quam rem id hac constitutione decrevimus, ut . . . annuis vicibus ab episcopo diœcesano visitentur.

^p Conc. Neocæsar. c. xiii. Vid. supra, chap. vi. sect. xxi.

^q Book viii. chap. i. sect. x.

^r Jo. Front. Epist. de Canonicis Cardinalibus, Paris. 1661.

Christian offices, and holding Christian communion with greater ease, that first gave occasion to them; for when the multitude of believers increased so in large and populous cities, that one church could not contain them, there was a necessity of dividing the assembly, and erecting other churches, where all the solemnities of the Christian worship, and the usual offices of the divine service might be performed, as well as in the mother church, to answer the apostolical ordinance of holding Christian communion one with another; which was according to what we read (Acts ii. 42), that men should “continue stedfastly in the apostles’ doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread, and in prayers.” The author of the Pontifical, under the name of Damasus, in the Life of Marcellus, seems to say that “several of the Roman *tituli*, or ‘parish churches,’ were erected^s for the conveniency of baptizing great multitudes that were converted from Paganism, and for burying the martyrs.” But if there was any necessity upon that account, there was doubtless a greater necessity upon another; for in those days the whole body of the Christian Church was used to communicate weekly at the Lord’s table; and it being impossible that one church should suffice, in large cities, for this purpose, there was an absolute necessity of building more, that Christians might live in communion one with another. And so parish churches must be as ancient as the necessities of the Church; and he that knows how to date the one, may easily date the original of the other for any particular city or diocese in the universe.

SECT. III.—*Some of them probably as ancient as the Times of the Apostles.*

But as cities and their appendant dioceses differed very much in their size and extent, so it is reasonable to believe that some of them were obliged to build parish churches much sooner than others. And in such places as Jerusalem and Rome, there is great probability, from several passages in the Acts and St. Paul’s Epistles, that there were more churches than one, from the days of the apostles. However, it is un-

^s Pontifical. Vit. Marcelli. Vid. sub lit. antec. (n).

deniably evident from Optatus, as I have shown before, that Rome had above forty churches in it before the end of the third century; or in the beginning of the Diocletian persecution. As for the lesser cities, it will be no wonder to find some of them, which had but one church whilst the persecution lasted: such as that city in Phrygia which Lactantius speaks of, where he says, “The church and all the people were burnt^t together by one of the barbarous prefects in the last persecution.” Valesius thinks Eusebius speaks of the same city^u. “It was all Christian at that time, both magistrates and people; and therefore an army was sent against them, which burnt them all together—men, women, and children, as they were making their supplications to Christ their God.” From which it may be concluded that there were some cities, which were but what Eusebius calls this, *πολίχναι*, so very small as to need no other church beside the bishop’s cathedral, even when all the members of them were become universally Christian. And this may seem an argument to some, that there were anciently many episcopal dioceses that never had any parish churches.

SECT. IV.—*Some lesser Cities had Country Parishes, even in Times of Persecution.*

But here it must be remembered, what has been abundantly proved before, that generally the ancient cities had their suburbs, or country region, belonging to them; and some that were very small cities, as Cyrus, in Commagene, where Theodoret was bishop, had, upon this account, very large territories under their jurisdiction. And we find a great many instances of such country regions having coun-

^t Lactant. Institut. lib. v. c. xi. (Paris. 1748. p. 390.) Aliqui ad occidendum præcipites exstiterunt, sicut unus in Phrygia, qui universum populum cum ipso pariter conventiculo concremavit.

^u Euseb. lib. viii. c. xi. (Aug. T. 1747. p. 342.) Ἡδὲ γοῦν ὅλην Χριστιανῶν πολίχνην αὐτανδρον ἀμφὶ τὴν Φρυγίαν ἐν κύκλῳ περιβαλόντες ὀπλῖται, πῦρ τε ὑφάψαντες, κατέφλεξαν αὐτοὺς ἅμα νηπίοις καὶ γυναιξὶ, τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸν Χριστὸν ἐπιβοωμένους· ὅτι δὴ πανδημεὶ πάντες, οἱ τὴν πόλιν οἰκοῦντες, λογιστῆς τε αὐτοῦ καὶ στρατηγός σὺν τοῖς ἐν τέλει πᾶσι καὶ ὅλῃ δῆμῳ, Χριστιανοὺς σφᾶς ὁμολογοῦντες, οὐδ’ ὀπωστιοῦν τοῖς προστάττουσιν εἰδωλολατρεῖν ἐπειθάρχουν.

try parishes, and country presbyters, and deacons residing on them, even in the hottest times of persecution, as appears from the canons of the Council of Eliberis^w, and those of Neocæsarea^x, the former of which was held while the Diocletian persecution lasted, and the latter immediately after it was over; and yet both of them speak of country presbyters and deacons, to whom the care of Christian assemblies was committed. Epiphanius, also^y, speaks of village presbyters belonging to the city Carchara, in Mesopotamia, in the middle of the third century; and Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, about the same time, frequently mentions such in the regions of Arsinoe, Alexandria, and other cities of Egypt and Libya, in several fragments of his epistles, recorded in Eusebius, which have already been alleged, and need not here be repeated. From these, and many other such instances, it is evident that as soon as the Christian religion began to spread itself from the cities into the country regions, in any considerable manner, village churches were erected, and country presbyters fixed on them: the necessities and convenience of the Church requiring it so to be for the greater benefit and edification of the whole community. Thus parish churches had their original both in city and country, not all at one time, nor by any general decree, but as the exigencies of every diocese required, the bishop of which was always the properest judge how many assistants he needed to help him to discharge the several offices belonging to him as chief superintendent of the city and territory under his jurisdiction. In France, the Council of Vaison speaks of country parishes in the beginning of the fifth century; as I have noted before in the first section of this chapter. But, in England, we have not so early an account of them, because the records we have remain-

^w Conc. Illiber. c. lxxvii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 978.) Si quis diaconus regens plebem, sine episcopo vel presbytero aliquos baptizaverit, episcopus eos per benedictionem perficere debet.

^x Conc. Neocæsar. c. xiii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1484.) Ἐπιχώριοι πρεσβύτεροι ἐν τῷ κυριακῷ τῆς πόλεως προσφέρειν οὐ δύνανται παρόντος ἐπισκόπου ἢ πρεσβυτέρων πόλεως.

^y Epiphan. Hæres. lxvi. n. xi. (Colon. 1682. vol. i. p. 627.) Ἀναχωρήσας δὲ ἔρχεται εἰς κώμην τινὰ τῆς Καρχάρων εἰς Διοδωρίδα καλουμένην, ἐν ᾗ Τρύφων τις ἐπιεικέστατος κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ ἐτύγχανε τῶν αὐτόθι πρεσβυτέρως.

ing of the ancient British Church make no mention of parishes. And after the Saxon conversions were begun, it was some time before our dioceses were divided into parishes; and longer before they had appropriated revenues settled upon them. Some think Honorius, the fifth archbishop of Canterbury, divided so much of the nation as was converted into parishes, about the year 640. So Bishop Godwin and Dugdale; but others think this division is rather to be understood of dioceses than parishes; for *parochia*, in Bede, commonly denotes a 'bishop's diocese,' according to the ancient style and language of the Church; as is evident from that canon of the Council of Herudford mentioned in Bede^z, which was held above thirty years after this supposed division of Honorius, in the time of Archbishop Theodore (an. 673), where it is decreed, "that no bishop shall invade another's *parochia*, or 'diocese,' but be content with the government of the people committed to him." Bishop Andrews^a, indeed, brings this very canon for a proof of parishes being now settled all over the nation; but I conceive the other sense of the word *parochia* to be more proper to that place; though I will not deny, but that, toward the latter end of this archbishop's time, who lived to the year 690, the division of parishes might be made. For Bede^b observes that religion and the affairs of the Church made a greater progress in his time than ever they had done before. And Mr. Wheelock^c, in his observa-

^z Bed. lib. iv. c. v. Conc. Herudford. c. ii.

^a Andrews de Decimis, inter opuscula, p. 152.

^b Bede, lib. v. c. viii.

^c Wheelock in loc. Hujus (Theodori) et Adriani abbatis excultissima eruditione et industria, congregata discipulorum caterva, scientiæ salutaris quotidie flumina in rigandis Anglorum cordibus emanabant. Neque illa apud gentem nostram ætate, theologiam Deique notitiam, in abditis monasteriorum paucorum penetralibus reconditam latere, passus est Theodorus; sed et in villas quasque per omnes gentis hujus angulos disseminatas, circumferri, et ibidem ex illo usque tempore singulari Dei beneficio commorari providissime curavit. Nam (ut MS. codex Cantuariensis Aulæ Trin. p. 46) excitabat Theodorus archiepiscopus fidelium devotionem et voluntatem in quarumlibet provinciarum civitatibus, nec non villis, ecclesias fabricandi, parœcias distinguendi, adsensus regios procurando: ut si qui sufficientes essent, et ad Dei honorem, pro voto haberent super proprium fundum ecclesias construere, earundem perpetuo patronatu gauderent.

tions upon the place, cites an ancient manuscript, which speaks of the division of parishes as made under him. Now Christianity had spread itself into the country, and churches were built, and presbyters fixed upon them, and first-fruits, and other revenues were settled, by King Ina^d among the West Saxons; and by Withred, King of Kent, in the Council of Becanceld (an. 694); and patrons, when they founded churches, endowed them with lands for proper maintenance: all which seem to imply, that the original of country parishes was about the latter end of the seventh century, in this nation; and in the next age they were fully settled.

SECT. V.—*The City Parishes not always assigned to particular Presbyters; but served in common by the Clergy of the Bishop's Church. This otherwise in Country Parishes.*

But, to return to the former times. It is further to be noted, concerning the ancient manner of serving the city parish churches, that they were not usually committed to particular presbyters, as those in the country regions were, but were served in common by the clergy of the bishop's church. Learned men conclude this from a passage in Epiphanius, who seems to note it as a particular custom at Alexandria, "that all the churches there had their own particular presbyters assigned them, who dwelt near their own churches, every one in their own streets or divisions^e, which the Alexandrians, in their own language, called Laura." Petavius, indeed^f, thinks Epiphanius was mistaken, and that it was not

^d Inæ Leges Eccles. c. iv. (apud Spelm. p. 183.) Primitiæ seminum ad celebre divi Martini festum redduntur: qui tum non solverit, quadraginta solidis mulctor, et ipsas præterea primitias duodecies persolvito.—Conc. Becanceld. c. i. (ibid. p. 191.) Ego Withredus rex terrenus, a Rege regum compunctus, zelo rectitudinis accensus, ex antiqua traditione sanctorum patrum didici, non licitum esse alicui homini in laico habitu constituto, usurpare sibi quasi propriam possessionem, quæ ante fuerat Domino concessa, et Christi cruce firmata, etc.

^e Epiphan. Hæres. lxi. Arian. c. i. (Colon. vol. i. p. 727. C 9.) "Ὅσαι ἐκκλησίαι τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ὑπὸ ἑνα ἀρχιεπίσκοπον οὖσαι, καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν ταύταις ἐπιτεταγμένοι εἰσὶ πρεσβύτεροι, διὰ τὰς ἐκκλησιαστικὰς χρείας τῶν οἰκητόρων, πλησίων ἐκάστης ἐκκλησίας αὐτῶν, καὶ ἀμφόδων, ἧτοι λαυρῶν ἐπιχωρίως καλουμένων, ὑπὸ τῶν τὴν Ἀλεξανδρίαν κατοικούντων πόλιν.

^f Petav. Adnotat. in loc. Non dubito majoribus duntaxat in urbibus plures

the peculiar custom of Alexandria, but common to all great cities, to have presbyters fixed upon all their churches. But Valesius^g and other learned men defend Epiphanius against his censure, and show this to have been so singular a custom at Alexandria, that perhaps no other city in the world in that age—no, not Rome itself—which had above forty churches, had any one church appropriated to any particular presbyter; but they were all served in common by the clergy of the bishop's church. Valesius observes, that it was so at Rome to the time of Innocent I. who speaks of his sending the bread of the consecrated eucharist to the presbyters ministering in the parish churches on the Lord's day; that they might not, on that day, think themselves^h separated from his communion. So that they seem to have been the clergy of the great church, sent forth by turns only, to minister in the several *tituli* on the

intra pomeria titulos fuisse; quum intra eadem septa contineri, unaque convenire non possent: adeoque presbyteros singulis ecclesiis impositos. In minoribus autem, ac minus frequentibus oppidis unam duntaxat ecclesiam exstitisse, in quam universi confluerent. Cujusmodi Cypri urbes erant. Unde quod Alexandria receptum erat, velut popularibus suis peregrinum et inusitatum, adnotavit Epiphanius.

^g Vales. Not. in Sozomen. lib. i. c. xv. (p. 31.) Alexandrinæ ecclesiæ peculiarem hunc morem fuisse, ut singulis ecclesiis seu titulis in ea urbe constitutis suus esset adsignatus presbyter, docet etiam Epiphanius in hæresi Arianorum: ubi Arium Baucalensis tituli presbyterum, hoc modo fuisse observat: ὅσαι γὰρ ἐκκλησίαι, κ. τ. λ. Ad quem locum Dionysius Petavius observat, idem etiam Romæ usitatum fuisse: quia in urbe presbyteri, per varios titulos distributi, suam quisque plebem separatim regebat. Ad cujus rei probationem adducit locum ex epistola Innocentii Papæ ad Decentium, c. v.: 'De fermento vero.' See note (h). Verum hic locus contrarium potius mihi videtur probare. Ait enim Innocentius, presbyteros reliquis diebus hebdomadis ipsi adhæsisse, et cum ipso convenisse, et communicasse: diebus autem dominicis, plebem collegisse, et fermentum ab episcopo accepisse, ne a communione sui episcopi separati esse eo die viderentur. Non igitur affixi erant titulis suis Romani presbyteri ætate Innocentii, sed ad eos regendos die dominico mittebantur. Nec necesse erat, ut unus idemque ad eandem semper ecclesiam mitteretur, sed eligebat episcopus pro arbitrio quem vellet.—Maurice's Vindic. of the Primitive Church, p. 65.

^h Innocent. I. ad Decent. c. v. De fermento, quod die dominico per titulos mittimus, superflue nos consulere voluisti: quum omnes ecclesiæ nostræ intra civitatem sint constitutæ: quarum presbyteri, quia die isto propter plebem sibi concessam nobiscum convenire non possunt, ideo fermentum a nobis confectum per acolythos accipiunt, ut se a communione nostra maxime illo die non judicent separatos.

Lord's day: and then their having a title, or the care of a church, must mean no more but their being deputed in common to the service of the *tituli*, or 'parish churches,' in contradistinction to the cathedral church. Something of this custom continued at Constantinople to the time of Justinian; for, in one of his Novelsⁱ, he takes notice of three churches, St. Mary's, Theodore's, and Irene's, which had no appropriated clergy belonging to them, but were served by the ministers of the great church, who officiated in them according to their courses. It is observed also by some, that a peculiar custom prevailed at Rome, to have two presbyters officiate in every church; whereas in other places there was but one. Dr. Maurice^k infers this from a passage in the Comments of Hilary, the Roman deacon, who commonly goes under the name of St. Ambrose, who says, that "though there were but seven deacons in all Rome, yet there was such a number of presbyters as to have two to officiate in every church^l, because the inhabitants communicated twice a-week; and there were sick persons to be baptized almost every day." But whether this custom was so peculiar to Rome, as to belong to no other church, is what I had rather the reader should believe upon that learned man's judgment than my own assertion. As to country churches, the case is very plain, that presbyters were more early fixed, and appropriated peculiarly to them;

ⁱ Justin. Novel. iii. c. i. "Ἵστερον δὲ ὁ, τε προσκυνητὸς τῆς ἁγίας ἐνδόξου παρθένου καὶ θεοτόκου Μαρίας, ὁ πρὸς τῇ τῆς ἁγιωτάτης μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας γειτονήματι κείμενος, ᾠκοδομήθη παρὰ τῆς εὐσεβοῦς τὴν λῆξιν Βηρίνης, ὁ, τε σεβάσμιος οἶκος τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος Θεοδώρου παρὰ Σφωρακίου τοῦ τῆς ἐνδόξου μνήμης ἀνιερῶθη· ἦν δὲ καὶ ὁ προσκυνητὸς οἶκος τῆς ἁγίας Εἰρήνης ὁ τῇ ἁγιωτάτῃ μεγάλῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ συνημμένος, διὰ τοῦτο περιστῆναι τὸν ἀριθμὸν εἰς τὸ ἀρχαῖον σχῆμα, τῶν ἀδυνάτων ἐστίν. Οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἀρκέσειαν τοσαύταις ἐκκλησίαις ὀλίγοι καθεστῶτες· ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἰδιάζοντας κληρικοὺς οὐδὲ εἰς τούτων ἔχει τῶν τριῶν οἴκων, κοινοὶ δὲ εἰσι τῆς τε ἁγιωτάτης μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας καὶ αὐτῶν, καὶ τούτους ἅπαντες περινοστοῦντες κατὰ τινα περίοδον καὶ κύκλον, τὰς λειτουργίας ἐν αὐτοῖς ποιοῦνται.

^k Maurice of Diocesan Episcop. p. 47.

^l Ambros. Comment. in 1 Tim. iii. (Bened. Append. vol. ii. p. 295. E 6.) Nunc autem septem diaconos esse oportet, et aliquantos presbyteros, ut bini sint per Ecclesias, et unus in civitate episcopus. . . . Omni enim hebdomada offerendum est, etsi non quotidie peregrinis, incolis tamen vel bis in hebdomada; etsi non desint, qui prope quotidie baptizentur ægri.

there being not the same conveniency of serving them in common by the presbyters of the city church. Therefore, we may observe that the Council of Neocæsarea^m makes a distinction between the ἐπιχώριοι πρεσβύτεροι, the ‘country presbyters,’ and those of the city, forbidding the former to officiate in the city church, except in the absence of the bishop and city presbyters: which plainly implies, that country parishes were then served by fixed presbyters of their own, who had nothing to do with the service of the city church. And the same appears from the account which Athanasius gives of the presbyters of the villages of Mareotis, under Alexandria, and many other passages of the ancient writers.

SECT. VI. — *Settled Revenues not immediately fixed upon Parishes at their first Division, but paid into the Common Stock.*

But we are to observe, that the being settled in a parish cure, whether in city or country, did not immediately entitle a man to the revenue arising from that cure, whether in tithes or oblations, or any other kind; for anciently all Church revenues were delivered into the common stock of the bishop’s Church, whence, by the direction and approbation of the bishop, who was the chief administrator of the revenues of his diocese, a monthly, or an annual division was made among the clergy under his jurisdiction, as has been showed before in giving an account of ecclesiastical revenuesⁿ, and their distribution; where, among other things, it has been observed out of Theodorus Lector^o, that at Constantinople no parish Church had any appropriated revenues till the time of Gennadius, in the middle of the fifth century (an. 460), when Marcianus Œconomus first ordered the clergy of every church to receive the offerings of their own church; whereas, before, the great

^m Conc. Neocæsar. c. xiii. Vid. supra sub lit. (x).

ⁿ Book v. chap. vi. sect. 1.

^o Theodor. Lect. lib. i. (Aug. T. p. 511. D.) Προεβάλετο δὲ Γεννάδιος Μαρκιανὸν οἰκονόμον, τῆς τῶν Καθαρῶν ὄντα θρησκείας, εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν μετελθόντα· ὃς ἅμα τῷ γενέσθαι οἰκονόμον, τὰ προσφερόμενα ἐν ἐκάστη ἐκκλησίᾳ, τοὺς τοῦ τόπου κληρικοὺς κομίζεσθαι διετύπωσεν, ἕως τούτου τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας πάντα κομιζομένης.

church received them all. In the Western Church, particularly in Spain, in the middle of the sixth century, it appears from the first Council of Bracara, that the bishop and city clergy had still all their revenues in a common fund, which was divided into four parts: one for the bishop^p, another for the clergy, a third for the fabric and lights of the church, and a fourth for the relief of the poor, to be dispensed by the hands of the arch-presbyter or archdeacon, with the bishop's approbation. But the country clergy, as to their revenues, were now, or shortly after, upon a different foot; for in the second Council of Bracara, which was held but nine years after the first (an. 572), we find a canon^q, forbidding bishops to have any share in the oblations of the parochial churches, and assigning that third part to maintain the fabric and lights of the church, only allowing them to receive two *solidi*, by way of 'honorary acknowledgment,'—*honor cathedræ*, the canon terms it,—in their parochial visitations; so that, at least from this time, we may date the appropriation of revenues in Spain to the country parochial churches. In the same council there is another canon, which corrects an abuse, that plainly implies such an appropriate settlement upon country churches; for some patrons^r, it seems, would build churches on their own lands, not for piety but for lucre's sake, that they might go halves with the clergy in whatever was collected of the oblations of the people. To remedy which inconvenience the

^p Conc. Bracar. I. c. xxv. (Bracar. II. c. vii. Labbe, vol. v. p. 840.) Placuit, ut de rebus ecclesiasticis, tres æquæ fiant portiones; id est, episcopi una, alia clericorum, tertia in reparatione [al. recuperatione] vel in luminariis ecclesiæ. De qua parte sive archipresbyter, sive archidiaconus, illam administrans, episcopo faciat rationem.

^q Conc. Bracar. II. (alias III.) can. ii. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 896.) Placuit, ut nullus episcoporum, cum per suas dioceses ambulant, præter honorem cathedræ suæ, id est, duos solidos, aliquid aliud per ecclesias tollat: neque tertiam partem ex quacumque oblatione populi in ecclesiis parochialibus requireret; sed illa tertia pars pro luminariis ecclesiæ, vel recuperatione servetur, et singulis annis episcopo inde ratio fiat.

^r Ibid. can. vi. Si quis basilicam non pro devotione fidei sed pro quæstu cupiditatis ædificat, ut quidquid ibidem de oblatione populi colligitur, medium cum clericis dividat; eo quod basilicam in terra sua ipse [quæstus causa] condiderit; quod in aliquibus locis usque modo dicitur fieri. Hoc ergo de cetero observari debet, ut nullus episcoporum tam abominabili voto consentiat, etc.

council orders, that no bishop should consecrate any church for the future, that was built upon such an abominable contract and tributary condition. This is a further evidence, that the revenues of country churches were then appropriated to them: else such abuses as these could not have had any foundation. But in Germany and France the revenues of the parochial churches seem to have continued in the hands of the bishop, at least he had his dividend of a fourth part for some ages longer; for there are rules in the Capitulars of Baluzius and Goldastus's editions, which order^s tithes and oblations to be divided into four parts, according to ancient canon, and one-fourth to be given to the bishop. And some learned persons^t, who have narrowly examined our English constitution, seem to be of opinion, that the bishops had their portion of the ecclesiastical revenues with the parochial clergy, for some considerable time after the first designation and settlement of parish churches; for they suppose that originally the bishop's cathedral was the only church in a diocese, from whence itinerant or occasional preachers were sent to convert the country people, who for some time resorted to the cathedral for solemn divine worship. Afterwards, by degrees, some other churches were built among them; first, private oratories or chapels, without any parish bounds, for the conveniency of such as, being at too great distance from the cathedral, might more easily resort to them. Then parish churches, with certain limits, were erected, some by the liberality of the people themselves in more populous and wealthy places, others by the bishops, and others by the Saxon kings; but chiefly the lords of manors, the thanes, as they then called them, were the great instruments in this work of founding parish churches. Whence it was that parish bounds were conformed to the limits and extent of a manor, as I have showed that the

^s Capitular. lib. vii. c. ccclxxv. Quatuor partes ex omnibus (decimis et oblationibus) fiant. . . . Quarta episcopo referenda.—Goldast. Constitut. Imperial. tom. iii. c. xxiii. p. 158, edit. Offenbach. 1610. Ut decimæ populi dividantur in quatuor partes, id est, una pars episcopo, alia clericis, tertia pauperibus, quarta ecclesiæ in fabricis applicetur, sicut in decreto Gelasii papæ continetur.

^t See Dr. Kennet's Case of Improvements, p. 9, etc.; Mr. Wharton's Defence of Pluralities, chap. ii. p. 85.

bounds of an ancient diocese were to the territory of a city; and hence the lord of a manor had his original right of patronage and presentation. Yet this did not destroy the bishop's right to a share in the revenue of his whole diocese; but time made an alteration in this matter, for our bishops seem voluntarily to have relinquished their title to parochial revenues, as the Spanish bishops had done before them; though whether they made any canon about it, as the other did, I am not able to inform the reader. But Dr. Kennet has observed^u out of Dugdale^w, that notwithstanding the alteration that was made in this matter, the bishops of the Isle of Man continued to have their *tertiana*, or 'third part' of all Church revenues in that island; which, I suppose, was because they were not liable to any alterations made here, as not being then of the English jurisdiction. Thus I have given a short account of the original and ancient state of parochial Churches, but it is beyond my design to carry this inquiry any further. They who would know by what steps and encroachments parish Churches lost their revenues again, first by the confusion of parish bounds, and by a liberty granted to men to pay their tithes and oblations where they pleased, and then by appropriations to monasteries, and impropriations granted to laymen, may find these things handled at large in Dr. Kennet's elaborate Discourse of Impropriations and Augmentation of Vicarages, to which I refer the inquisitive reader.

^u Dr. Kennet's Case of Impropriations, p. 28.

^w Dugdal. Monastic. Anglic. (vol. i. p. 718.) *Universis sanctæ matris ecclesiæ filiis, præsentibus litteris inspecturis vel audituris, Thomas, Dei gratia, rex Mannæ et insularum, comes Derby et dominus Stanley, salutem in Domino sempiternam. Universitati vestræ innotescimus, quod nos, pro salute animæ nostræ et animarum antecessorum nostrorum atque omnium fidelium defunctorum, concessimus et dedimus dilecto nobis in Christo patri ac domino, domino Huano, permissione divina, Sodorienſi episcopo moderno, in puram et perpetuam eleemosynam, ad mensam suam episcopalem, omnes ecclesias, terras, decimas, ac possessiones, quas antecessores nostri reges et domini Mannæ ecclesiæ Sodorienſi et episcopatuſi ejusdem dederunt, concesserunt, et confirmaverunt. Videlicet cathedralē sancti Germani in Holme Sodor vel Pele vocatam . . . et tertiam partem decimarum de omnibus ecclesiis de Manne, confirmantes eis tertianam plenæ villæ de Kirkby propinquiorem ecclesiā sancti Bradani cum terra sancti Bradani, et tertianam plenæ villæ de Kirkmarona, etc.*

THE CONCLUSION.

WHEREIN IS PROPOSED AN EASY AND HONOURABLE METHOD
FOR ESTABLISHING A PRIMITIVE DIOCESAN EPISCOPACY,
(CONFORMABLE TO THE MODEL OF THE SMALLER SORT
OF ANCIENT DIOCESES,) IN ALL THE PROTESTANT
CHURCHES.

ALL I have further to add upon this subject, is only to make one seasonable and useful reflection upon what has been discoursed in this last Book, with relation to the long wished-for union of all the Churches of the Reformation in the same form of episcopal government, agreeable to the model and practice of the primitive Church. One great objection against the present diocesan episcopacy, and that which to many may look the most plausible, is drawn from the vast extent and greatness of most of the northern dioceses of the world, which makes it so extremely difficult for one man to discharge all the offices of the episcopal function. To take off the main force of which objection, I have been at some pains to show, that for the preservation of episcopacy, there is no necessity that all dioceses should be of the same extent, since there was so great difference in the bounds and limits of the ancient dioceses, but not the least difference about the forms or species of episcopal government for all that, in any part of the primitive Church. And, therefore, if ever it shall please God to dispose the hearts of our brethren, in the Churches of the Reformation, to receive again the primitive form of episcopacy (which is much to be wished, and there seems in some of them to be a good inclination and tendency toward it), there needs be no difficulty from this objection to hinder so useful and peaceable a design; because every Church is at liberty to contract her own dioceses, and limit them with such bounds as she judges most expedient for the edification and benefit of the whole community; there being no certain geometrical rule prescribed us about this, either in the writings of the apostles, or in the laws and practice of the primitive Church, any further than that every city, or place of civil jurisdiction, should be the seat of an eccle-

siastical magistracy, a bishop, with his presbytery, to order the spiritual concerns of men, as the other does the temporal. That this was the general rule observed in the primitive Church, I think, I have made it appear beyond all dispute, and that upon this ground there was so great a difference in the extent of dioceses sometimes in the same countries, as in Palestine, Asia Minor, and Italy especially, because the cities differed so much in the extent of their territories, and the bounds and limits of their jurisdiction. Now it is not very material in itself whether of these models be followed, since they are both primitive, and allowed in ancient practice. The Church of England has usually followed the larger model, and had very great and extensive dioceses; for at first she had but seven bishoprics in the whole nation, and those commensurate in a manner to the seven Saxon kingdoms. Since that time she has thought it a point of wisdom to contract her dioceses, and multiply them into above twenty; and if she should think fit to add forty or a hundred more, she would not be without precedent in the practice of the primitive Church. Archbishop Cranmer was very well apprised of this, and therefore he advised King Henry VIII. to erect several new bishoprics, as a great means, among other things, for reforming the Church. In pursuance of which advice, the king himself drew up a list of near twenty new bishoprics which he intended to make, and a bill was passed in parliament (an. 1539) to empower the king to do this by his letters patent. The whole transaction, and the names of the intended sees, may be read at large in Bishop Burnet's History of the Reformation^x. The thing indeed miscarried afterward, and by some accident was never effected; but, notwithstanding, it shows us the sense of the leading men in the Reformation. What, therefore, has been, and still is allowable in this Church, is allowable in others; that is, to multiply dioceses as necessity requires, and divide the great care and burden of the episcopal function into more hands, for the greater benefit and advantage of the Church. Whenever, therefore, any of the foreign Churches of

^x Vol. i. p. 262, edit. Anglic. 1681.

the Protestant communion shall think fit to re-assume again the ancient episcopal form of government among them, they may, both with honour and ease, frame to themselves such a model of small dioceses, as will not much exceed the extent of one of their classes, nor much alter its form, and yet be agreeable to the model of the lesser sort of dioceses in the primitive Church. A temporary moderator, or a superintendent of a small district, such as are our rural deaneries, will easily be made a bishop, by giving him a solemn ordination to the perpetual office of governing the Churches of such a district as chief pastor, under whom all other inferior pastors of the same district must act in subordination to him, deriving their authority from his imposition of hands, and doing nothing without his consent and approbation. As this will secure the just authority and veneration of episcopal superintendency, whilst, according to the rule of Ignatius, nothing is done without the bishop in the Church; so will it be agreeable to the model of the ancient Church, which had many small dioceses as well as large ones, particularly in Italy, where many episcopal sees were not above five or six miles from one another, and their dioceses not above ten or twelve miles in extent, such as Narnia and Interamna, Fidenæ, Fulginium, Hispellum, Forum Flaminii, and many others, that have been particularly spoken of in the foregoing Book. There are now a great many such dioceses in Italy, in the realm of Naples, where the whole number is a hundred and forty-seven; twenty of which are archbishoprics, and some of them so small as not to have any diocese beyond the walls of the city; as is particularly noted by Dr. Maurice^y and others of Campania and Vesta, out of Ughellus's *Italia Sacra*, whence it is observed also, that Cava, in the same kingdom, had but five hundred communicants belonging to it. And there are some dioceses at present in the southern parts of France, which (I am told) do not very much exceed that proportion. The bishopric of the Isle of Man has now but seventeen parishes; and in Bede's time^z the whole island had but the measure of three or four

^y Maurice's *Dioces. Episc.* p. 132.

^z Bed. lib. ii. c. ix. (Giles, Lond. 1843. vol. ii. p. 202.) Quin et Mevanias

hundred families, according to what was then the English way of computation ; though the Isle of Anglesey had thrice that number. So that though dioceses in the Protestant Churches should be thus contracted, yet no other Church, where episcopacy is already settled, can have any just reason to complain of such an episcopacy as this, so long as it appears to be agreeable to the original state, and exactly conformable to ancient practice. Nor can any Churches, then, have ground for dispute with one another about external polity and government, though the dioceses of one Church happen to be larger or smaller than those of another : so long as they have each their precedents in the ancient Church, they may treat one another with the same catholic charity as the ancient Churches did ; among whom we never find the least footstep of a dispute upon this foundation. Nor is there now any dispute between the two sister Churches of England and Ireland upon this head, though the one has enlarged, and the other contracted, her dioceses since the Reformation ; for in Ireland there are not now above half the number of dioceses that there were before, and consequently they must needs be larger by uniting them together. In England, there are more in number than formerly, some new ones being erected out of the old ones ; and, at present, the whole number augmented to three times as many as they were for some ages after the first conversion. Beside that, we have another way of contracting dioceses in effect here in England, appointed by law, which law was never yet repealed, which is by devolving part of the bishop's care upon the *chorepiscopi*, or 'suffragan bishops,' as the law calls them ; a method commonly practised in the ancient Church, in such large dioceses as those of St. Basil and Theodoret, one of which had no less than fifty *chorepiscopi* under him, if Nazianzen rightly informs us. And it is a practice that was continued here all the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and even to the end of King James ; and is what may be revived again, whenever any bishop thinks his diocese too large, or his burden

insulas, sicut et supra docuimus, imperio subjugavit Anglorum ; quarum prior, quæ ad austrum est, et situ amplior et frugum proventu atque ubertate felicior, nongentarum sexaginta familiarum mensuram juxta æstimationem Anglorum ; secunda, trecentarum et ultra, spatium tenet.

too great, to be sustained by himself alone. From hence I conclude, that the multiplying bishops, and contracting of dioceses in the Protestant Churches, can give no just offence to any other episcopal Churches, since it was ever practised in the ancient Church, and is now practised in some of the Churches of the Reformation, where still the dioceses remain so great, as to be capable of being divided each into ten, without altering the species of episcopacy, or infringing any rule of the Catholic Church. If this consideration may contribute any thing toward the settlement of a primitive episcopacy in such churches of the Reformation as are still without it (which may be done by ordaining a supreme pastor in every great town where there is a civil magistracy, with lesser towns and villages in its dependence, which was the ancient notion of a city, when episcopacy was first settled by the apostles), I shall then think my pains and labour, which have not been small in discovering the extent and measure of so many ancient dioceses, to be still so much the more useful, not only as opening a way to a clear understanding of the state of the ancient Church, but as promoting the unity and firmer settlement of the present Church, whose general interest, and not that of any particular Church or party interfering with it, I have proposed to myself, in this whole work, to prosecute and serve. The God of peace and truth prosper the endeavours of all those who have no other design !

APPENDIX.

HAVING given no particular catalogue of the ancient dioceses in the six African provinces, in the foregoing Book, as of all other provinces in the world; lest it should be thought an omission, I have here subjoined an account of them, as collected by Carolus a Sancto Paulo (p. 87, &c.) and Holstenius, out of the ancient councils, and the Collation of Carthage, and the *Notitia* of Afric, published by Sirmondus among his Miscellanies, and the works of St. Austin, and Victor Vitensis, who speaks of one hundred and sixty-four bishops in the first of these provinces, called Zeugitana, or the Proconsular Afric; though Carolus a Sancto Paulo could find the names only of one hundred and two dioceses, and some of these named twice or thrice over. For Bolita, and Vallis, and Vol, are but three names for the same city. So Abdera, and Abbirita, and Abbir Germanicorum, are the same. As also Sicca and Zigga. Duassedemsai and Duæsenepsalitinæ, two corrupt names for the city Selemsal, as Holstenius observes in his remarks upon them.

*In Provincia Zeugitana, otherwise called Africa
Proconsularis.*

1. Carthago. 2. Sicilibra. 3. Maxula. 4. Vallis. 5. Uthina.
6. Tuburbo. 7. Abdera. 8. Assurus. 9. Tucabor, al. Tucca
- Terebentina. 10. Altibura. 11. Vazua. 12. Ammedera. 13.
- Sicca-Veneria. 14. Thinnissa. 15. Tuburbo Minus. 16. Mem-
- bresa. 17. Melzita. 18. Utica. 19. Theudalis. 20. Hippo-
- zaritos, al. Hippo-Diarritorum. 21. Membro. 22. Lapda. 23.
- Bulla Regia. 24. Tennona, al. Tunnona. 25. Beneventum.
26. Simithu. 27. Thele. 28. Carpis. 29. Utimmira. 30.
- Misua. 31. Duassedemsai. 32. Migirpa. 33. Pupiana. 34.

Puppita. 35. Urcita, forsan Uci. 36. Gisipa. 37. Uzita, Uci. 38. Bonusta. 39. Cicsita. 40. Neapolis. 41. Culsita. 42. Curubi. 43. Cæfala. 44. Bulla. 45. Clypea. 46. Meglapolis. 47. Timida Regia. 48. Zigga. 49. Semina. 50. Parisium, forsan Pertusa. 51. Racuma. 52. Talbora. 53. Tagarata. 54. Cellæ. 55. Uzippara. 56. Abbir Germanicia. 57. Ausana, al. Ausapha. 58. Tabuca. 59. Maraggarita, al. Naraggarita. 60. Muzua. 61. Abitina. 62. Tituli. 63. Eudala. 64. Casula. 65. Tulana. 66. Vina, al. Viva. 67. Vol, al. Bolita. 68. Tunes. 69. Mattiana. 70. Hilta. 71. Zarna. 72. Cubdis. 73. Municipitogia. 74. Elibia. 75. Pia. 76. Tadia. 77. Uzala. 78. Tizzica. 79. Abora. 80. Libertina. 81. Scilita. 82. Absasalla. 83. Aradita. 84. Veri. 85. Ciumtuburbo, which Holstenius takes to be a corrupt reading for Civ. M. Tuburbo. 86. Ofita. 87. Municipium Canapium. 88. Nummula. 89. Tauracina. 90. Ucula. 91. Sinuara. 92. Succuba. 93. Horta, vel Horreas. 94. Trisipellis. 95. Giutrambacaria. 96. Villa Magna. 97. Tigimma. 98. Bolita. 99. Aga. 100. Cæcirita. 101. Tatia Montanensis. 102. Mullita. 103. Duæ Senepsalitinae, al. Selemsalita. 104. Eguge. Holstensus adds, Furni, Simingita, Aptunga, and Simidita.

In Numidia.

1. Cirta, al. Constantina, the civil metropolis of this province. 2. Cullu. 3. Rusicade. 4. Vaga, al. Bagaia. 5. Lares. 6. Mileum, rectius Milevum. 7. Idicra. 8. Cuiculum. 9. Nobas Parsa. 10. Diana. 11. Gemellæ. 12. Cullicitanis. Holstenius reckons it the same with Culsita. 13. Zama Regia, the royal seat of King Juba. 14. Lambiri. 15. Sinitu. 16. Aquæ Tibilitanæ. 17. Hippo Regius. 18. Tubursica. 19. Calama. 20. Gasauphala, al. Gazophyla. 21. Tigillaba. 22. Rotaria. 23. Tipasa. 24. Tagaste. 25. Thagura, al. Tagora. 26. Altaba. 27. Vegesela. 28. Mascula. 29. Macomades. 30. Tamugada. 31. Lambæsa. 32. Tabuda. 33. Bercera. 34. Municipium, al. Municipium Tulliense. 35. Burca. 36. Vada. 37. Centenaria. 38. Niba. 39. Amphora. 40. Buconia. 41. Sugita, al. Siguita. 42. Putea. 43. Ausucurro. 44. Fussala. 45. Noba Barbara. 46. Idassa. 47. Monte.

48. Lamsorte. 49. Tididita. 50. Casæ Medianæ. 51. Cethaquensusca, al. Cathaquensa. 52. Centuzia. 53. Noba Germania. 54. Susicasia. 55. Noba Cæsaris. 56. Vazarita, al. Bazarita. 57. Ressana. 58. Augurium. 59. Octabum. 60. Gilba. 61. Mathara. 62. Midila. 63. Punentiana. 64. Metæ. 65. Cæsarea. 66. Nobasina. 67. Cælia. 68. Zattara. 69. Tarassa. 70. Castellum Titulianum. 71. Girus Marcelli. 72. Sillita, al. Sillilita. 73. Hizirzada. 74. Rusticiana. 75. Madaurus. 76. Buffada. 77. Sistrioniana. 78. Regium. 79. Tegla. 80. Casæ Nigræ. 81. Tubunia. 82. Tigisi. 83. Zabi. 84. Narangara. 85. Musti. 86. Centurio. 87. Aquæ Novæ. 88. Tebeste. 89. Babra. 90. Moxorita. 91. Tamogazia. 92. Respecta. 93. Legiæ. 94. Mazaca. 95. Lugura. 96. Turres Concordiæ. 97. Belesase. 98. Gaudiabe. 99. Garbis. 100. Marculita. 101. Suaba. 102. Germania. 103. Vadesita. 104. Naratcata. 105. Lamiggiza. 106. Lamiggiga. 107. Vagarmilita, al. Magarmelita, et Aquæ. 108. Turres Ammeniarum. 109. Mulia. 110. Ospitum. 111. Vagada, al. Vaga, Vaiana, et Bagaia. 112. Lamasua. 113. Tacarata. 114. Ullita, al. Vallita. 115. Seleucia, al. Solentiana. 116. Vada. 117. Maximiana. 118. Zaradta. 119. Girus Tarasi. 120. Vicus Pacis. 121. Tabraca. 122. Tucca. 123. Quidia. 124. Castellum. 125. Milevi. 126. Gira. 127. Fesseita. 128. Damatcore. 129. Mada. 130. Casæ Calanæ. 131. Arsicarita. 132. Veseli, rectius Vegesela. 133. Villa Regia. 134. Legæ. 135. Lamfua. 136. Vagrava. 137. Gilba. 138. Sile. 139. Gauriana. 140. Forme. 141. Forme altera. 142. Fatum. Holstenius adds nine more,—Vicus Nigras, Drusiliana, Zuma, or Summa, Constantia, Limata, Mutugenna, Zerta, Sululitta, Centuria; but then he thinks some others are twice repeated, as Mileum and Milevis, Zabi and Zama, Vaga and Vagada, Veseli and Vegesela, Tamagazia and Tamagula, Culsita and Cullisitanis, Germania and Nova Germania; and Quida belongs to Mauritania Cæsariensis.

In Byzacena (p. 102).

1. Adrumetum, the civil metropolis. 2. Horrea Cœlia.

3. Tagasa. 4. Turreblandis. 5. Medianum. 6. Sufes. 7. Afufenia. 8. Cillita. 9. Vicus Ateriæ. 10. Mibiarcesis. 11. Segermis. 12. Miriciana. 13. Gatiana, al. Garriana, et Gratiana. 14. Suffetula. 15. Dicea. 16. Tices. 17. Ancusa. 18. Mascliana. 19. Vадentiniana, al. Valentiniana. 20. Nara. 21. Seberiana. 22. Tubulbaca. 23. Midita. 24. Tambaia. 25. Jubeclidia. 26. Neptita. 27. Bubelia. 28. Cellæ. 29. Decoriana. 30. Putea. 31. Theuzita. 32. Mac-taris, al. Matiris. 33. Thagamuta. 34. Autentum. 35. Aba-radira. 36. Bana. 37. Octabium. 38. Octabum. 39. Aquiba. 40. Hermiana. 41. Paradamium, al. Feradi Minor. 42. Turris. 43. Taraza. 44. Crepedula. 45. Trofiniana. 46. Leptis Minor. 47. Feradimaia, al. Feradi Major. 48. Temuniana, vel Temoniara. 49. Unizibira. 50. Tamalluma. 51. Muzuca. 52. Massimana. 53. Serbatiana. 54. Marazana. 55. Pederodiana. 56. Tuzurita. 57. Matarita. 58. Usula. 59. Irpiniana, al. Hierpiniana. 60. Aquæ Albenses. 61. Menepheffa. 62. Capse. 63. Acola, al. Aquila. 64. Tasbalte. 65. Municipia, et Gernisiæ. 66. Tizia. 67. Ruspe. 68. Vararita. 69. Febianum. 70. Cebaradefa. 71. Foratiana. 72. Boana. 73. Mimiana. 74. Telepte. 75. Præsidium. 76. Natio. 77. Maraguaia. 78. Tetcitana. 79. Macriana. 80. Gurgaita. 81. Cululi. 82. Arsurita, al. Sasurita. 83. Tagarbala. 84. Aquæ Regiæ. 85. Quæstoriana. 86. Carcabia. 87. Victoriana. 88. Materiana. 89. Hirina. 90. Gummi. 91. Morotheorita. 92. Ticualta. 93. Auzegera. 94. Gauvarita. 95. Helia. 96. Talapte. 97. Limmica. 98. Junca. 99. Thenæ. 100. Jubaltiana. 101. Tamaza. 102. Unuricopolis. 103. Aggar, al. Aggarita. 104. Bizacium. 105. Tapsus. 106. Madassumma. 107. Tysurus. 108. Septimunica. 109. Amurdasa. 110. Abidus, al. Aviduvicus. 111. Benefensis. 112. Dura. 113. Rufiniana. 114. Forontoniana. 115. Egnatia. 116. Frontoniana. 117. Tegariata. 118. Aggarita. 119. Garriana. 120. Castrum. 121. Vite, where Victor Vitensis was bishop, who wrote the History of the Vandalic Persecution. 122. Circina. 123. Præcausa. 124. Cufruta. 125. Filace. 126. Oppenua. 127. Sublecte. 128. Cenculiana. 129. Suluiana. 130. Vassinassa. 131. Aquæ. Holstenius adds to these eight more, Taphrura,

Teilla, or Zella, Cabarsussis, Tysurus, Tysdros, Casulæ Cariunæ, Dionysiana, Aquæ. But then he reckons some names unnecessarily repeated, as Miriciana and Meracia, which are but two names for the same city; so Boana and Bana; and Gurgaita the same with Gurges, in Mauritania Cæsariensis.

In Mauritania Sitifensis (p. 109).

1. Sitifi. 2. Tamalluma. 3. Acufida. 4. Ficus. 5. Lemfocta. 6. Perdices. 7. Tubusuptus. 8. Tucça. 9. Lesuita. 10. Flumen Piscis. 11. Privatum. 12. Gegita. 13. Satafa. 14. Cellæ. 15. Gadamusa. 16. Zabi. 17. Assafa. 18. Vamallā. 19. Surista. 20. Saldæ. 21. Horrea. 22. Aquæ Albæ. 23. Igilgili, al. Eguilguili. 24. Zarai. 25. Parthenium. 26. Marovana. 27. Cidamus. 28. Macri. 29. Tamagrīsta. 30. Aræ. 31. Mozota, al. Mopta. 32. Hip̄pa. 33. Tamascania. 34. Vescetra. 35. Asuoremita. 36. Ser̄teita. 37. Melicbuza. 38. Covium. 39. Oliva. 40. Equizotum. 41. Castellum. 42. Eminentiana. 43. Nobalicia. 44. Lemelefi, al. Lemellense Castellum. 45. Socia. 46. Zalata. Holstenius adds three more,—Zabunia, or Medianæ Zabuniorum, Vamaccora, or Bamaccora, and Macriana; but rejects Satafa, as belonging rather to Cæsariensis, where it is also repeated.

In Mauritania Cæsariensis, and Tingitana (p. 111).

1. Cæsarea. 2. Ala Miliarensis. 3. Bilita. 4. Bacanaria. 5. Caput Cillanum, al. Caput Cellæ. 6. Cissæ. 7. Castellum Medianum. 8. Gurgites. 9. Columnæ. 10. Icosium. 11. Florianum. 12. Minna. 13. Obba. 14. Maturbum. 15. Reperitanum. 16. Rusubicari. 17. Suffara, al. Suffasar. 18. Rustonium. 19. Tigris. 20. Aquæ. 21. Tabora. 22. Mammilla. 23. Sumula, al. Subbula. 24. Ubaba. 25. Tadama. 26. Zuchabari. 27. Tipasa. 28. Ida. 29. Timisi. 30. Tasacora. 31. Vagal. 32. Cartenna. 33. Gratianopolis. 34. Masucaba. 35. Pamaria. 36. Lapidia. 37. Bulturia. 38. Malliana. 39. Castellum Tetraportense. 40. Bapara. 41.

Tamazuca. 42. Quidium. 42. Serta. 44. Ita. 45. Girumons. 46. Panatoria. 47. Sucarda. 48. Fidoloma. 49. Novæ. 50. Usinada. 51. Flumenzerita. 52. Amaura. 53. Sestum. 54. Taranamusa. 55. Nasbinca. 56. Villanoba. 57. Vardimissa. 58. Catula. 59. Regium. 60. Vaudinum. 61. Capra. 62. Rusucurru. 63. Sfasteria. 64. Timida. 65. Tabla. 66. Rusgonia. 67. Leosita. 68. Oppidum Novum. 69. Aquisira. 70. Tigava. 71. Rusadir. 72. Castellum. 73. Mutecita. 74. Albula. 75. Bitā. 76. Mauriana. 77. Baliana. 78. Arsenaria. 79. Oborita. 80. Labdia. 81. Tenissa. 82. Catabita. 83. Herpis. 84. Voncaria. 85. Gypsaria. 86. Tamadempsis. 87. Vagæ. 88. Tabadcara. 89. Catra, vel Castra. 90. Elephantaria. 91. Garra. 92. Murconium. 93. Ida. 94. Thubunæ. 95. Oppinum. 96. Tuscamia. 97. Gunagita. 98. Maxita. 99. Satafa. 100. Vissalsa. 101. Adsinuada. 102. Castellum Ripense. 103. Numidio. 104. Tamuda. 105. Caltadria. 106. Subur. 107. Ambia. 108. Murustaga. 109. Fallaba. 110. Bida. 111. Manaccenseri. 112. Tifilta, al. Tisilta. 113. Castellum Minus. 114. Tigamibena. 115. Junca. 116. Corniculana. 117. Nobica. 118. Frontæ. 119. Castellum Jebaritanum. 120. Sereddeli. 121. Agna. 122. Macania. 123. Sitæ. 124. Altaba. 125. Benepota. 126. Castra Seberiana. 127. Siccesi. 128. Flenucletu. 129. Metagonium. 130. Voncariana. 131. Maiuca. 132. Nabala. 133. Maura. 134. Tingaria. But Holstenius observes seven of these to be supernumerary; for Zuchabar and Subur are but two names for the same city. So Rustonium and Rusgonia differ only in the manner of pronunciation. Timida belongs to the Proconsular Afric; and Labdia is the same as Lapda in the said province. Herpis is put for Irpiniana in Byzacena; Metagonium for Mutugenna in Numidia; and Macania for Macriana in Byzacena.

In Tripolis (p. 117).

1. Leptis Magna. 2. Sabrata. 3. Girba. 4. Oea. 5. Tacape (or *a*, or *æ*).

Beside these sees, which are thus assigned to their respective provinces, Carolus a Sancto Paulo (p. 118) exhibits an

alphabetical list of several others which he could not certainly fix in any province. But Holstenius, in his critical remarks upon them, observes, that a great many of these are only corruptions of the forementioned names; and, therefore, I shall here give them with his corrections, and some additions that he has made to them from his own observations:—

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| 1. Aurusuliana. | 22. Botriana. |
| 2. Advocata. | 23. Bamacora, the same with
Vamacora in Maurita-
nia Sitifensis. |
| 3. Asenemsala, which Hol-
stenius takes to be the
same with Senemsala
in Africa Proconsu-
laris. | 24. Burugia. |
| 4. Ausugabra. | 25. Bauzara. |
| 5. Acemerina. | 26. Bofeta, the same with
Buffada in Numidia. |
| 6. Ambura; the same with
Amphora in Numidia. | 27. Bazarididaca. |
| 7. Abbeza. | 28. Bosuta. |
| 8. Azuga, a mistake for
Vaga. | 29. Bencenna. |
| 9. Anguia. | 30. Bartinifia. |
| 10. Abissa. | 31. Betagbara. |
| 11. Apissana. | 32. Bucara, the same with
Boncara in Maurita-
nia. |
| 12. Assaba. | 33. Buslacena. |
| 13. Aptuca, a city in Africa
Proconsularis. | 34. Bagai, the same with
Vagada, or Vaiana in
Numidia. |
| 14. Amaccura, leg. Ab Ac-
cura. | 35. Badi. Holstenius adds
three more. |
| 15. Aquitana. | 36. Bladia. |
| 16. Ausuagiga. | 37. Burita. |
| 17. Abbir, the same with
Abbarita in Africa. | 38. Buronita. |
| 18. Aniusa, added by Hol-
stenius. | 39. Castrum Galbæ. |
| 19. Arena, idem. | 40. Cedias. |
| 20. Bellulita. | 41. Chullabi. |
| 21. Bazita. | 42. Cibaliana. |
| | 43. Casæ Silvanæ. |
| | 44. Cemerinianu. |

45. Clia, a corruption of Elia or Helia in Byzacena.
46. Cathaugura.
47. Cena.
48. Caviopitavora.
49. Cincarita.
50. Catagna, the same with Cataquensa in Numidia.
51. Celerina.
52. Cenesta, the same with Tevesta in Numidia.
53. Casæ Bastalenses.
54. Casæ Favenses.
55. Cilibia.
56. Cebarsussa. To these Holstenius adds—
57. Cancopita.
58. Ceramussa.
59. Cæsariana.
60. Dydarita.
61. Drusiliana, a city of Numidia, twelve miles from Lares.
62. Drusita.
63. Drua.
64. Dusa.
65. Diaba, the same with Zaba in Mauritania Sitifensis.
66. Evera, the same with Vera, or Veri in Africa Proconsularis.
67. Edistiana.
68. Ensis, the same with Oea in Tripoli.
69. Feradi Major, the same with Feradimaia in Byzacena.
70. Furvi, the same with Furni, in Africa Proconsularis.
71. Fissana, perhaps Fus-sala in Numidia.
72. A Furnis, the same with Furni.
73. Feliciana, added by Holstenius.
74. Gitti. Municipium Antonino.
75. Gazabeta.
76. Gazabiana. To which Holstenius adds—
77. Ginesita.
78. Givirta, or Girbis.
79. Guira, if it be not the same with Gira in Numidia mentioned before.
80. Haba.
81. Hospitia, the same with Ospitum in Numidia.
82. Horrea Avicinensis.
83. Haram Celtena, the same as Horrea Celia in Byzacena.
84. Iziriana.
85. Jucundiana.
86. Idura. Holstenius adds two more.
87. Jacubaza.
88. Infita.

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| <p>89. Limata.</p> <p>90. Larita.</p> <p>91. Lambia, the same with Lambesa in Numidia.</p> <p>92. Lucimagna.</p> <p>93. Lelalita.</p> <p>94. Liberalia.</p> <p>95. Lacus Dulcis.</p> <p>96. Luperciana, mentioned in the Council under Cyprian, which Bishop Fell thinks is the same with Lupertina in the Collation of Carthage.</p> <p>97. Magarmela, the same with Vagarmela in Numidia.</p> <p>98. Medefessita, the same as Menefessa in Byzacena.</p> <p>99. Mesarfelta.</p> <p>100. Merferobita.</p> <p>101. Munavilita.</p> <p>102. Musertita.</p> <p>103. Mopta, a city of Mauritania Sitifensis. Holstenius adds to these two more.</p> <p>104. Munaciana, and</p> <p>105. Marcelliana and Bazita, whereof one Lucidus is named bishop in the Collation of Carthage.</p> <p>106. Niciba.</p> | <p>107. Nignenses Majores, the same as Nigrenses, or Vicus Nigras in Numidia.</p> <p>108. Nurcona, the same with Murconium in Mauritania Cæsariensis.</p> <p>109. Nasaita.</p> <p>110. Nova Petra.</p> <p>111. Nebbita.</p> <p>112. Nizugubita.</p> <p>113. Novasumma, the same with Nobasina in Numidia.</p> <p>114. Onza.</p> <p>115. Oria.</p> <p>116. Putzia.</p> <p>117. Pauzera.</p> <p>118. Pista. To which Holstenius adds three others.</p> <p>119. Pisita.</p> <p>120. Pisidia, a city of Tripolis.</p> <p>121. Pertusa, a city in Antonine's Itinerary near Carthage.</p> <p>122. Refala, the same as Cephalia in Africa Proconsularis.</p> <p>123. Sinuara, named before in Africa Proconsularis.</p> <p>124. Serteita, named before in Cæsarea Sitifensis.</p> |
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| <p>125. Selemsila, named above,
in Africa.</p> <p>126. Summa, Zuma in Nu-
midia.</p> <p>127. Sena.</p> <p>128. Saya.</p> <p>129. Simungita, Simingita,
or Simina, in Africa.</p> <p>130. Sinnipsa.</p> <p>131. Suboabbirita, the same
as Zuchabari in Mau-
ritania.</p> <p>132. Simidica, a city of Af-
rica Proconsularis.</p> <p>133. Siguita, the same as
Sugita in Numidia.</p> <p>134. Signi.</p> <p>135. Sibida. Holstenius adds
two more.</p> <p>136. Saturnica.</p> <p>137. Salicina.</p> <p>138. Tibuzabete.</p> <p>139. Turuda.</p> <p>140. Tunugaba.</p> <p>141. Tignica.</p> <p>142. Tabaicaira, the same as
Tabadcara, in Mauri-
tania Cæsariensis.</p> <p>143. Taprura, Taphrura,
near the isle of Cer-
cina in Byzacena.</p> <p>144. Turris Alba.</p> <p>145. Tala.</p> <p>146. Tubursus, Tubursica in
Numidia.</p> <p>147. Tzella, the same as
Zella in Byzacena.</p> <p>148. Tibazabula.</p> | <p>149. Tabazaga.</p> <p>150. Truvascanina.</p> <p>151. Tuzumma, the same as
Zumma in Numidia.</p> <p>152. Tunusuda.</p> <p>153. Tesaniana.</p> <p>154. Tusdrus, the same as
Tysdros in Byzacena.</p> <p>155. Tuzurita, a city of Mau-
ritania Cæsariensis.</p> <p>156. Tisedita.</p> <p>157. Thybæ. Holstenius
adds eight more.</p> <p>158. Tibari.</p> <p>159. Talabrica.</p> <p>160. Tubia.</p> <p>161. Timitica.</p> <p>162. Tisilita.</p> <p>163. Thasbalte.</p> <p>164. Turuda.</p> <p>165. Turuzi.</p> <p>166. Vamaius, Uci Majus,
in Africa Proconsul-
aris.</p> <p>167. Vinariona.</p> <p>168. Urugita.</p> <p>169. Vartana.</p> <p>170. Visa.</p> <p>171. Vaturba.</p> <p>172. Verrono.</p> <p>173. Vensana.</p> <p>174. Voseta, al. Visica, a
city of Mauritania.</p> <p>175. Vinda.</p> <p>176. Vuazia.</p> <p>177. Utumma.</p> <p>178. Victoriana, named be-
fore in Byzacena.</p> |
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179. Vicus Cæsaris. Holstenius adds five more.
180. Vallita, al. Ullita.
181. Vina, the same as Vica, or Vina Vicus, in Africa.
182. Undesia.
183. Uzittara.
184. Utinuna, al. Ucimina in Africa.

185. Zura.
186. Zella, named before in Byzacena.
187. Zelta. Holstenius thinks it should be Zerta in Numidia.
188. Zica.
189. Zabunia, the same as Medianæ Zabuniorum, a place near Sitifi in Mauritania.

Holstenius adds one more, called Zenita or Zemta in the Collation of Carthage, from whence the greatest part of the forementioned names are taken. But the reader must not imagine, that so many bishoprics as have been specified in all the six African provinces, and among these of uncertain position, were all extant at one and the same time; for there never was quite five hundred at one time in Afric, as has been shown before from St. Austin, and the *Notitia* published by Sirmondus; and yet here are above six hundred and eighty recounted by Carolus a Sancto Paulo and Holstenius, after sixty are rejected, which are named twice over. So that from first to last there was a change of almost two hundred dioceses in Afric, or at least a change in their names; which I note, lest any should think there were more dioceses than St. Austin mentions.

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[In spelling the names of Provinces and Episcopal Sees, which occur in the ensuing Index, the authority of *Baudrand* has been followed.]

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BOOK X.

OF THE INSTITUTION OF THE CATECHUMENS, AND THE
FIRST USE OF THE CREEDS OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE SEVERAL NAMES OF CATECHUMENS, AND THE SOLEMNITY THAT WAS USED IN ADMITTING THEM TO THAT STATE IN THE CHURCH; ALSO OF CATECHISING, AND THE TIME OF THEIR CONTINUANCE IN THAT EXERCISE.

SECT. I.—*The Reason of the Names, Κατηχούμενοι, Novitiosi, Tirones, &c.*

HAVING hitherto discoursed of the several orders of men which made up the great body of the Christian Church, and of churches themselves, or places of worship, and of the several districts into which the body diffusive was divided; I come now to consider the service of the Church, or its public offices and exercises, by which men were disciplined and trained up to the kingdom of heaven. And to speak of these in their most natural order, it will be necessary to begin with the institution of the catechumens, who were the lowest order of men that had any title to the common name of Christians, and their instruction was the first part of the Church's service. Some things relating to these have been already touched upon, in speaking of the difference between them and the πιστοὶ, or 'perfect Christians,' in the first Book^a. The office of the catechist has also been considered in speaking of the inferior orders^b of the clergy; and the places of instruction, or catechetic schools, have been treated of in the account^c that has been given of the ancient churches. So that,

^a Book i. chap. iv. sect v.

^b Book iii. chap. x.

^c Book viii. chap. vii. sect. xii.

omitting these things, I shall only speak, in this place, of such rites and customs as were observed in the practice of the Church in training up the catechumens, and preparing them for baptism; premising something concerning the several names that were given them. They were called catechumens from the Greek words *κατηχέω* and *κατήχησις*, which signify in general the instruction that is given in the first elements or rudiments of any art or science; but, in a more restrained ecclesiastical sense, the instruction of men in the first principles of the Christian religion. Hence, they had also the name of *novitioli, et tirones Dei*, 'new soldiers of God,' as we find in Tertullian^d and St. Austin^e; because they were just entering upon that state which made them soldiers of God, and candidates of eternal life. They are sometimes also called *audientes*, 'hearers,' from their instruction; though that name more commonly denotes one particular sort of them—such as were allowed to hear sermons only, but not to partake in any of the prayers of the Church; of which more hereafter, in the following chapter.

SECT. II.—*Imposition of Hands used in the first Admission of Catechumens.*

I have already observed in another place^f, that the catechumens, by virtue of their admission into that state, had some title to the common name of Christians also; being a degree higher than either heathens or heretics, though not yet consummated by the waters of baptism; and, upon this account, they were admitted to this state, not without some ceremony, and solemnity of imposition of hands, and prayer; which appears evidently from what^g Sulpicius Severus says of St.

^d Tertull. de Pœnitent. c. vi. (Rigalt. 1641. p. 143. C.) Quidquid mediocritas nostra ad pœnitentiam semel capessendam et perpetuo continendam suggerere conata est, omnes quidem deditos Domino spectat, ut omnis salutis in promerendo Deo petitores; sed præcipue novitiolis istis imminet, qui, quum maxime incipiunt divinis sermonibus aures rigare, quique catuli infantiae adhuc recentis, nec perfectis luminibus incerta reptant, etc.

^e Augustin. de Symb. Fid. ad Catechum. lib. ii. c. i. (Bened. vol. vi. p. 556. D.) Optimi jam tirones Dei, fortes milites Christi, dum arma sacramentorum suscipitis, pugnam adversus diabolum indicitis, etc.

^f Book i. chap. iii. sect. iii.

^g Sulpic. Sever. Vit. Martin. dialog. ii. c. iv. (Lips. 1709. p. 453.) Cuncti

Martin, "that passing through a town where they were all Gentiles, and preaching Christ unto them, and working some miracles, the whole multitude professed to believe in Christ, and desired him to make them Christians: upon which, he immediately, as he was in the field, laid his hands upon them, and made them catechumens; saying to those that were about him, that it was not unreasonable to make catechumens in the open field, where martyrs were used to be consecrated unto God." Where we may observe, that to make Christians, and to make catechumens, is the same thing; and that this was done by imposition of hands and prayer. Which observation will help us to the right understanding of some obscure canons, and difficult passages, in ancient writers, which many learned men have mistaken. In the first Council of Arles^h, there is a canon which orders imposition of hands to be given to such Gentiles as, in the time of sickness, express an inclination to receive the Christian faith. And in the Council of Eliberisⁱ there is another canon to the same purpose, which says, "that if any Gentiles, who have led a tolerable moral life, desire imposition of hands, they should have it allowed them, and be made Christians." Now the question is, what is here meant by imposition of hands, and being made Christians? Mendoza^j and Vossius^k take it for imposition of hands in baptism; and

catervatim ad genua b. viri ruere cœperunt, fideliter postulantes, ut eos faceret Christianos. Nec cunctatus, in medio ut erat campo, cunctos, imposita universis manu, catechumenos fecit; cum quidem ad nos conversus diceret, non irrationabiliter in campo catechumenos fieri, ubi solerent martyres consecrari.

^h Conc. Arelat. I. can. vi. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1427.) De his, qui in infirmitate credere volunt, placuit eis debere manum imponi.

ⁱ Conc. Illiber. c. xxxix. (Ibid. p. 975.) Gentiles, si in infirmitate desideraverint sibi manum imponi; si fuerit eorum ex aliqua parte vita honesta, placuit eis manum imponi, et fieri Christianos.

^j Mendoz. Not. in Conc. Illiber. c. xxxix. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1252. D 14.) In favorem Gentilium editus hic canon est, ut videlicet non exspectetur tempus baptismi recipiendo præscriptum, si forte illi morbi necessitate adstringantur; ut si casu ante lucis usura priventur, præteritorum delictorum culpa et poena remissa, ad æterna possint conscendere tabernacula.

^k Voss. de Baptism. disput. xii. thes. v. p. 164. Quamquam baptismi in eo (can. xxxix.) aperte mentio non fiat, tamen, uti ad eum observat Ferdinandus Mendoza, ex eo, quod de impositione manus dicitur, baptismus simul intelligitur; quum hæc baptismum consequatur.

Albaspiny¹, for imposition of hands in confirmation. But the true sense is no more than this imposition of hands used in making catechumens, which in some sort gave Gentile converts an immediate title to be called Christians: and so I find Valesius^m, and Basnageⁿ, and Cotelerius^o, understand it. And this must be the meaning of that passage in Eusebius^p, where, speaking of Constantine's prayers in the church of Helenopolis, a little before his death, he says, "It was the same church where he had first been admitted to imposition of hands, and prayer:" that is, had been made a catechumen with those ceremonies. For no other imposition of hands can here be meant, since it is now agreed, on all hands, that Con-

¹ Albaspin. Not. in Conc. Illiber. c. xxxix. (tom. i. Conc. p. 299.) Gentilibus, qui in mortis discrimine baptizati essent, manus ab episcopis imponendæ, et confirmationis sacramento signandi, si probi fuerint, moresque consimiles fidei Christianæ habuerint. Nam si ex more turpissimorum hominum anteactam vitam duxerint, non sunt confirmatione perficiendi, quantumvis omnibus vitiis et flagitiis carerent, et omnem extra noxam censerentur. Hunc ego sensum et explicationem confido patres ipsos Eliberitanos agnituros pro legitima et pro nata; contra vero quam de baptismo nonnulli adserunt, tamquam supposititiam repudiaturos, si utramque aspiciunt. Quis umquam docuit baptismum iis in morte denegandum esse, quorum vita non fuisset honesta? Porro ubinam reperient baptismum 'manus impositionem' nominari, et isto nomine a patribus appellari?

^m Vales. Not. in Euseb. de Vita Constant. lib. iv. c. lxi. (Cantab. p. 661.) Ait Eusebius, Constantinum Imperatorem tunc primum manuum impositionem cum solemni precatione in Ecclesia suscepisse: id est, uno verbo, tunc primum factum esse catechumenum. Nam catechumeni per manus impositionem fiebant ab episcopo, ut docet can. vi. Conc. Arelat. . . . Idem sancitum est c. xxxix. Conc. Eliberitani. 'Gentiles,' etc. . . . Qui quidem canon Eliberitanus ut id obiter moneam, nihil aliud esse videtur, quam expositio canonis Arelatensis.

ⁿ Basnag. Critic. in Baron. an. 44. (Ultraj. 1692, p. 482.) Plurimæ χειροθεσίας species fuere: sed illa, qua Constantinus in templo Helenopolitano donatus est, ad solam catechumenorum manus impositionem revocari potest, non ad curatoriam: Imperator tum non ægrotabat: non ad confirmatoriam; nondum regenerationis lavacrum consequutus fuerat: non ad reconciliatoriam; inter poenitentes non agebat. Ergo ad catechumenorum impositionem pertinuerit necesse est.

^o Coteler. Not. in Constitut. Apost. lib. vii. c. xxxix. (Antverp. 1698, vol. i. p. 378.) Manus imponebant Catechumenis, quando eos faciebant catechumenos. . . . Ac si mecum sentire vis, hunc ritum intellige expressum in Conciliis Arelatensi et Eliberitano, ubi frustra digladiantur interpretes, alii accipientes de baptismo, alii de confirmatione.

^p Euseb. de Vit. Constant. lib. iv. c. lxi. (Aug. T. 1747, p. 598. B 5.) Ἐνθα δὴ καὶ πρῶτον τῶν διὰ χειροθεσίαν εὐχῶν ἤξιοῦτο.

stantine was not baptized till he had left Helenopolis, and was come to Nicomedia, a little before his death. By this, also, we may understand the meaning of those canons of the first General Council of Constantinople^q, and the Council of Trullo^r, where, speaking of the reception of such heretics as the Eunomians, and Montanists, and Sabellians, who had not been truly baptized, they say, “they should be received only as heathens, viz. the first day be made Christians, the second day catechumens, the third day be exorcised, then instructed for a considerable time in the Church, and at last baptized.” Here being made Christians, evidently signifies no more than their being admitted to the lowest degree of catechumens, by imposition of hands, and prayer; after which came many intermediate ceremonies of exorcising, catechising, &c. before they were made complete Christians by baptism. So that, as Theodosius observes^s in one of his laws, there were two sorts of men that went by the name of Christians, one called *Christiani ac fideles*, ‘Christians and believers,’ and the other *Christiani et catechumeni tantum*, ‘Christians and catechumens only;’ the former whereof were made so by baptism, and the other by imposition of hands and prayer; which was a ceremony used in most of the offices of religion,—in baptism, confirmation, ordination, reconciling of penitents, consecration of virgins, curing the sick; and as we have now seen, particularly in the first admission of new converts to the state of catechumens.

SECT. III.—*And Consignation with the Sign of the Cross.*

Here, also, as in most other offices of the Church, they

^q Conc. Constantin. I. c. vii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 951. C 8.) ‘Ὡς Ἕλληνας δεχόμεθα· καὶ τὴν πρώτην ἡμέραν ποιοῦμεν αὐτοὺς Χριστιανούς, τὴν δὲ δευτέραν κατηχουμένους· εἶτα τὴν τρίτην ἐξορκίζομεν αὐτούς . . . καὶ οὕτως κατηχοῦμεν αὐτοὺς, καὶ ποιοῦμεν αὐτοὺς χρονίζειν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν· καὶ τότε αὐτοὺς βαπτίζομεν.

^r Conc. Trullan. c. xcv. (tom. vi. Conc. p. 1182.) ubi eadem verba leguntur.

^s Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. vii. de Apostat. leg. ii. Christianis ac fidelibus, qui ad paganos ritus cultusque migrarunt, omnem in quacumque personam testamenti condendi interdiciamus potestatem, ut sint absque jure Romano. His vero, qui Christiani et catechumeni tantum, venerabili religione neglecta, ad aras et templa transierant, si filios vel fratres germanos habebunt, hoc est, suam aut legitimam successionem; testandi arbitrato proprio in quaslibet alias personas jus adimatur.

used the sign of the cross. St. Austin joins all these ceremonies together, when he says, that “catechumens^t were in some sort sanctified by the sign of Christ, and imposition of hands, and prayers;” meaning that these ceremonies were used as indications of their forsaking the Gentile state, and becoming retainers to the Christian Church. The same rite is mentioned also by St. Austin in his Confessions^u, as used upon himself during his being a catechumen; but whether he means there his first admission, or his continuance in that state, is not certain. But in the Life of Porphyrius, bishop of Gaza, written by his disciple Marcus, it is more plainly expressed; for that author, speaking of some new converts, says, “They fell down at the bishop’s feet, and desired the sign of Christ; upon which, he signed them with the sign^v of the cross, and made them catechumens; commanding them to attend the Church. And so, in a short time after, having first instructed them in the catechism, he baptized them.

SECT. IV.—*At what Age Persons were admitted to be Catechumens.*

The circumstance of time here mentioned may lead us, in the next place, to inquire, at what age persons were admitted catechumens? And how long they continued in that state before they were baptized? The question concerns only heathen converts; for, as for the children of believing parents, it is certain, that as they were baptized in infancy, so they were admitted catechumens as soon as they were capable of learning. But the question is more difficult about heathens. Yet I find in one of the resolutions of Timothy, bishop of

^t Aug. de Peccator. Meritis, lib. ii. c. xxvi. (Benedict. vol. x. p. 62. E 7.) Catechumenos secundum quendam modum suum, per signum Christi, et orationem, manus impositione puto sanctificari.

^u Aug. Confess. lib. i. c. xi. (vol. i. p. 75.) Audieram ego adhuc puer de vita æterna, nobis promissa per humilitatem Domini Dei nostri, descendentis ad superbiam nostram; et signabar jam signo crucis ejus, et condiebar ejus sale, jam inde ab utero matris meæ, quæ multum speravit in te.

^v Marc. Vit. Porphyrii apud Baron. ad an. 401. Prociderunt ad ejus (episcopi) pedes, petentes Christi signaculum. Beatus vero quum eos signasset, et fecisset catechumenos, dimisit illos in pace, præcipiens eis, ut vacarent sanctæ ecclesiæ. Et paullo post, quum eos catechesi instituisset, baptizavit.

Alexandria, that children, before they were seven years old, might be catechumens. For he puts the question thus: Suppose a child of seven years old^w, or a man that is a catechumen, be present at the oblation, and eat of the eucharist, what shall be done in this case? And the answer is, Let him be baptized.—By which it is plain he speaks of heathen children, and not of Christians, who received not only baptism, but the eucharist, in their infancy, by the rule and custom of the Church then prevailing: as will be showed in their proper place.

SECT. V.—*How long they continued in that State.*

As to the other point, how long they were to continue catechumens, there was no certain general rule fixed about that; but the practice varied according to the difference of times and places, or the readiness and proficiency of the catechumens themselves. In the apostolical age, and the first plantation of the Church, we never read of any long interval between men's first conversion and their baptism. The history of Cornelius, and the Ethiopian eunuch, and Lydia, and the jailor of Philippi, in the Acts of the Apostles, to mention no more, are sufficient evidence, that in those days catechising and baptism immediately accompanied one another. And there were good reasons for it: the infant state of the Church and the zeal of the converts both required it. But, in after ages, the Church found it necessary to lengthen this term of probation, lest an over-hasty admission of persons to baptism should either fill the Church with vicious men, or make greater numbers of renegadoes and apostates in time of persecution. For this reason, the Council of Eliberis^x appointed two years' trial for new converts; that if in that time they appeared to

^w Timoth. Alexandr. Respon. Can. quæst. i. (Bever. Pandect. tom. ii. p. 165. Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1792.) 'Εάν παιδίον κατηχούμενον, ὡς ἐτῶν ἐπτὰ, ἢ ἄνθρωπος τέλειος εὐκαιρήσῃ πον προσφορᾷς γινομένης, καὶ ἀγνοῶν μεταλάβῃ, τί ὀφείλει γίνεσθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ; 'Απόκρισις· φωτισθῆναι ὀφείλει· παρὰ Θεοῦ γὰρ κέκληται.

^x Conc. Illiber. c. xlii. Eos, qui ad fidem primam credulitatis accedunt, si bonæ fuerint conversationis, intra biennium placuit ad baptismi gratiam admitti.

be men of a good conversation, they might then be allowed the favour of baptism. Justinian, in one of his Novels^y, appointed the same term for Samaritans, because it was found, by experience, that they were wont frequently to relapse to their old religion again. The Apostolical Constitutions^z lengthen the term to three years, but with this limitation, that if men were very diligent and zealous, they might be admitted sooner; because it was not length of time, but men's conversation and behaviour, that was to be regarded in this case. The Council of Agde (an. 506) reduced the time for Jewish converts^a to eight months, giving the same reason why they made the time of probation so long, because they are often found to be perfidious, and returned to their own vomit again. In other places, the time is thought by some to be limited to the forty days of Lent; for so some learned men conjecture from a passage or two in St. Jerome, and Cyril's Catechetical Discourses. St. Jerome^b says, it was customary, in his time, to spend forty days in teaching catechumens the doctrine of the Blessed Trinity. And St. Cyril seems to imply as much when he asks the catechumens, Why they should not think it reasonable^c to spend forty days upon their souls, who had spent so many years upon their own vanities and the world? The time of Lent is not expressly mentioned in either place, but it seems to be intended; because, in those ages, Easter was

^y Justin. Novel. cxliv. Φαμέν δὴ τοὺς μὲν μετὰ χρηστῆς διδασκαλίας ὄλους αἰσθανομένους, ἐπὶ ἐνιαυτοὺς δύο κατηχεῖσθαι, μανθάνειν τε τὰς γραφὰς κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν, καὶ τότε προσφέρεσθαι τῷ τῆς ἀπολυτρώσεως βαπτίσματι, τῇ μετανοίᾳ τοῦ τοσούτου χρόνου καρπουμένους τὴν ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀπολύτρωσιν.

^z Constit. Apostol. lib. viii. c. xxxii. (Conc. vol. i. p. 498. B 8.) Ὁ μέλλων κατηχεῖσθαι, τρία ἔτη κατηχεῖσθω· εἰ δὲ σπουδαῖός τις ᾖ, καὶ εὐνοίαν ἔχει περὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα, προσδεχέσθω· ὅτι οὐχ ὁ χρόνος, ἀλλ' ὁ τρόπος κρίνεται.

^a Conc. Agath. c. xxxiv. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1389.) Judæi, quorum perfidia frequenter ad vomitum redit, si ad legem Catholicam venire voluerint, octo mensibus inter catechumenos ecclesiæ limen introeant: et si pura fide venire noscuntur, tum demum baptismatis gratiam mereantur.

^b Hieron. Epist. lxi. ad Pammach. c. iv. (Bened. vol. iv. p. 313, at bottom.) Consuetudo apud nos istiusmodi est, ut his qui baptizandi sunt, per quadraginta dies publice tradamus sanctam et adorandam Trinitatem.

^c Cyrill. Catech. I. (Paris. 1640. p. 4. B.) Τοσούτους κύκλους ἐνιαυτῶν διηλθες, περὶ τὸν κόσμον μάτην ἀσχολούμενος, καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας οὐ σχολάζεις τῇ προσευχῇ, διὰ τὴν σεαυτοῦ ψυχὴν;

the general time of baptizing over all the world. But I understand this only of the strict and concluding part of this exercise. In some cases, the term of catechising was reduced to a yet much shorter compass, as in case of extreme sickness, or the general conversion of whole nations. Socrates observes, that in the conversion of the Burgundians, the French bishop that converted them, only took seven days' time to catechise them^d, and on the eighth day baptized them. So, in case of desperate sickness, the catechumens were immediately baptized with clinic baptism, as appears from the forementioned Council of Agde; which, though it prescribes eight months' time for catechising of Jews, yet, in case of extreme danger^e, if their life was despaired of, allows them to be baptized at any time within the term prescribed. Cyril, of Alexandria^f, in one of his canonical epistles, gives the same orders concerning catechumens who had lapsed and were for their crimes expelled the Church; that, notwithstanding this, they should be baptized at the hour of death. St. Basil takes notice, that Arintheus, the Roman consul^g, being converted by his wife, and in danger of death, was immediately baptized. And there are infinite numbers of such examples to be met with in ecclesiastical history, to verify the general observation which Epiphanius^h makes upon the practice of the Church, that such catechumens, as were at the

^d Socrat. lib. vii. c. xxx. (Cantab. p. 379.) Γενόμενοι τε ἐν πόλει μὲν τῆς Γαλλίας, παρακαλοῦσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τυχεῖν Χριστιανικοῦ βαπτίσματος· ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας παρασκευάσας νηστεῦσαι αὐτοὺς, καὶ τὴν πίστιν κατηχήσας αὐτοὺς, τῇ ὁγδόῃ ἡμέρᾳ βαπτίσας ἀπέλυσε.

^e Conc. Agath. c. xxxiv. Quod si casu aliquo periculum infirmitatis intra præscriptum tempus incurrerint, et desperati fuerint, baptizentur.

^f Cyril. Epist. Canon. ad Episc. Libyæ et Pentapol. (apud Bever. Pand. tom. ii. p. 178. D.) Ἐὰν δὲ χωρισμὸν ὑπομείνωσί τινες, ἐπιτιμηθέντες πταισμάτων ἕνεκα, εἴτα μέλλωσι τελευτᾶν, κατηχούμενοι ὄντες, βαπτιζέσθωσαν.

^g Basil. Epist. clxxxvi. ad Conjug. Arinth. Præt. (Bened. fol. vol. iii. p. 416.) Πρὸς αὐταῖς ταῖς ἐξόδοις τοῦ βίου, τῷ λουτρῷ τῆς παλιγγενεσίας ἀποκαθῆρσθαι ὧν αὐτὴ πρόξενος αὐτῷ καὶ συνεργὸς γενομένη, μεγίστην ἔχει παραμυθίαν.

^h Epiphan. Hæres. xxviii. Cerinthian. n. vi. (vol. i. p. 114. C.) Καλῶς δὲ ἄλλοι τὸ ῥητὸν ἐρμηνεύοντες, φασίν, ὅτι οἱ μέλλοντες τελευτᾶν, εἰ ὥσι κατηχούμενοι, ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ ἐλπίδι, πρὸ τῆς τελευτῆς λουτροῦ καταξιοῦνται, δεικνύντες ὅτι ὁ τελευτήσας καὶ ἀναστήσεται.

point to die, were always, in hopes of the resurrection, admitted to baptism before their death.

SECT. VI.—*The Substance of the ancient Catechisms, and Method of Instruction.*

But, excepting these cases, a longer time was generally thought necessary to discipline and train men up gradually for baptism; partly for the reason already mentioned, that some just experiment might be made of their conversation during that time; and partly to instruct them by degrees, first in the more common principles of religion, to wean them from their former errors, and then in the more recondite and mysterious articles of the Christian faith; upon which account they usually began their discourses with the doctrine of repentance, and remission of sins, and the necessity of good works, and the nature and use of baptism, by which the catechumens were taught how they were to renounce the devil and his works, and enter into a new covenant with God. Then followed the explication of the several articles of the Creed, to which some added the nature and immortality of the soul, and an account of the canonical books of Scripture, which is the substance and method of St. Cyril's eighteen famous discourses to the catechumens. The author of the Apostolical Constitutionsⁱ prescribes these several heads of instruction: "Let the catechumen be taught before baptism the knowledge of the Father unbegotten, the knowledge

ⁱ Constitut. Apostol. lib. vii. c. xl. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 444.) 'Ο μέλλων κατηχεῖσθαι τὸν λόγον τῆς εὐσεβείας, παιδευέσθω πρὸ τοῦ βαπτίσματος τὴν περὶ τοῦ Ἀγεννήτου γνῶσιν, τὴν περὶ Υἱοῦ μονογενοῦς ἐπίγνωσιν, τὴν περὶ τοῦ Ἀγίου Πνεύματος πληροφορίαν· μανθανέτω δημιουργίας διαφόρου τάξιν, προνοίας εἰρμὸν, νομοθεσίας διαφόρου δικαιοτήρια· παιδευέσθω διατὶ κόσμος γέγονε, καὶ δι' ὃ κοσμοπολίτης ὁ ἄνθρωπος κατέστη· ἐπιγινώσκέτω τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν ὅλα τις ὑπάρχει· παιδευέσθω ὅπως ὁ Θεὸς τοὺς πονηροὺς ἐκόλασεν, ὕδατι καὶ πυρὶ, τοὺς δ' ἁγίους ἐδόξασε καθ' ἐκάστην γενεάν· λέγω δὴ τὸν Σὴθ, τὸν Ἐνῶς, τὸν Ἐνῶχ, τὸν Νῶε, τὸν Ἀβραάμ, καὶ τοὺς ἐκγόνους αὐτοῦ· τὸν Μελχισεδέκ, καὶ τὸν Ἰὼβ, καὶ τὸν Μωσέα, Ἰησοῦν τε, καὶ Χαλεβ, καὶ Φινεὲς τὸν ἱερέα, καὶ τοὺς καθ' ἐκάστην γενεάν ὁσίους· ὅπως τε προνοούμενος οὐκ ἀπεστράφη ὁ Θεὸς τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος· ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ πλάνης καὶ ματαιότητος εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν ἀληθείας ἐκάλει κατὰ διαφόρους καιροὺς, ἀπὸ τῆς δουλείας καὶ ἀσεβείας, εἰς ἐλευθερίαν καὶ εὐλάβειαν ἐπανάγων, ἀπὸ ἀδικίας εἰς δικαιοσύνην, ἀπὸ θανάτου αἰωνίου εἰς ζωὴν αἰδίου.

of his only begotten Son, and Holy Spirit; let him learn the order of the world's creation, and series of Divine providence, and the different sorts of legislation; let him be taught, why the world, and man—the citizen of the world—were made; let him be instructed about his own nature, to understand for what end he himself was made; let him be informed how God punished the wicked with water and fire, and crowned his saints with glory in every generation, viz.—Seth, Enos, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, and his posterity, Melchisedeck, Job, Moses, Joshua, Caleb, and Phineas the priest, and the saints of every age; let him also be taught how the providence of God never forsook mankind, but called them at sundry times from error and vanity to the knowledge of the truth, reducing them from slavery and impiety to liberty and godliness, from iniquity to righteousness, and from everlasting death to eternal life. After these, he must learn the doctrine of Christ's incarnation, his passion, his resurrection, and assumption; and what it is to renounce the devil, and enter into covenant with Christ." These were the chief heads of the ancient catechisms before baptism; in which it is observable, there is no mention made of the doctrine of the eucharist, or confirmation, because these were not allowed to catechumens till after baptism; and the instruction upon the former points was not given all at once, but by certain degrees, as the discipline of the Church then required, which divided the catechumens into several distinct orders or classes, and exercised them gradually, according to the difference of their stations; of which I shall give a more particular account in the following chapter.

SECT. VII.—*The Catechumens allowed to read the Holy Scriptures.*

Here I shall only remark further, that they allowed them to read some portions of the Scripture; for the moral and historical books were thought most proper at first for their instruction; and the chief use of those which are now called apocryphal books, was then to instil moral precepts into the catechumens. Upon this account Athanasius^j says, "Though

^j Athan. Epist. Heortastic. (Colon. 1686. tom. ii. p. 39. D 9.) (tom. i. p. 963.

they were not canonical books, as the rest of the books of the Old and New Testament, yet they were such as were appointed to be read by those who were new proselytes, and desirous to be instructed in the ways of godliness : such were the Wisdom of Solomon, the Wisdom of Sirach, Esther, Judith, Tobit ; to which he also adds, the book called the Doctrine of the Apostles, and the Shepherd, that is *Hermas' Pastor*." The author^k of the Synopsis of the Holy Scripture, also, under the name of Athanasius, has much the same observation ; that " besides the canonical books, there were other books of the Old Testament, which were not in the canon, but only read to, or by, the catechumens." But this was not allowed in all Churches ; for it seems to have been otherwise in the Church of Jerusalem, at the time when Cyril^l wrote his catechetical discourses : for he forbids his catechumens to read all apocryphal books whatsoever, and charges them to read those books only which were securely read in the Church, viz. those books which the apostles and ancient bishops (who were wiser than the catechumens) had handed down to them. Then he specifies particularly the canonical books of the Old and New Testament, all the same as are now in our Bibles, except the Revelation, because I presume it was not then read in the Church : and at last concludes, with this charge to the catechumens, that they should not read any other books privately by themselves, which were not read publicly in the Church. From whence I conclude, that as the books, which we now call apocryphal, were not

A, edit. Paris. 1698.) "Εστιν καὶ ἕτερα βιβλία τούτων ἔξωθεν οὐ κανονιζόμενα μὲν, τετυπωμένα δὲ παρὰ τῶν πατέρων ἀναγινώσκεσθαι τοῖς ἄρτι προσερχομένοις, καὶ βουλομένοις κατηχεῖσθαι τὸν τῆς εὐσεβείας λόγον· Σοφία Σολομῶντος, καὶ Σοφία Σιράχ, καὶ Ἑσθήρ, καὶ Ἰουδῖθ, καὶ Τοβίας, καὶ διδαχὴ καλουμένη τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ ὁ ποιμήν.

^k Athan. Synops. Scriptur. tom. ii. p. 55. (p. 128, E. edit. cit.) Ἐκτὸς τούτων (τῶν κανονιζομένων) ἕτερα βιβλία τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης, οὐ κανονιζόμενα μὲν, ἀναγινωσκόμενα δὲ μόνον τοῖς κατηχουμένοις.

^l Cyril. Catech. iv. (Paris. 1640. p. 37. B 7.) Πρὸς τὰ ἀπόκρυφα μηδὲν ἔχε κοινόν· ταύτας μόνας μελέτα σπουδαίως, ἃς καὶ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ μετὰ παρρησίας ἀναγινώσκομεν· πολὺ σου φρονιμώτεροι ἦσαν οἱ ἀπόστολοι, καὶ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ἐπίσκοποι, οἱ τῆς ἐκκλησίας προστάται, οἱ ταύτας παραδόντες.— P. 38. B 3. "Ὅσα ἐν ἐκκλησίαις μὴ ἀναγινώσκεται, ταῦτα μηδὲ κατὰ στυγὸν ἀναγίνωσκε.

then read in the Church of Jerusalem, so neither were they allowed to be read by the catechumens, though they were read both publicly and privately in many other Churches. I know some learned persons are of a different opinion, and think that Cyril, by apocryphal books, means not those which we now call apocryphal, viz. Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, &c. but other pernicious and heretical books, which were absolutely reprobated and forbidden to all Christians. But if that had been his meaning, he would not have said, that the canonical books were the only books that were read in the Church of Jerusalem; but would have distinguished, as other writers in other churches do, between canonical, ecclesiastical, and apocryphal books; and have intimated, that the ecclesiastical books were such as were allowed to be read in the Church, as well as the canonical, for moral instruction, though not to confirm articles of faith. Whereas, he says nothing of this, but the express contrary, that none but the canonical books were read publicly in the Church, nor were any other to be read privately by the catechumens. Which, at least, must mean thus much, that in the Church of Jerusalem, there was a different custom from some other Churches: and that though in some Churches the catechumens were allowed to read both the canonical books and the apocryphal, or as others call them, the ecclesiastical,—yet in the Church of Jerusalem they were allowed to read only the canonical Scriptures, and no other. However, it is observable, that no Church anciently denied any order of Christians the use of the Holy Scriptures in the vulgar tongue: since even the catechumens themselves, who were but an imperfect sort of Christians, were exhorted and commanded to read the canonical books in all Churches, and the apocryphal books in some Churches for moral instruction. Nay, if we may believe Bede, they were obliged to get some of the Holy Scriptures by heart, as a part of their exercise and discipline, before they were baptized. For he commends it as a laudable custom in the ancient Church^m, that such as

^m Bed. de Tabernac. lib. ii. c. xiii. (Colon. Agr. 1688. vol. iv. p. 887.) Pulcher in ipsa ecclesia mos antiquitus inolevit, ut his qui catechizandi, et Christianis sunt sacramentis initiandi, quatuor evangeliorum principia recitentur, ac de figuris et ordine eorum, in apertione aurium suarum, solerter erudirentur: quo

were to be catechised and baptized, were taught the beginnings of the four Gospels, and the intent and order of them, at the time when the ceremony of opening their ears was solemnly used; that they might know and remember what and how many those books were, from whence they were to be instructed in the true faith.—So far were they from locking up the Scriptures from any order of men in an unknown tongue, that they thought them useful and instructive to the meanest capacities: according to that of the Psalmistⁿ,—"Thy word giveth light and understanding to the simple." And, therefore, they allowed them to be vulgarly read, not only by the more perfect and complete Christians, but even by the very catechumens; among whom, as St. Austin and others have observed, those were commonly the most tractable and the best proficient, who were the most conversant in the Holy Scriptures. For which reason they make it one part of the catechumens' care to exercise themselves in the knowledge of them; and did not then fear that men should turn heretics by being acquainted with the word of truth.

CHAPTER II.

OF THE SEVERAL CLASSES, OR DEGREES, OF CATECHUMENS,
AND THE GRADUAL EXERCISES AND DISCIPLINE OF EVERY
ORDER.

SECT. I.—*Four Orders, or Degrees, of Catechumens among the
Ancients.*

THAT there were different orders, or degrees, of catechumens in all such Churches as kept to the term of catechising for two or three years together, is acknowledged on all hands by learned men; but what was the precise number of these orders, is not so certainly agreed. The Greek expositors of the ancient canons usually make but two sorts, the ἀτελέστεροι and the τελειώτεροι, 'the imperfect and the perfect,' 'the be-

sciant exinde ac meminerint, qui et quot sint libri, quorum verbis maxime in fide veritatis debeant erudiri.

ⁿ Psalm cxix. 130.

ginners and the proficient,' who were the immediate candidates of baptism. So Balzamon ^a, and Zonaras ^b, and Alexius Aristenus ^c, and Blastares; and in this opinion they are followed by many modern writers. Dr. Cave ^d makes no other distinction but this of 'the perfect and imperfect;' and says of the imperfect, that they were as yet accounted heathens: which, for the reasons given in the foregoing chapter, I cannot subscribe to; for I have showed, that from the time that they received imposition of hands to make them catechumens, they were always both called and accounted Christians, though but in an imperfect state, till they were completed by baptism. Bishop Beveridge ^e makes but two sorts of catechumens like-

^a Balzam. Not. in Conc. Neocæs. c. v. (Bevereg. Pand. vol. i. p. 405.) Δύο τάξεις τῶν κατηχουμένων εἰσὶν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄρτι προσέρχονται, καὶ, ὡς ἀτελέστεροι, μετὰ τὴν ἀκρόασιν τῶν γραφῶν καὶ τῶν θείων εὐαγγελίων εὐθὺς ἐξίσαι· οἱ δὲ ἤδη προσῆλθον, καὶ γεγόνασι τελειώτεροι ὅθεν καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς κατηχουμένοις εὐχὴν ἀναμένοντες, τὸ γόνυ κλίνουσιν ἐν ταύτῃ.

^b Zonar. ibid. Δύο τάξεις ἦσαν τῶν κατηχουμένων τὸ παλαιόν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ πιστοὶ ὄντες, ὑπερτιθέμενοι δὲ τὸ βάπτισμα, μετὰ τῶν κατηχουμένων ἴσταντο· καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ κατηχουμένοις εὐχῆς λεγομένης, ἔκλινον τὸ γόνυ· ὅτε δὲ ἐξεφωνήθη τὸ, Οἱ κατηχούμενοι προέλθετε, τότε ἐξήρχοντο· οἱ δὲ ἄρτι προσελθόντες καὶ ἀτελέστεροι ὄντες, τῶν ἁγίων γραφῶν ἤκουον, καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἀπήεσαν.

^c Alex. Aristen. Not. in Conc. Neocæs. c. v. (Bevereg. vol. i. p. 406.) Δύο εἶδη κατηχουμένων εἰσὶν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄρτι προσέρχονται διὸ καὶ, ὡς ἀτελέστεροι, μετὰ τὴν ἀκρόασιν τῶν γραφῶν καὶ θείων εὐαγγελίων, εὐθὺς ἐξίσαι· οἱ δὲ πρὸ καιροῦ προσῆλθον, καὶ γεγόνασι τελειώτεροι. — Matth. Blastarius, (citante Suicero, tom. ii. p. 72.) Εἰς δύο τάξεις οἱ κατηχούμενοι πάλαι ἐτέθειντο.

^d Cave, Prim. Christ. lib. i. c. viii. (Lond. 1714. p. 135.) The first were the Catechumens; and of these there were two sorts, the τελειώτεροι, or 'more perfect:' such as had been catechumens of some considerable standing, and were even ripe for baptism: these might stay not only the reading of the Scriptures, but to the very last part of the first service. The others were the ἀτελέστεροι, 'the more rude and imperfect,' who stood only amongst the Hearers, and were to depart the congregation as soon as the Lessons were read. These were as yet accounted heathens who applied themselves to the Christian faith, and were catechised and instructed in the more plain grounds and rudiments of religion.

^e Bever. Not. in Conc. Nic. c. xiv. (p. 80.) Horum (catechumenorum) duo fuisse genera, ex hoc ipso canone demonstrari potest; alios nimirum ἀκροωμένους fuisse, alios εὐχομένους. Hic enim decernitur, ut si quis catechumenus lapsus sit, tribus ille annis sit inter ἀκροωμένους, Audientes; postea autem εὐχεται, oret cum catechumenis, nimirum orantibus; qui etiam γονυκλίνοντες, Genuflectentes, vocantur a Concilio Neocæsar. can. v.

wise, the ἀκροώμενοι, and the εὐχόμενοι, or γονυκλίνοντες: that is, ‘the hearers,’ who only stayed to hear the sermon and the Scriptures read; and ‘the kneelers, or substrators,’ who stayed to receive the minister’s prayers and benediction also. Suicerus^f and Basnage^g go much the same way, dividing them into two classes, the *audientes* and *competentes*. Maldonate^h adds to these a third class, which he calls *catechumeni penitentes*, such catechumens as were under the discipline and censures of the Church. Cardinal Bonaⁱ augments the number to four kinds, viz. the *audientes*, *genu-flectentes*, *competentes*, and *electi*. And, indeed, it appears, that there were four kinds of them, yet not exactly the same as Bona mentions: for the *competentes* and *electi* were but one and the same order. But there was another order antecedent to all these, which none of these writers mention, which we may call the ἐξωθούμενοι: that is, such catechumens as were instructed privately, and without doors, before they were allowed to enter the church.

^f Suicer. Thesaur. tom. ii. p. 72. Catechumenorum duo erant genera. Unum eorum, qui audiebant verbum Dei, et Christiani fieri volebant, sed baptismum nondum petierant; atque hi dicebantur Audientes, sive auditores. . . . Alterum eorum, qui jam pridem accesserant, et in fide recte instituti, baptismum petebant et præscripto tempore expectabant. Hi dicebantur συναϊτοῦντες, Competentes.

^g Basnag. Critic. in Baron. p. 484. Duo catechumenorum ordines exhibentur coram oculis, γονυκλινόντων et ἀκουόντων.

^h Maldonat. de Baptism. c. i. pp. 78, 79. Erant tres gradus catechuumenorum. Qui valde erant tirones, vocabantur a Græcis ἀκουόμενοι, et a Latinis Auditores sive Audientes. . . . Qui autem ita instituti jam erant, ut digni viderentur baptismi, vocabantur Competentes, quasi ambientes jam baptismum. . . . Alii erant, qui postquam cœperant catechisari, lapsi erant in peccatum aliquod publicum: quod censebatur esse summum nefas, et propterea relegabantur in numerum ‘pœnitentium’ Christianorum, et expectare debebant tres annos.

ⁱ Bona, Rer. Liturgic. lib. i. c. xvi. n. iv. (Antverp. 1667. p. 395.) Catechumenos in varias olim classes distinctos reperio. . . . In Latina ecclesia, omnes classes ad quatuor redactæ sunt, quæ et sermonibus in tractatibus Latinorum Patrum passim occurrunt. Quidam enim, ab infidelitate ad fidem converti desiderantes, audiebant in ecclesia verbum Dei, sed nondum petebant baptismum; et ii dicebantur Audientes. Alii, in fide recte instituti, baptismum petebant, et dicti sunt Competentes. Qui vero ex istis in albo baptizandorum descripti erant, Electi nuncupari solebant.

SECT. II.—*First, the Ἐξωθούμενοι, or Catechumens, instructed privately without the Church.*

That there was such an order, or degree, of catechumens as this, is evidently deduced from one of the canons of the Council of Neocæsarea, which speaks of several sorts of catechumens, and this among the rest, in these words:—“ If any catechumen who^k enters the church, and stands amongst any order of catechumens there, be found guilty of sin, if he be a kneeler, let him become a hearer, provided he sin no more; but if he sin while he is a hearer, let him be cast out of the church.” Here it seems pretty evident, that there was an order of catechumens not allowed to enter the church, to which such of the superior orders as had offended were to be degraded, by way of punishment, which the canon calls expulsion from the church; which does not mean utterly casting them off as heathens again, but only reducing them to that state in which they were before, when they first received imposition of hands to make them catechumens, which was a state of private instruction before they were allowed to enter the Church. Maldonate calls these ‘the order of penitents among the catechumens;’ and Balzamon and Zonaras, on this canon, style them ‘mourners,’ which expresses something of this order, but not the whole; for there were catechumens privately instructed out of the church, who were not properly mourners or penitents, as persons cast out of the Church by any censure; but they were such as never had yet been in the Church, but were kept at a distance for some time from that privilege, to make them the more eager and desirous of it; and till we can find a better name for these, I call them, from this canon, the Ἐξωθούμενοι; which is a general name, that will comprehend both this lowest order of catechumens, privately instructed out of the church; and also such delinquents of the superior orders as were reduced back again to it by way of punishment for their faults.

^k Conc. Neocæsar. c. v. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1481.) Κατηχούμενος ἂν εἰσερχόμενος εἰς κυριακὸν ἐν τῇ τῶν κατηχουμένων τάξει στήκη, οὗτος δὲ ἀμαρτάνων· ἂν μὲν γόνυ κλίνων, ἀκροάσθω μηκέτι ἀμαρτάνων· ἂν δὲ καὶ ἀκροώμενος ἔτι ἀμαρτάνῃ, ἐξωθείσθω.

SECT. III.—*Secondly, The Ἀκροώμενοι, Audientes, or
‘Hearers.’*

The next degree above these were the ‘hearers,’ which the Greeks call Ἀκροώμενοι, and the Latins *audientes*, who were so called from their being admitted to hear sermons and the Scriptures read in the church; but they were not allowed to stay any of the prayers, no, not so much as those that were made over the rest of the catechumens, or energumens, or penitents; but, before those began, immediately after sermon, at the word of command then solemnly used, *Ne quis audientium*, “Let none of the hearers be present,” they were to depart the church: as appears from the author of the Apostolical Constitutions¹, who orders the deacon to dismiss the hearers and unbelievers with that solemn form of words, before the liturgy or prayers of the Church began. Upon which account the Council of Nice^m calls them ἀκροωμένους μόνον, ‘hearers only,’ to distinguish them from such catechumens as might not only hear sermons, but also attend some particular prayers of the Church that were especially offered up for them, whilst they were kneeling upon their knees, and waiting for imposition of hands, and the minister’s benediction.

SECT. IV.—*Thirdly, The Γονυκλίνοντες, or Genuflectentes,
‘the Kneelers.’*

Hence arose a third sort of catechumens, which the Greeks call γονυκλίνοντες, and the Latins *genuflectentes et prostrati*; that is, ‘kneelers,’ or ‘prostrators.’ These sometimes have the name of catechumens more especially appropriated to them, as in the forementioned canon of the Council of Nice, which runs in these terms:—“It is decreed by the great and holy

¹ Constitut. Apostol. lib. viii. c. v. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 464. B.) Πληρώσαντος αὐτοῦ τὸν τῆς διδασκαλίας λόγον . . . ὁ διάκονος, ἐφ’ ὑψηλοῦ τινος ἀνελθὼν, κηρυττέτω, Μὴ τις τῶν ἀκροωμένων· μή τις τῶν ἀπίστων.

^m Conc. Nicæn. c. xiv. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 36.) Περὶ τῶν κατηχομένων καὶ παραπεσόντων, ἔδοξε τῇ ἁγίᾳ καὶ μεγάλῃ συνόδῳ, ὥστε τριῶν ἐτῶν αὐτοὺς ἀκροωμένους μόνον, μετὰ ταῦτα εὐχεσθαι μετὰ τῶν κατηχομένων.

synod, concerning the catechumens that have lapsed, that they for three years shall be hearers only; and after that, pray with the catechumens again." Hence that part of the liturgy which respected them, was particularly called *κατηχουμένων εὐχή*, 'the prayer of the catechumens,' which came immediately after the bishop's sermon, together with the prayers of the energumens and penitents, as we learn from the Council of Laodiceaⁿ, which orders the method of them; and the forms of these prayers are recited both in the Apostolical Constitutions^o and St. Chrysostom^p; which I do not here insert, because they will have a more proper place in the liturgy of the Church. Together with these prayers they always received imposition of hands, kneeling upon their knees: whence the Council of Neocæsarea^q, and others, distinguish them by the name of *γονυκλίνοντες*, 'the kneelers.' The prayer is called *oratio impositionis manûs*, 'the prayer of imposition of hands,' which was frequently repeated both in the public and private exercises of the catechumens.

SECT. V.—*Fourthly, The Competentes and Electi, the immediate Candidates of Baptism.*

Above these was a fourth order, which the Greeks call *βαπτιζόμενοι* and *φωτιζόμενοι*, and the Latins, *competentes* and *electi*; all which words are used among the ancients to denote the immediate candidates of baptism; or such as gave in their names to the bishop, signifying their desire to be baptized the next approaching festival. Their petitioning for this favour gave them the name of *competentes*; and from the bishop's examination and approbation, or choice of them, they were styled *electi*. St. Cyril of Jerusalem, in his Catechetical Discourses^r, always terms them *φωτιζόμενοι*: which, though it

ⁿ Conc. Laodic. c. xix. c. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1500.) *Περὶ τοῦ, δεῖν ἰδίᾳ πρῶτον μετὰ τὰς ὁμιλίας τῶν ἐπισκόπων, καὶ τῶν κατηχουμένων εὐχὴν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἐξελθεῖν τοὺς κατηχουμένους, τῶν ἐν μετανοίᾳ τὴν εὐχὴν γίνεσθαι.*

^o Constit. Apostolic. lib. viii. c. vi. fere tot.

^p Chrysostom. Hom. ii. in 2 Cor. (tom. v. p. 515. seqq. edit. Francof.)

^q Conc. Neocæsar. c. v. See note (k) p. 272.

^r Cyril. Catech. i. ii. etc. *Κατήχησις τῶν φωτιζομένων ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις.*

frequently signifies persons already baptized, or illuminated by the sacrament of baptism, yet in his style it denotes persons yet to be baptized; or such as had only the illumination of catechetical instruction antecedent to baptism. And so the name βαπτίζόμενοι, in the author of the Apostolical Constitutions^s, is taken, not for persons actually baptized, but for those catechumens who were desirous to be baptized; whence, in the same author, the prayer that is said over these catechumens in the church is called βαπτιζομένων and φωτιζομένων εὐχή, ‘the prayer for those that were about to be illuminated and baptized.’ Which also shows, that the *substrati* and *competentes* were different orders, or degrees, of the catechumens (contrary to what Mr. Basnage and some others have asserted), since different prayers, at different times, in the church, were offered up for them.

SECT. VI.—*How this last Order were particularly disciplined and prepared for Baptism.*

These *competentes*, as I said, were so called from their petitioning for the sacrament of baptism, as we learn from St. Austin, who often gives this reason^t for it, telling us, that upon the approach of the Easter festival, it was usual for the catechumens to give in their names in order to be baptized, whence they were called *competentes*, ‘petitioners,’ or ‘candidates for baptism.’ When their names were given in, and their petition accepted, then both they and their sponsors were registered in the books of the Church; as is noted by the author under the name of Dionysius^u the Areopagite; who

^s Constitut. Apostol. lib. viii. c. viii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 466.) Ὑπὲρ τῶν βαπτιζομένων Ὁ προειπὼν διὰ τῶν ἀγίων σου προφητῶν τοῖς μνουμένοις, Λούσασθε, καθαροὶ γίνεσθε καὶ διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ νομοθετήσας τὴν πνευματικὴν ἀναγέννησιν· αὐτὸς καὶ νῦν ἐπιδε ἐπὶ τοὺς βαπτιζομένους, καὶ εὐλόγησον αὐτοὺς, καὶ ἀγιάσον, κ. τ. λ.

^t Augustin. de Fide et Oper. c. vi. (Benedict. vol. vi. p. 169. D 8.) Quum fontis illius sacramenta peteremus, atque ob hoc Competentes etiam vocaremur, etc.—Id. de Cura pro Mortuis, c. xii. (vol. vi. p. 525.) Jam Pascha propinquabat; dedit nomen inter alios Competentes.

^u Dionys. Areopag. Hierarch. Eccles. c. ii. n. iv. (p. 216, Paris. 1644.) (p. 257, Antwerp. 1634.) Ὡν ἐστὶ σύμβολον ἱερὸν, ἡ τοῦ ἱεράρχου τῷ προσιόντι δωρουμένη σφραγίς, καὶ τῶν ἱερέων ἡ σωτηριώδης ἀπογραφὴ, τοῖς σωζομένοις

brings in the bishop commanding the priests to register both the catechumen and his sponsor, or susceptor, together. And in the Council of Constantinople, under Mennas^x, there is mention made of an officer in the Church particularly appointed to this business; one whose appropriated office it was to register the names of those who offered and presented themselves to baptism. These registers were called their diptychs; but as they had several diptychs, some for the dead, and some for the living, these were particularly called δίπτυχα ζώντων, 'the diptychs, or books, of the living,' as is observed by Pachymeres^y in his comment upon the foresaid place of Dionysius.

SECT. VII.—*Partly by frequent Examinations, in which such as approved themselves, had the name of Electi.*

When their names were thus registered, then followed a scrutiny or examination of their proficiency, under the preceding stages of the catechetical exercises. And this was often repeated before baptism, according to the direction given in this case by the fourth Council^z of Carthage. They that were approved upon such examination, were sometimes called *electi*, 'the chosen,' as we find in the decrees of Pope Leo Magnus, who speaks of them under this appellation^a, because

αὐτὸν ἐγκαταλέγουσα, καὶ μνημοσύνοις ἱεροῖς ἀνατιθεῖσα πρὸς αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν ἀνάδοχον, ὡς τῆς ζωοποιουῦ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν πορείας· τὸν μὲν, ἐραστὴν ἀληθῆ καὶ συνοπαδὸν ἡγεμόνος ἐνθέου· τὸν δὲ, ἀπλανῆ ταῖς θεοπαραδότοις ἡγήσει τοῦ ἐπομένου χειραγωγόν. — Item, (Venet. vol. i. p. 169.) Ἱεράρχης ἐπιτίθῃσιν αὐτοῦ τῇ κεφαλῇ τὴν χεῖρα καὶ σφραγισάμενος ἀπογράψασθαι κελεύει τοῖς ἱερεῦσι τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὸν ἀνάδοχον.

^x Conc. Constantin. sub Menna, act. v. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 222. E 14.) Ὡς Στέφανος ὁ θεῖος καὶ ἱερώτατος διάκονος ἐπιμαρτυρεῖ, ὁ καὶ τὰς προσηγορίας τῶν εἰς τὸ θεῖον βάπτισμα προσιόντων ἐγγράφειν τεταγμένος.

^y Pachymer. in Dionys. (Venet. 1755. vol. i. p. 180.) Κελεύει τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτὸν πρεσβυτέροις καὶ διακόνοις ἐν δέλτοις ἱεραῖς ἀπογραψάσθαι τὰ ὀνόματα, τοῦτε προσελθόντος καὶ τοῦ ἀναδόχου· ταῦτα δὲ οἶμαί εἶσι τὰ τῶν ζώντων δίπτυχα.

^z Conc. Carthag. IV. c. lxxxv. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1206.) Baptizandi nomen suum dent, et diu sub abstinencia vini et carniū, ac manus impositione crebra examinati [crebra examinatione] baptismum recipiant.

^a Leo, Epist. iv. ad Episcop. Siculos, c. v. (Labbe, vol. iii. p. 1300.) Manifestissime patet, baptizandis in ecclesia electis hæc duo tempora (de quibus loquuti sumus) esse legitima.

they were now accepted and chosen as persons qualified for baptism at the next approaching festivals of Easter or Whitsuntide, which were the usual times of baptizing. Cardinal Bona makes these *electi* a distinct order from the *competentes*: but there seems to be no ground for such a distinction, because their exercises were all the same henceforward, till they arrived at baptism.

SECT. VIII.—*Partly by Exorcism, accompanied with Imposition of Hands, and the Sign of the Cross, and Insufflation.*

For as they were all examined, so they were all exorcised alike, for twenty days, before baptism. This custom is often mentioned by the ancient writers, both of the Greek and Latin Church. St. Austin more than once speaks of it as the common practice of the African Church; joining examination^b, catechising, and exorcism together; and telling us that ‘the fire of exorcism,’ as his phrase is, always preceded baptism. We learn the same from Cyprian, and the Council of Carthage, held under him, about the validity of heretical baptism; for there it is often said, that heretics^c and schismatics were first to be exorcised with imposition of hands, and then baptized, before they could be admitted as true members of the Catholic Church. And we learn from thence also, that the practice was so universal, that the heretics themselves did not omit it; though it was esteemed of no effect by the Catholics when done by them, but looked upon only as a mock practice, where ‘one demoniac^d exorcised another,’ as

^b Augustin. in Psalm. lxxv. (Benedict. vol. iv. p. 651. A 6.) Et in sacramentis et in catechizando et in exorcizando adhibetur prius ignis. . . . Post ignem autem exorcismi venit ad baptismum, ut ab igne ad aquam, ab aqua in refrigerium.—Id. de Fide et Operib. c. vi. (vol. vi. p. 169.) Suis nominibus datis, abstinentia, jejuniis, exorcismisque purgantur. (E 1.) Ipsi diebus, quibus catechizantur, exorcizantur, scrutantur.

^c Conc. Carthagin. apud Cyprian. (Fell, p. 232.) (p. 355, Paris. 1648.) Censeo omnes hæreticos et schismaticos, qui ad Catholicam ecclesiam voluerint venire, non ante ingredi, nisi exorcizati et baptizati prius fuerint.—Fell, p. 237. (p. 359.) Primo per manus impositionem in exorcismo, secundo per baptismi regenerationem, tunc possunt ad Christi pollicitationem venire.

^d Ibid. Fell, p. 230. (p. 354.) Apud hæreticos . . . omnia per mendacium aguntur, ubi exorcizat dæmoniacus.

Cæcilius a Bilta phrases it in the same council. Ferrandus Diaconus^e also speaks of this exorcism, which immediately followed the scrutiny or examination of the *competentes*. And the like testimonies may be seen in Petrus Chrysologus^f and the second Council of Bracara^g, for the practice of the Italic and Spanish Churches. In the last of which it is particularly specified, that these exorcisms shall continue for twenty days before baptism. Gennadius, of Marseilles^h, testifies, not only for the French Church, but the universal Church throughout the whole world, that exorcisms and exsufflations were uniformly used both to infants and adult persons, before they were admitted to the sacrament of regeneration and fountain of life. And for the Greek Church in particular (though the author of the Apostolical Constitutions, for a peculiar reason, makes no mention of this ceremony, because he represents the business of an exorcist not as a standing and ordinary office in the Church, but as an extraordinary and miraculous gift of Godⁱ, as it was in the age

^e Ferrand. Epist. ad Fulgent. de Catechizando Æthiope. (Fulgentii Opera, p. 606, edit. Lugd. 1652.) Celebrato solemniter scrutinio, per exorcismum contra diabolum vindicatur.

^f Petr. Chrysolog. Serm. lii. (p. 139, edit. Paris. 1585.) Hinc est, quod veniens ex gentibus impositione manus et exorcismis ante a dæmone purgatur, et apertionem aurium percipit, ut fidei capere possit auditum, ut possit ad salutem persequente Domino pervenire.—It. Serm. cv. (p. 277, edit. cit.) Qui solo verbo fugârat dæmones, et infirmitates omnes sola sanaverat jussione; quare super hanc mulierem suas imponit manus? Quare circa istam curandi ordinem novat, nisi quia jam tunc in una sanat omnes? immo quia non ante suscipit ecclesiam, nisi eam, per impositionem manuum suarum, purget a diabolo, et faciat Christianam: et amplius faciendorum Christianorum curam præsentis curæ formet, et instituat sacramento.

^g Conc. Bracar. III. c. i. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 896. D 2.) Ante viginti dies baptismi, ad purgationem exorcismi catechumeni currant: in quibus viginti diebus omnino catechumeni symbolum, quod est, 'Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem,' specialiter doceantur.

^h Gennad. de Dogmat. Eccles. c. xxxi. (Inter Opera Augustini, tom. iii. p. 200.) Illud etiam, quod circa baptizandos in universo mundo sancta Ecclesia uniformiter agit, non otioso contemplamur intuitu. Quum sive parvuli sive juvenes ad regenerationis veniunt sacramentum, non prius fontem vitæ adeant, quam exorcismis et exsufflationibus clericorum, spiritus ab eis immundus abigatur.

ⁱ Constit. Apostol. lib. viii. c. xxvi. (p. 492, tom. i.) Ἐπορκιστῆς οὐ χειροτονεῖται· εὐνοίας γὰρ ἐκουσίου τὸ ἔπαθλον, καὶ χάριτος Θεοῦ διὰ Χριστοῦ,

of the apostles;) yet Gregory Nazianzen, and Cyril of Jerusalem, are undeniable evidences of the practice. For Nazianzen, in his Oration upon Baptism^k, thus bespeaks his catechumen: “Despise not thou the medicinal office of exorcism, neither grow weary of the length or continuance of it; for it is a proper trial of a man’s sincerity in coming to the grace of baptism.” Cyril, in like manner^l, bids his catechumen “to receive exorcism with diligence in the time of catechising. For whether it was insufflation or exorcism, it was to be esteemed salutary to the soul; for as mixed metals could not be purged without fire, so neither could the soul be purged without exorcisms, which were divine, and gathered out of the Holy Scriptures.” He adds a little after, that “the exorcists did thus, by the power of the Holy Spirit, cast a terror upon the evil spirit, and make him fly from the soul, and leave it in a salutary state, and hope of eternal life;” where we may observe two things that give great light in this matter: 1. Why it is so often called by the ancients ‘the fire’ of exorcism; because it purges the soul, and, as it were, fires the evil spirit from it. 2. That these exorcisms were nothing but prayers, collected and composed out of the words of the Holy Scripture, to beseech God to break the dominion and power of Satan in new converts; and to deliver

ἐπιφοιτήσει τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος· ὁ γὰρ λαβὼν χάρισμα ἰαμάτων δι’ ἀποκαλύψεως ὑπὸ Θεοῦ ἀναδείκνυται, φανερᾶς οὐσης παῖσι τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ χάριτος.

^k Nazianz. Orat. xl. de Bapt. (tom. i. p. 657. A 10.) Μὴ διαπτύσῃς ἐξορκισμοῦ θεραπείαν, μηδὲ πρὸς τὸ μῆκος ταύτης ἀπαγορεύσῃς· βάσανός ἐστι καὶ αὕτη τῆς περὶ τὸ χάρισμα γνησιότητος.

^l Cyril. Præfat. ad Catech. (Paris. 1640, p. 4. D 2.) Τοὺς ἐπορκισμοὺς δέχον μετὰ σπουδῆς· κὰν ἐμφυσηθῇς, κὰν ἐπορκισθῇς, σωτηρία σοι τὸ πρᾶγμα νόμισον εἶναι· ἀργὸν χρυσὸν, καὶ δεδολωμένον, ποικίλαις ὕλαις ἀναμιγμένον, χαλκῷ, καὶ κασσιτέρῳ, καὶ σιδήρῳ, καὶ μολύβδῳ, ζητοῦμεν τὸν χρυσὸν μόνον ἔχειν· χρυσὸς μὴ δύναται ἄνευ πυρὸς καθαρθῆναι τὰ ἀνοίκεια· οὕτως ἄνευ ἐπορκισμῶν οὐ δύναται καθαρθῆναι ψυχὴ· εἰσὶ δὲ θεῖοι, ἐκ θείων γραφῶν συνεκλεγμένοι... ὃν γὰρ τρόπον οἱ τῆς χρυσοχοικῆς ἐργασίας τὸ πνεῦμα τῷ πυρὶ παρεμβάλλοντες, καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ χώνῃ κεκρυμμένον χρυσίον ἀναφυσῶντες τὴν παρακειμένην ἐρεθίζοντες φλόγα εὐρίσκουσι τὸ ζητούμενον, οὕτω τῶν ἐπορκιζόντων διὰ Πνεύματος Θείου ἐμβαλλόντων τὸν φόβον, καὶ ὥσπερ ἐν χώνῃ τῷ σώματι τὴν ψυχὴν ἀναζωπυρούντων, φεύγει μὲν ὁ ἐχθρὸς δαίμων, παραμένει δὲ ἡ σωτηρία, καὶ παραμένει ἡ ἐλπίς τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς, καὶ λοιπὸν ἡ ψυχὴ καθαρθεῖσα τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων, ἔχει τὴν σωτηρίαν.
—Id. Cateches. i. (p. 4. A 3.) Σχόλασον εἰς τοὺς ἐξορκισμούς.

them from his slavery, by expelling the spirit of error and wickedness from them. Therefore, Cyril^m, in another place, calls them λόγοι εὐχῆς, the ‘words of prayer,’ by which a devil or a demoniac, who could not be held in chains of iron by many, was often held by one, through the power of the Holy Ghost working in him; and the bare insufflation of an exorcist was a fire of sufficient force to expel the invisible spirits. So that the whole business of exorcism, and the power of it, is to be resolved into prayer; some forms of which are now extant in the *Euchologium*ⁿ, or rituals of the Greek Church, published by Goar; and the rituals of the ancient Gallican Church, published by Mabillon^o. From whence also it appears, that the insufflation, and imposition of hands, and the sign of the cross,—which was used at the same time, as we find in the writings of St. Austin^p and St. Ambrose^q,—were only looked upon as decent ceremonies or concomitants of prayer; to whose energy, and not to the bare ceremonies, the whole efficacy and benefit of this part of the catechumens’ discipline is to be attributed. For though the ceremonies be sometimes only mentioned, yet prayer is always to be understood, and to be taken for the substance of the action, whilst the other were only the circumstances of it.

^m Cyril. Catech. xvi. (Paris. 1640. p. 185. B 7.) Πολλάκις ὁ δαίμων, ὁ σιδηραίοις δεσμοῖς ὑπὸ πολλῶν μὴ κρατούμενος, λόγοις εὐχῆς ἐκρατήθη ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ, διὰ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ δύναμιν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος· καὶ τὸ ἀπλοῦν φύσημα τοῦ ἐπορκίζοντος πῦρ γίνεται τῶν μὴ φαινομένων.

ⁿ Eucholog. (Paris. 1647. pp. 335—338.) Ἐπιτιμᾶ σοι Κύριος, Διάβολε, ὁ παραγενόμενος εἰς τὸν κόσμον, καὶ κατασκηνώσας ἐν ἀνθρώποις, ἵνα τὴν σὴν καθέλῃ τυραννίδα καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐξέλῃται, κ. τ. λ.

^o Mabillon, Musæum Italic. tom. i. part. ii. p. 323. Facies signum † in eum (Christianum faciendum) et dices symbolum. Accipe signum crucis tam in fronte, quam in corde. Semper esto fidelis. Templum Dei ingredi; idola derelinque. Cole Deum Patrem omnipotentem, et Jesum Christum filium ejus, qui venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos, et sæculum, per ignem, cum Spiritu Sancto, in sæcula sæculorum. Post hæc insufflabis in os ejus ter, et dices, ‘Accipe Spiritum Sanctum, et in corde teneas.’

^p Augustin. Confess. lib. i. c. xi. Vid. cap. i. sect. iii.

^q Ambros. de iis qui initiantur, c. iv. Credit etiam catechumenus in crucem Domini Jesu, qua et ipse signatur.

SECT. IX.—*Partly by the Exercises of Fasting and Abstinence, and Confession and Repentance.*

During this same term of twenty days, the catechumens were also exercised with abstinence and fasting, as a suitable preparation for their ensuing baptism. The fourth Council of Carthage has a canon which joins all these things together :—
 “ Let such as give in their names to be baptized^r, be exercised a long time with abstinence from wine and flesh, and with imposition of hands, and frequent examination, and so let them receive their baptism.” In like manner, St. Austin^s puts abstinence, fastings, and exorcism together, and particularly mentions abstinence from the marriage-bed during this time of preparation for baptism. So Socrates tells us^t, when the Burgundians desired baptism of a French bishop, he first made them fast seven days. And when a certain Jewish impostor, who had been baptized by the Arians and Macedonians, came at last to Paul, the Novatian bishop, to desire the like favour of him, the same author^u observes, that Paul would not admit him till he had first exercised him with fasting many days, and taught him the rudiments of the Christian faith. These fast-

^r Conc. Carth. IV. c. lxxxiv. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1206.) Baptizandi nomen suum dent ; et diu, sub abstinence vini et carniū, ac manus impositione crebra examinati baptismum recipiant.

^s Augustin. de Fide et Operib. c. vi. (Bened. vol. vi. p. 169. B) Sine dubio non admitterentur, si per ipsos dies, quibus eandem gratiam percepturi, suis nominibus datis, abstinence, jejuniis, exorcismisque purgantur, cum suis legitimis et veris uxoribus se concubituros profiterentur ; atque hujus rei, quamvis alio tempore licitæ, paucis ipsis solemnibus diebus nullam continentiam servaturos.

^t Socrat. lib. vii. c. xxx. (Aug. T. p. 319.) ‘Ο ἐπὶ ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας παρασκευάσας νηστεῦσαι αὐτοὺς, καὶ τὴν πίστιν κατηχήσας αὐτοὺς, τῇ ὀγδόῃ ἡμέρᾳ βαπτίσας ἀπέλυσε.

^u Socrat. lib. vii. c. xvii. (Aug. T. p. 305. A 9.) ‘Ιουδαῖός τις ἀπατεῶν χριστιανίζειν ὑποκρινόμενος, πολλάκις ἐβαπτίζετο, καὶ διὰ ταύτης τῆς τέχνης χρήματα συνελέγετο· ὥς δὲ πολλάς αἱρέσεις τῇ τέχνῃ ἠπάτησε· καὶ γὰρ Ἀρειανῶν καὶ Μακεδονιανῶν ἐδέξατο βάπτισμα· μηκέτι ἔχων οὐς ἀπατήσειεν, τέλος ἦκει πρὸς τὸν Ναυατιανῶν ἐπίσκοπον Παῦλον· καὶ τοῦ βαπτίσματος ἐπιθυμεῖν εἰπὼν, διὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ χειρὸς παρεκάλει τούτου τυχεῖν· ὁ δὲ ἀποδέχεται μὴν αὐτοῦ τὴν προαίρεσιν· οὐ πρότερον δὲ ἔφη δώσειν τὸ βάπτισμα, εἰ μὴ κατηχηθεῖ τὸν περὶ τῆς πίστεως λόγον, μετὰ τοῦ νηστείας σχολάσαι ἡμέρας πολλάς.

ings are, also, mentioned by Justin Martyr and Tertullian, where they speak of men's preparation for baptism. "As many," says Justin Martyr^x, "as believe the things to be true which we teach, and promise to conform their lives to the laws of our religion, they first of all learn to ask pardon of their by-past sins of God by prayers and fastings, we joining our prayers and fastings with theirs." So Tertullian^y: "They that are about to receive baptism, must first use frequent prayers, and fastings, and geniculations, and watchings, and make confessions of all their former sins, in imitation of John's baptism, taking it for a favour that they are not obliged to make public confession of their flagitious crimes and offences." Whence we may conclude, that these confessions were sometimes public and sometimes private, as directed by the wisdom of the Church. They who would see more of this matter, may consult St. Cyril's Catechetic Discourses^z, and Gregory Nazianzen's Oration^a about Baptism; who to confession, and prayers, and fasting, add humicubations, and groans, and tears,

^x Justin. Mart. Apolog. i. (Bened. p. 79.) "Ὅσοι ἂν πεισθῶσι καὶ πιστεύωσιν ἀληθῇ ταῦτα τὰ ὑφ' ἡμῶν διδασκόμενα καὶ λεγόμενα εἶναι, καὶ βιοῦν οὕτως δύνασθαι ὑπισχνῶνται, εὐχεσθαί τε καὶ αἰτεῖν νηστεύοντες παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῶν προημαρτημένων ἄφεσιν διδάσκονται, ἡμῶν συνευχομένων καὶ συννηστεύοντων αὐτοῖς.

^y Tertull. de Baptism. c. xx. (Rigalt. 1641, p. 264. D 1.) Ingressuros baptismum, orationibus crebris, jejuniis, et geniculationibus, et pervigiliis, orare oportet, et cum confessione omnium retro delictorum, ut exponant etiam baptismum Johannis: 'Tinguebantur,' inquit, 'confitentes delicta sua.' Nobis gratulandum est, si non publice confitemur iniquitates aut turpitudines nostras. Vid. Tertull. de Poenitent. c. vi.

^z Cyril. Catech. i. (Paris. 1640. p. 3. D 8.) Καιρὸς ἐξομολογήσεως ὁ παρών· Ἐξομολόγησαι τὰ πεπραγμένα, τὰ ἐν λόγῳ, καὶ ἐν ἔργῳ, τὰ ἐν νυκτὶ, τὰ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ. — Ibid. n. vi. p. 19. Εἴ τι κατὰ τινος ἔχεις, ἄφες· προσέρχῃ λαβεῖν ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν· ἀνάγκη καὶ σε συγχωρῆσαι τῷ ἡμαρτηκότῃ.

^a Nazianz. Orat. xl. de Baptismo, 1630. (vol. p. 657. A 4.) Μὴ ἀπαξιώσης ἐξαγορεῦσαί σου τὴν ἁμαρτίαν, εἰδὼς ὅπως Ἰωάννης ἐβάπτισεν, ἵνα τὴν ἐκεῖθεν αἰσχύνῃ, τῇ ἐνταῦθα φύγῃ. — Ibid. p. 660. B. Καλὸν σοι βοήθημα πρὸς τὸ τυχεῖν, ὧν ἐπιποθεῖς, ἀγρυπνίαι, νηστεῖαι, χαμευνίαι, προσευχαί, δάκρυον, οἶκτος, τῶν δεομένων μετὰδοσις. — Ibid. D. Ἐὰν χρεωφειλέτην λάβῃς προσπίπτοντα, πᾶσαν συγγραφὴν ἄδικον καὶ δικαίαν διάσπασον· μνήσθητι τῶν μυρίων ταλάντων, ὧν σοι Χριστὸς ἐχαρίσατο· μὴ γένη πράκτωρ πικρὸς τοῦ ἐλάττονος χρέους, καὶ ταῦτα τίσι; τοῖς ὁμοδούλοις, ὁ τὸ πλεον παρὰ τοῦ δεσπότου συγχωρηθεὶς, μὴ καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου φιλάνθρωπίας ὑπόσχῃς δίκην, ἣν οὐκ ἐμιμήσω λαβὼν ὑπόδειγμα.

and forgiving of enemies, as proper indications of a penitent mind, before men came to receive the seal of forgiveness at God's hand by the ministry of his Church.

SECT. X.—*Partly by learning the Words of the Creed and the Lord's Prayer.*

At this time also the *competentes* were taught the words of the Creed, which they were obliged to get by heart, in order to repeat it before the bishop at their last examination before baptism. This part of catechising was often performed by the bishop himself, as we may learn from those words of St. Ambrose^b, where he thus distinguishes the *competentes* from the other catechumens: "When the catechumens were dismissed, I recited the Creed to the *competentes* in the baptisteries of the church." This was done in some churches twenty days before baptism: for so the second Council of Bracara ordered^c for the Spanish Churches. But the Council of Agde, in France^d, speaks only of eight days before Easter, appointing Palm Sunday to be the day when the Creed should be publicly taught the *competentes* in all their Churches. But, perhaps, we are to distinguish betwixt the public and private teaching of the Creed; and so one might be done privately twenty days before by the catechists in the baptisteries, or catechetical schools; and the other publicly, eight days before, by the ministers of the Church. However this was, there was a certain day appointed for these catechumens to give an account of their Creed, and that was the *Parasceue*, or 'day before our Saviour's Passion,' which the Council of Laodicea^e calls 'the fifth day of the great and solemn week,' when such as were to be baptized, having learnt their Creed, were to repeat it before

^b Ambros. Epist. xxxiii. ad Marcellin. (Paris. 1836. vol. iv. p. 267.) Dimissis catechumenis, symbolum aliquibus Competentibus in baptisteriis tradebam Basilicæ.

^c See note (g) p. 278.

^d Conc. Agath. c. xiii. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1385.) Symbolum etiam placuit ab omnibus ecclesiis una die, id est, ante octo dies dominicæ resurrectionis, publice in ecclesia competentibus tradi.

^e Conc. Laodic. c. xlvi. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1504.) "Ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς φωτιζομένους τὴν πίστιν ἐκμανθάνειν, καὶ τῇ πέμπτῃ τῆς ἐβδομάδος ἀπαγγέλλειν τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, ἢ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις.

the bishop or presbyters in the church. And this was the only day, for several ages, that ever the Creed was publicly repeated in the Greek Churches, as Theodorus Lector^f informs us, who says, it was used to be recited only once a-year, and that was on the *Parasceue*, or ‘day of preparation to our Saviour’s Passion,’ now called ‘Holy Thursdays:’ at which time the bishop was always wont to catechise the *competentes* in the church. When they had learned the Creed, they were also taught the Lord’s Prayer, which was not allowed ordinarily to the catechumens till immediately before their baptism; for this prayer was usually called εὐχὴ πιστῶν, ‘the prayer of the faithful,’ as being peculiarly used only by persons baptized, who were made sons of God by regeneration, and had a title, as such, to address God under the denomination of their Father which is in heaven; which catechumens, at least those of the first orders, could not so properly do. But when they arrived at this last degree of *competentes*, and stood as immediate candidates of baptism, then this form was part of their instruction, and not before: as we learn from Ferrandus Diaconus, who speaks first of their repeating the Creed, and then learning^g the Lord’s Prayer. And the same is evident from Chrysostom, Austin, and Theodoret, of whom I shall have occasion to speak more particularly in chap. v. sect. 9, where I treat of the ancient discipline in concealing the sacred mysteries from the catechumens.

SECT. XI.—*And the Form of renouncing the Devil, and covenanting with Christ, and other Responses to be used in Baptism.*

Together with the Creed, they were also taught how to make their proper responses in baptism: particularly the form

^f Theod. Lect. lib. ii. (Aug. T. 1747. p. 522.) Τιμόθεος τὸ τῶν τριακοσίων δέκα καὶ ὀκτὼ πατέρων τῆς πίστεως σύμβολον, καθ’ ἐκάστην σύναξιν λέγεσθαι παρεσκεύασεν, ἐπὶ διαβολῇ δῆθεν Μακεδονίου, ὡς αὐτοῦ μὴ δεχομένου τὸ σύμβολον, ἅπαξ τοῦ ἔτους λεγόμενον πρότερον ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ Παρασκευῇ τοῦ θείου πάθους, τῇ καιρῷ τῶν γινομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου κατηχήσεων.

^g Ferrand. Epist. ad Fulgent. de Catechizando Æthiope. (Bibl. Max. Patr. vol. ix. p. 172. A.) Ipsa insuper sancti symboli verba memoriter, in conspectu fidelis populi, clara voce pronuntians, piam regulam Dominicæ orationis accepit.

of renouncing the devil, and his works, his pomps, his worship, his angels, his inventions, and all things belonging to him ; and the contrary form of covenanting with Christ, and engaging themselves in his service. For though these acts, in their highest solemnity, did properly appertain to the substance of baptism itself, yet it was necessary to instruct the catechumens beforehand how they were to behave themselves in these matters, that they might not, through ignorance, be at a loss when they came to baptism ; and, therefore, the author of the Apostolical Constitutions^h orders it to be one special part of the catechumens' instruction, just before their baptism, that they should learn what related to the renunciation of the devil, and covenanting with Christ. And these engagements they actually entered into, not only at their baptism, but before it, as a just preparation for it ; “for,” says that author, “they ought first to abstain from the contraries, and then come to the holy mysteries, having purged their hearts beforehand of all spot, and wrinkle, and habits of sin.” And the same thing is intimated by Tertullian and Ferrandus, the deacon of Carthage ; for Ferrandus says expresslyⁱ, that “the catechumens, at the same time that they were exorcised, made their actual renunciation of the devil, and then were taught the Creed.” And Tertullian means the same thing, when he says, that “this renunciation was made twice : first in the church^k, under the hands of the bishop ; and then again, when they came to the water to be baptized.” And hence it became one part of the ancient office of deaconesses, to instruct the more ignorant and rustic sort of women how they were to make

^h Constitut. Apostol. lib. vii. c. xi. D. (Conc. vol. i. p. 445.) Καὶ ὅταν ᾗ πρὸς αὐτὸ λοιπὸν τὸ βαπτισθῆναι ὁ κατηχηθεὶς, μανθανέτω τὰ περὶ τῆς ἀποταγῆς τοῦ διαβόλου, καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς συνταγῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ· δεῖ γὰρ αὐτὸν πρῶτον μὲν ἀποσχέσθαι τῶν ἐναντίων· καὶ τότε ἐντὸς γενέσθαι τῶν μυστηρίων, προκαθάραντα ἑαυτοῦ τὴν καρδίαν πάσης κακοηθείας, σπίλου τε καὶ ῥυτίδος, καὶ τότε τῶν ἀγίων μεταλαχεῖν.

ⁱ Ferrand. Epist. ad Fulgent. (Inter opera Fulgent. p. 606, edit. Lugd. 1652.) Per exorcismum contra diabolum vindicatur : cui se renuntiare constanter, sicut hic consuetudo poscebat, auditurus symbolum, profitetur.

^k Tertull. de Coron. Milit. c. iii. (Rigalt. 1641. p. 121. C 10.) Aquam adituri, ibidem, sed et aliquanto prius in ecclesia, sub antistitis manu contestamur nos renuntiare diabolo, et pompæ, et angelis ejus.

their responses, at the time of baptism, to such interrogatories as the minister should then put to them: as I have had occasion to show from a canon of the fourth Council of Carthage¹, in discoursing of the office of deaconesses in another place^m.

SECT. XII.—*What meant by the Competentes going veiled some time before Baptism.*

Beside these parts of useful discipline and instruction, there were some other ceremonies of less note, used toward the catechumens, which I must not wholly pass over. Among these was the ceremony of the *competentes* going veiled, or with their faces covered, for some days before baptism: which custom is taken notice of by Cyril of Jerusalemⁿ, together with the reason of it. “Your face,” says he to the catechumens, “was covered, that your mind might be more at liberty, and that the wandering of your eyes might not distract your soul. For when the eyes are covered, the ears are not diverted, by any impediments, from hearing and receiving saving truths.” St. Austin and Junilius give a more mystical reason for it; for they suppose the catechumens went veiled in public, as bearing the image of Adam’s slavery after his expulsion out of Paradise; and that these veils, being taken away after baptism^o, were an indication of the liberty of the spiritual life, which they obtained by the sacrament of regeneration. However it be, the evidences are plain that there was such a cere-

¹ Conc. Carth. IV. c. xii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1201.) *Viduæ vel sanctimoniales, quæ ad ministerium baptizandarum mulierum eliguntur, tam instructæ sint ad officium, ut possint apto et sacro sermone docere imperitas et rusticas mulieres, tempore quo baptizandæ sunt, qualiter baptizatori interrogatæ respondeant, et qualiter, accepto baptismo, vivant.*

^m Book ii. chap. xxii. sect. ix. vol. i. p. 333.

ⁿ Cyril. Præfat. ad Cateches. (Paris. 1640. p. v. A.) Ἐσκέπασται σου τὸ πρόσωπον, ἵνα σχολάσῃ λοιπὸν ἡ διάνοια ἵνα μὴ τὸ βλέμμα ῥεμβόμενον, ποιήσῃ ῥεμβεσθαι καὶ τὴν καρδίαν τῶν δὲ ὀφθαλμῶν ἐσκεπασμένων, οὐκ ἐμποδίζεται τὰ ὦτα δέξασθαι τὸ σωτήριον.

^o Aug. Serm. iv. in Dominic. Octav. Paschæ clv. de tempore. Hodie octavæ dicuntur infantium: revelanda sunt capita eorum, quod est indicium libertatis. Habet enim libertatem ista spiritualis nativitas.—Junil. de Partibus Divinæ Legis, lib. ii. c. xvi. (Bibl. Patr. tom. i. p. 15, edit. Paris. 1654.) Typum gerunt Adæ Paradiso exclusi . . . propter quod et per publicum capitibus tectis incedunt.

mony used to the catechumens. But, as Valesius^p rightly observes, “It did not respect them all, but only that order of them that were peculiarly called the *competentes*.”

SECT. XIII.—*Of the Ceremony called Hephata, or, ‘opening of the Ears of the Catechumens.’*

Another ceremony of this nature, was the custom of touching the ears of the catechumens, and saying unto them *hephata*, ‘be opened;’ which Petrus Chrysologus^q joins with imposition of hands and exorcism; making it to have something of mystical signification in it, to denote the opening of the understanding to receive the instructions of faith. And St. Ambrose^r, or an author under his name, describes the same custom, deriving the original of it from our Saviour’s example, in saying *hephata*, ‘be opened,’ when he cured the deaf and the blind. But this custom seems not to have gained any great credit in the practice of the Church; for, besides these two authors, there is scarce any other that so much as mentions it; and whether it was used to the first or last order of the catechumens, it is not very easy to determine.

SECT. XIV.—*Of putting Clay upon their Eyes. What meant by it.*

The like may be said of another ceremony, which is mentioned in St. Ambrose, which was the custom of anointing the eyes with clay, in imitation of our Saviour’s practice, when he cured the blind man by making clay of his spittle, and anoint-

^p Vales. Not. in Euseb. de Vita Constantin. lib. iv. c. lxii. (Aug. T. 1747. p. 600.) Catechumeni tectis capitibus per publicum incedebant . . . ut ait Junilius: quod quidem de solis Competentibus intelligendum puto, qui non solum caput, verum etiam vultum velabant, etc.

^q Chrysolog. serm. lii. p. 286. (p. 139, edit. Paris. 1585.) Veniens ex gentibus, impositione manus, et exorcismis, ante a dæmone purgatur, et apertionem aurium percipit, ut fidei capere possit auditum.

^r Ambros. de iis qui initiantur, c. i. Quod vobis significavimus, quum apertionis celebrantes mysterium, diceremus, Hephata, quod est aperire. . . . Hoc mysterium celebravit Christus in evangelio, quum mutum curaret et surdum. —Id. de Sacram. lib. i. c. i. (Paris. 1836, vol. iv. p. 119.) Mysteria celebrata sunt apertionis, quando tibi aures tetigit sacerdos et nares.

ing his eyes with it (John ix. 6). The design of this ceremony, as that author explains it^s, was to teach the catechumens to confess their sins, and to review their consciences, and repent of their errors, that is, to acknowledge what state and condition they were in by their first birth. St. Austin seems also^t to refer to this practice, in his discourse upon the blind man cured by our Saviour, where he says, "The catechumens were anointed before baptism, as the blind man was by Christ, who was thereby perhaps made a catechumen."

SECT. XV.—*Whether the Catechumens held a lighted Taper in their Hands in the Time of Exorcism.*

Vicecomes^u and Mr. Basnage mention another custom,

^s Ambros. de Sacrament. lib. iii. c. ii. (Paris. 1836, vol. iv.) Ergo quando dedisti nomen tuum, tulit lutum et linivit super oculos tuos. Quod significat? Ut peccatum tuum fatereris, ut conscientiam tuam recognosceres, ut poenitentiam ageres delictorum, hoc est, sortem humanæ generationis agnosceres.

^t Aug. Tractat. xlv. in Joann. (Benedict. vol. ii. part. ii. p. 590.) (tom. ix. p. 133, Paris. 1637.) (p. 324, edit. Basil. 1569. D.) Lavit oculos in ea piscina, quæ interpretatur Missus; baptizatus est in Christo. Si ergo quando eum in seipso quodam modo baptizavit, tunc illuminavit: quando inunxit, fortasse catechumenum fecit. Potest quidem aliter atque aliter tanti sacramenti exponi profunditas et pertractari: sed hoc sufficiat caritati vestræ: audistis grande mysterium. Interroga hominem, Christianus es? Respondet tibi, Non sum. Si paganus es aut Judæus? Si autem dixerit, Non sum, adhuc quæris ab eo, Catechumenus, an fidelis? Si responderit, Catechumenus; inunctus est, nondum lotus.

^u Vicecomes de Ritib. Baptism. lib. ii. c. xxxii. cujus inscriptio ita habet: In exorcismo catechumenos ardentem cereum manu tenuisse, et ad occidentem spectasse. In capite ipso sic loquitur: Amplius ardentem cereum manu tenebant, quod ex Cypriani profluxit fonte, qui (epist. ii. ad Donat.) ait: 'Immundos et erraticos spiritus ad confessionem minis increpantibus cogere, ut recedant, diris verberibus urgere, conflictantes, ejulantes, gementes, incremento poenæ propagantis extendere, flagris cedere, igne torrere.' Ubi de exorcismo baptismali loquutum esse, satis apparet: tum quia baptismum suum in ea epistola explicat, tum etiam quod infra subdit: 'Quantus hic animi potentatus, quanta vis est? non tantum ipsum esse subtractum perniciosi contactibus mundi, ut quis expiatus et purus nulla incursantis inimici labe capiatur, sed etiam majorem et fortio rem viribus fieri, ut in omnem adversarii grassantis exercitum, imperioso jure dominetur.' Quæ verba ad baptismum referri oportere omnes intelligunt. Et si de exorcismo, cujus vi ex obsessis hominum corporibus, dæmones exagitatores excutiuntur, sermo esset; tamen quin idem de baptismali quoque dici possit, nulla ratione mihi persuadeo, eo magis, quod S. Augustini verba,

which was peculiar, in their opinion, to the African Church, viz. the use of a lighted taper put into the hands of the catechumens, in time of exorcism, to signify (as Mr. Basnage^x explains it) the illustration of the Holy Ghost: or, as Vicecomes would have it, the power of exorcism in expelling Satan. But their observation, I think, is grounded upon a mere mistake, interpreting some words of St. Cyprian and St. Austin in a literal sense, which are only figurative and metaphorical. Cyprian, speaking of the power of Christians over unclean spirits, says^y, among many other things, that “they could

quibus ejusdem rei meminit, his similia videntur, sicut apud eum vidimus enarratione in Psalm. lxxv. cum explicans verba illa, ‘Transivimus per ignem et aquam,’ sic scribit: ‘Ignis et aqua, utrumque periculosum est in hac vita: certe videtur aqua ignem extinguere, et ignis videtur aquam siccare: ita et ipsae tentationes sunt, quibus abundat hæc vita. Ignis urit, aqua corrumpit. Utrumque metuendum, et ustio tribulationis, et aqua corruptionis. Quando sunt res angustæ, et aliquæ infelicitates sunt in hoc mundo, quasi ignis est: quando sunt res prosperæ et abundantia seculi circumfluit, quasi aqua est. Vide ne te ignis exurat, ne te aqua corrumpat. Noli festinare ad aquam: per ignem transi ad aquam, ut transeas et aquam. Propterea et in sacramentis, et in catechizando, et in exorcizando adhibetur prius ignis. Nam unde immundi spiritus plerumque clamant, Ardeo, si ille ignis non est? post ignem autem exorcismi venit ad baptismum: ut ab igne ad aquam, ab aqua ad refrigerium.’ Hæc ille. Sed ipse Albinus Flaccus illud ipsum planum facit, lib. de Divin. Offic. c. xix. cum magni sabbati ceremonias explicans, inquit: ‘Cereus præcedit catechumenos nostros; lumen ipsius Christum significat, quo præsens nox illuminatur, gratia scilicet resurrectionis et catechumeni ad baptismum venturi:’ et mox infra, ubi idem argumentum exsequitur: ‘Cereus, qui novo igne accenditur, novam Christi doctrinam, sive gratiam in Novo Testamento, novamque gratiam, qua nox dominica illustratur, designat: quod enim catechumenos præcedit ad baptismum, significat hoc, quod columna ignis præcedebat filios Israël, antequam Mare Rubrum transirent, ubi etiam figuraliter initium sumsit baptismus.’ Ex quibus Cypriani, Augustini, et Albini testimoniis, facile colligi potest, non modo ejus cerei figuram in igne, qui Hebræos Rubrum Mare trajecturos plane divinitus præcessit, expressam esse, verum etiam causam in mali dæmonis expulsionem, aut humanæ mentis ex Dei sapientia illustrationem conjici oportere, quibus adjici volumus, ignem et fidei signum fuisse, quæ sicut ille semper ad superiora contendit, et expiationis symbolum, quod eo veteres in purgationibus maxime utebantur.

^x Basnag. Critic. in Baron. (Ultraj. 1692. p. 488.) In Africa, ni fallor, usus luminis adhibebatur in catechismo: Augustin. in Psalm lxxv. ‘Noli festinare ad aquam: per ignem transi ad aquam, ut transeas et aquam. Propterea et in sacramentis, et in catechizando et in exorcizando, adhibetur prius ignis.’ Eo tendebat et ille ritus, ut igne significaretur Spiritus Sancti illustratio.

^y Cyprian. ad Donatum. (Fell, p. 4.) Facultas datur... immundos et erraticos

oblige them, by their powerful stripes, to forsake the persons they had possessed: that they could put them to the rack, and make them confess, and cry out, and groan; that they could scourge them with their whips, and burn them with their fire." Where, it is plain enough to any unprejudiced reader, that the fire of exorcism here spoken of, is of the same kind with the whips, and stripes, and rack: that is, the spiritual and invisible power of the Holy Ghost, as Cyprian himself immediately explains them, when he says, "All this was done, but not seen; the stroke was invisible, and the effects of it only appear to men." So that it was not a material fire, or a lighted taper in the hands of the catechumens, that Cyprian speaks of, as Vicecomes fancies, but the invisible fire or power of the Holy Ghost. And it is the same fire that St. Austin means, whose authority only is urged by Mr. Basnage to found this custom on. He speaks of a fire, indeed, in the sacraments^z, and in catechising and in exorcising. "For whence otherwise should it be," says he, "that the unclean spirits so often cry out, 'I burn,' if there be not a fire that burns them? From the fire of exorcism we pass to baptism, as from fire to water, and from water to a place of rest." There is nothing in all this that can signify a lighted taper in the hands of the catechumens, which certainly has no power to burn an unclean spirit. But the fire of exorcism is the invisible fire of the Holy Ghost; that is, the energy and powerful operation of God's Spirit, which casts out devils with a word, and makes Satan fall like lightning from heaven. Though I deny not but that this custom might come into the Church in after ages; for Albinus Flaccus, a ritualist of the eighth century, speaks of a custom like to it^a, as used at least the night before the catechumens were to be baptized. For, describing

spiritus ad confessionem minis increpantibus cogere; ut recedant, duris verberibus urgere; conflictantes, ejulantes, gementes, incremento poenae propagantis extendere; flagris cedere, igne torrere. Res illic geritur, nec videtur; occulta plaga, et poena manifesta.

^z Aug. Enarrat. in Psalm. lxxv. (Benedict. vol. iv. p. 651. A 6.) In sacramentis, et in catechizando et in exorcizando, adhibetur prius ignis. Nam unde plerumque immundi spiritus clamant, 'Ardeo,' si ille ignis non est? Post ignem autem exorcismi venit ad baptismum, etc.

^a Albin. al. Alcuin. de Divin. Offic. c. xix. Cereus præcedit catechumenos

the ceremonies of the vigil of the great Sabbath before Easter, he says, “a wax taper was used to be carried before the catechumens; which signified the illuminations wherewith Christ enlightened that night, by the grace of his resurrection, and the catechumens coming to baptism.” And this was it that deceived Vicecomes, who would have all modern customs appear with a face of antiquity; and therefore wrested the words of St. Cyprian and St. Austin to patronize a novel ceremony, which, in their days, was not so much as thought of.

SECT. XVI.—*What meant by the Sacrament of the Catechumens.*

There is another mistake which runs through the writings of many modern authors, concerning what the ancients call “the sacrament of the catechumens.” They suppose, that though the catechumens were not allowed to participate of the eucharist, yet they had something like it, which they call *eulogiæ*, or *panis benedictus*, ‘consecrated bread,’ taken out of the same oblations, out of which, anciently, the eucharist itself was taken. Baronius^b was the first that maintained this opinion, and after him, Bellarmin^c, and Vicecomes^d, Albas-

nostros : lumen ipsius Christum significat, quo præsens nox illuminetur, gratia scilicet resurrectionis et catechumeni ad baptismum venturi.

^b Baron. an. 313, n. lv. (Lucæ, vol. iv. p. 557.) Sanctus Augustinus nominat ‘sacramentum’ panem benedictum, ipsis catechumenis impertiri solitum, etc.

^c Bellarmin. de Sacram. Matrimom. lib. i. c. iii. (p. 501. A. Colon. 1615.) Quæ sunt sacramento improprie et largo quodam sensu, non solent, nisi raro et cum addito, sacramenta nominari. Exemplum esse potest in eo pane sanctificato, qui dabatur catechumenis loco eucharistiæ; nam eum panem vocat Augustinus sacramentum (lib. ii. de Peccator. Merit. et Remiss. c. xxvi) : sed id semel tantum fecit, et in eodem loco admonuit, eum panem non esse corpus Christi, et catechumenis non sufficere ad salutem.

^d Vicecomes de Ritib. Bapt. lib. ii. c. ix. p. 259. Quum eucharistiæ sacramento, fidelium more, expiari non possent, optimo jure factum est, ut ‘sanctificato pane’ (sic enim vocant) vel sale, instar cœlestis pabuli, reficerentur : cujus rei multos locupletes et idoneos auctores habeo, ut Conc. Carth. I. cujus hæc sunt ex cap. v. : ‘Item placuit, ut etiam post solennissimos paschales dies, sacramentum catechumenis non detur, nisi solitum sal; quia si fideles per illos dies sacramentum non mutant, nec catechumenis oportet mutari.’ Et S. Augustinum, qui (lib. de Peccat. Merit. et Remiss. c. xxvi.) dum varias rationes sanctitatis acquirendæ, et in principem amicitiae et gratiæ Dei locum perveniendi refert, ita loquitur : ‘Non uniusmodi est sanctificatio. Nam et catechumenos,

piny^e, Petavius^f, Bishop Beveridge^g, Estius, Maldonat, and many others, follow him in the same assertion. But the opinion is wholly grounded upon a mistaken passage in St. Austin, who speaks, indeed, of something that, according to the language of his age, was then called the sacrament of the catechumens; but he does not say that it was consecrated bread, or part of the same *eulogiæ*, out of which the eucharist was taken^h. “That which the catechumens receive, though it be not the body of Christ, is yet an holy thing, and more holy than the common meat which sustains us, because it is a sacrament.” He gives it the name of sacrament, according to the custom of that age, which was to call every thing a sacrament, that had either any thing of mystery, or of spiritual signification in it. But that this sacrament was not the consecrated bread, but only a little taste of salt, we may learn from the same St. Austin, who, speaking of himself as a cate-

secundum quemdam modum suum, per signum Christi et orationem manus impositionis, puto sanctificari; et quod accipiunt, quamvis non sit corpus Christi, sanctum est tamen, et sanctius quam cibi quibus alimur, quoniam sacramentum est.’ Ubi quamvis ejus rei, quam probamus, expressa mentio non fiat, tamen et ex eo, quod corporis alimento comparatur, ‘panem,’ et quia sanctum, sive sanctius appellatur, a communi usu certis precibus exemptum fuisse, perspicuum est; ut non immerito nostri scriptores, conjunctis nominibus, ‘panem sanctificatum’ appellaverint.

^e Albaspin. Observat. lib. ii. c. xxxvi. pp. 442—447.

^f Petav. Animadvers. in Epiph. Exposit. Fidei. (Colon. vol. ii. p. 366.) Quum sal catechumenis præberi consuetum esset, appetentibus paschatis feriis extraordinarium quiddam concessum illis est. Non utique eucharistia; nec enim tantum insanivisse quemquam arbitror. Neque vero sacramentum intelligi puto symbolum: sed panem ipsum, ac vinum, ex quo eucharistia consecrata fuerat.

^g Bevereg. Not. in Can. II. Conc. Antiochen. vol. ii. p. 189. Non consecrati sunt hi panes, sed tantum cum benedictione inter populos distributi. Unde et Monachi, in pœnis existentes, participes eorum esse possunt; ut ex Nicephori Confessoris canonibus patet, ubi dicitur, τοὺς ὄντας, κ. τ. λ. De hoc pane etiam, ut a Catechumenis accepto, D. Augustinus meminisse videtur, ubi ait, ‘Nam et Catechumenos, secundum quemdam modum suum, per signum Christi et orationem manus impositionis, puto sanctificari; et quod accipiunt, quamvis non sit corpus Christi, sanctum est tamen, et sanctius quam cibi quibus alimur.’—Estius in Sentent. lib. iv. distinct. x. sect. v.

^h Aug. de Peccator. Meritis, lib. ii. c. xxvi. (Benedict. vol. x. p. 62. F.) Quod accipiunt catechumeni, quamvis non sit corpus Christi, sanctum est tamen, et sanctius quam cibi quibus alimur, quoniam sacramentum est,

chumen, says, "At that timeⁱ he was often signed with the cross of Christ, and seasoned with his salt." And that it was this and no more, appears further from a canon of the third Council of Carthage, at which St. Austin was present, which orders^k, "that no other sacrament should be given to the catechumens on the most solemn days of the Paschal festival, except their usual salt;" giving this reason for it, "that for as much as the faithful did not change their sacraments on those days, neither ought the catechumens to change theirs." From whence it is easy to be inferred, that the sacrament of the catechumens means no more than this ceremony of giving them a little taste of the salt, like milk and honey, that was given after baptism; as Cardinal Bona^l, and Mr. Aubertine^m, and Basnageⁿ have rightly concluded: the design of the thing

ⁱ Aug. Confess. lib. i. c. xi. (Bened. vol. i. p. 75.) Audieram ego adhuc puer de vita æterna, nobis promissa per humilitatem Filii tui Domini Dei nostri, et signabar jam signo crucis, et condiebar ejus sale.

^k Conc. Carth. III. c. v. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1167.) Placuit ut per solemnissimos paschales dies sacramentum catechumenis non detur, nisi solitum sal: quia si fideles per illos dies sacramenta non mutant, nec catechumenis oportet mutari.

^l Bona, Rer. Liturgic. lib. i. c. xvi. n. iii. (Antwerp. 1677. p. 394.) Etiam eulogiæ, sive panis reliquiæ, quæ distribui solebant post missam, negabantur catechumenis, ut constat ex cap. vii. Theophili Alexandrini cum Balsamonis explicatione. Nam quum panis usualis et communis aliquid in terram decuti, anxie, eo quod esset materia eucharistiæ, fideles paterentur, ut loquitur Tertullianus; multo magis inconueniens existimabant, frustra panis benedicti dare profanis et nondum initiatis. Illis tamen dabant sal, non solum in baptismo, sed etiam in catechumenatu: ad quem ritum, non autem ad eulogias, respexit Augustinus, lib. ii. de Pecc. Merit. et Remiss. c. xxvii. quum ait: 'Quod accipiunt,' etc. Et lib. i. Confess. c. xi. 'Audieram ego,' etc. Hoc unicum erat catechumenorum sacramentum, de quo Conc. Carth. III. c. v. 'Placuit,' etc. Mos autem in hoc canone præscriptus vigeat in Gallia tempore Caroli Magni: ejus enim capitularia (lib. vii. p. 109) præcipiunt, ut in paschate sacramentum catechumenis non detur, sed tantum benedictum sal a sacerdotibus pro communione tribuatur. Post baptismum vero egressi de lavacro mel et lac degustabant, tanquam symbola mysticæ infantie.

^m Albertin. de Eucharist. lib. ii. p. 650. B. Quid illud est, quod catechumenos accipere Augustinus intelligit? Perronius et Coffetellus id de sale exponunt, et quidem, ni fallor, rectissime, etc.

ⁿ Basnag. Exercit. Critic. in Baron. (Ultraj. 1692. p. 487.) Per animos virorum eruditissimorum pervasit opinio, panem benedictum fuisse competentibus erogatum: sic Bellarminus; . . . sic Maldonatus; sic Baronius; immo sic breviaria ecclesiæ Rom. atque manualia. . . . At falluntur animi; cibus ille a catechumenis acceptus, sal fuit, non panis: Augustinum ipsum adduco testem,

being not to give them any thing in imitation of the eucharist, or introductory to that which they always kept hid as a secret from them ; but that by this symbol they might learn to purge and cleanse their souls from sin : salt being the emblem of purity and incorruption.

SECT. XVII.—*How the Catechumens were punished, if they fell into gross Sins.*

I have but two things more to observe concerning the discipline used towards the catechumens. The one relates to those ecclesiastical censures and punishments which were usually inflicted on them, in case they were found to have lapsed into any gross and scandalous offences. These, being not yet admitted into full communion with the Church, could not be punished as other offenders, by being subjected to those several rules of penance, as other offenders were ; nor did the Church think fit to be so severe upon them, as upon other penitents that lapsed after baptism. But their punishment was commonly no more but a degradation of them from one degree of catechumenship to another ; or, at most, a prorogation of their baptism to the hour of death. This appears plainly from the fifth canon of the Council of Neocæsarea, which speaks thus of the several degrees of catechumens, and their punishment^o : “ If any catechumen who comes to church, and stands in any order of catechumens there, be found guilty of sin ; if he be a kneeler, or prostrator, let him become a hearer, if he sins no more ; but if he sin while he is a hearer, let him be cast out of the Church.” After the same manner, it was decreed by the great Council^p of Nice, “ that if any of the catechumens (by whom they more especially mean the kneelers) were found guilty of sin, they

Confess. lib. i. c. xi. . . . ‘Condiebar ejus sale.’ Hoc unicum fuit sacramentum, quod in vicem corporis Christi dabatur catechumenis, etc.

^o Conc. Neocæsar. can. v. (See note (k) at page 272.) Catechumenus, qui ingreditur ecclesiam, et in ordine eorum, qui instruuntur, adsistit, is autem peccat, si genu quidem flectens, audiat, ut non peccet ulterius ; si vero et audiens peccaverit, expellatur.

^p Conc. Nicæn. c. xiv. (Labbe, vol. iii. p. 36.) Περὶ τῶν κατηχομένων καὶ παραπαισόντων ἔδοξε τῇ ἁγίᾳ καὶ μεγάλῃ συνόδῳ, ὥστε τριῶν ἐτῶν αὐτοὺς ἀκροαμένους μόνον, μετὰ ταῦτα εὐχέσθαι μετὰ τῶν κατηχομένων.

should be degraded to the classes of the hearers for three years; and, after that, be admitted to pray with the catechumens again." In the Council of Eliberis there are several canons to this purpose. For, whereas the ordinary time of continuing catechumens was but two years, as appointed by that Council ^a, yet, in case of lapsing, they were obliged to continue catechumens sometimes three years, sometimes five, and sometimes to the hour of death, before they were baptized, according to the nature and quality of their offences. If a catechumen took upon him the office of a heathen *flamen*, and did not sacrifice^r, but only exhibit the usual games, he was to be punished with the prorogation of his baptism for three years from the time of his lapsing. If a woman who was a catechumen divorced herself from her husband^s, her punishment was five years' prorogation. But if she committed adultery, and, after conception, used any arts to destroy her infant in the womb, then her baptism was to be deferred to the hour^t of death. And this was the highest punishment that ever was inflicted upon catechumens. For though, in this council, many times, communion, even at the hour of death, be denied to believers that had lapsed after baptism; yet we meet with no instance or command, in this or in any other place, prohibiting catechumens to be baptized at their last hour. The sixty-seventh canon of this council ^u

^a Ibid. c. xlii. (Conc. Illib. Labbe, vol. i. p. 975.) Eos qui ad fidem primam credulitatis accedunt, si bonæ fuerint conversationis, intra biennium placuit ad baptismi gratiam admitti debere; nisi infirmitate compellente coëgerit ratio, vel ocus [al. socio] subvenire periclitanti, vel gratiam postulanti.

^r Ibid. c. iv. (p. 971.) Item flamines, si fuerint catechumeni et se a sacrificiis abstinuerint, post triennii tempora placuit ad baptismum admitti debere.

^s Ibid. cc. x. xi. Si ea, quam catechumenus reliquit, duxerit maritum, potest ad fontem lavacri admitti. Hoc et circa feminas catechumenas erit observandum. . . . Intra quinquennii tempora, catechumena si graviter fuerit infirmata, dandum ei baptismum placuit, non denegari.

^t Ibid. can. lxviii. (p. 977.) Catechumena, si per adulterium conceperit, et conceptum necaverit, placuit in fine baptizari. — Ibid. c. lxxiii. Delator si quis exstiterit fidelis, et per delationem ejus aliquis fuerit proscriptus, vel interfectus, placuit eum nec in fine [al. non nisi in fine] accipere communionem. Si levior causa fuerit, intra quinquennium accipere poterit communionem. Si catechumenus fuerit, post quinquennii tempora admittatur ad baptismum.

^u Conc. Illiber. c. lxvii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 978.) Prohibendum, ne qua fidelis

orders them, for some crimes, to be cast out of communion ; which is the same as the Council of Neocæsarea calls casting out of the Church, or reducing them back to the lowest rank of private catechumens, who were not allowed to enter the Church ; but when this was done, if ever after^w they showed true signs of repentance, and a desire to be baptized, they were admitted to this privilege at the hour of death, if not before. And this council gives a reason for this moderation toward them in comparison of others ; “ because their sins were committed whilst they were unregenerate in the old man, and therefore were more easily pardoned than crimes committed by believers after baptism.” This was the distinction universally observed between the punishments of the catechumens, and those that had arrived to greater perfections in the Church.

SECT. XVIII.—*How they were treated by the Church, if they died without Baptism.*

But in case the catechumens died without baptism, by neglect or their own default, then they were punished as other malefactors, who unqualified themselves for the solemnities of a Christian burial ; they were put into the same rank as those who laid violent hands on themselves, or were publicly executed for their crimes. The first Council of Bracara joins all these^x together, as persons unworthy to be interred with the usual

vel catechumena, aut comatos, aut viros cinerarios [al. comicos, aut viros scenicos] habeant. Quæcumque hoc fecerint, a communione arceantur.

^w Ibid. c. xlv. (p. 975.) Qui aliquando fuerit catechumenus, et per infinita tempora numquam ad ecclesiam accesserit, si eum de clero quisquam cognoverit esse [al. voluisse esse] Christianum, aut testes aliqui exstiterint fideles, placuit ei baptismum non negari, eo quod in veterem hominem (al. in vetere homine) deliquisse videatur.

^x Conc. Bracar. I. c. xxxv. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 841, est Conc. II. can. xvi. xvii.) Placuit, ut hi qui sibi ipsis aut per ferrum, aut per venenum, aut per præcipitium, aut suspendium, vel quolibet modo violentam inferunt mortem, nulla pro illis in oblatione commemoratio fiat, neque cum psalmis ad sepulturam eorum cadavera deducantur : multi enim sibi hoc per ignorantiam usurpaverunt. Similiter et de his placuit, qui pro suis sceleribus puniuntur. Item placuit, ut catechumenis sine redemptione baptismi defunctis, simili modo, neque oblationis commemoratio, neque psallendi impendatur officium : nam et hoc per ignorantiam usurpatum est.

solemnities of singing of psalms, or to be commemorated amongst the faithful in the oblations and prayers of the Church; for, in ancient times, prayers, and oblations, and thanksgivings, were solemnly made in the communion service for all that died in the faith of Christ and in full communion with the Church. But such as neglected their baptism, were none of this number; and, therefore, they were buried in silence, and no mention was ever after made of them, among others, in the prayers of the Church. Chrysostom^y says expressly, “This was the peculiar privilege of those that died in the faith; but catechumens were excluded from this benefit, and all other helps, except that of alms and oblations for them.”

SECT. XIX.—*What Opinion the Ancients had of the Necessity of Baptism.*

This discipline plainly respected those who put a contempt upon the holy ordinance of baptism, and neglected to receive it, when the time of their catechumenship, perhaps, was expired, and they were under an obligation, by the laws of the Church, to have received it. But in case there was no contempt, but only an unforeseen and unavoidable necessity hindered their baptism, whilst they were diligently preparing for it, in that case they were treated a little more favourably by the ancients, who did not generally think the mere want of baptism, in such circumstances, to be such a piacular crime, as to exclude men absolutely from the benefit of Church communion, or the hopes of eternal salvation. Some few of them, indeed, are pretty severe upon infants dying without baptism; and some others seem also, in general terms, to deny eternal

^y Chrysostom. Hom. iii. in Philipp. p. 1225. (tom. vi. p. 32, sq. edit. Francof.)
 Κλαίωμεν τούτους, βοηθῶμεν αὐτοῖς κατὰ δύναμιν, ἐπινοήσωμεν αὐτοῖς τινα βοήθειαν, μικρὰν μὲν, βοηθεῖν δὲ ὅμως δυναμένην· πῶς καὶ τίνι τρόπῳ; αὐτοὶ τε εὐχόμενοι, καὶ ἑτέρους παρακαλοῦντες εὐχὰς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ποιεῖσθαι, πένησιν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν διδόντες συνεχῶς· ἔχει τινὰ τὸ πρᾶγμα παραμυθίαν. . . . ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν περὶ τῶν ἐν πίστει παρελθόντων· οἱ δὲ κατηχούμενοι οὐδὲ ταύτης καταξιοῦνται τῆς παραμυθίας, ἀλλὰ ἀπεστέρηνται πάσης τῆς τοιαύτης βοηθείας, πλὴν μιᾶς τινός· ποίας δὲ ταύτης; ἔνεστι πένησιν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν διδόναι· ποιεῖ τινα αὐτοῖς παραψυχὴν τὸ πρᾶγμα.

life to adult persons dying without it. But yet, when they interpret themselves, and speak more distinctly, they make some allowance, and except several cases, in which the want of baptism may be supplied by other means, when the want of it proceeded, not from contempt, but from some great necessity and disability to receive it. They generally ground the necessity of baptism upon those two sayings of our Saviour: "He that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved;" and, "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." But, then, in their exposition of these texts, they limit the sense to the ordinary method of salvation, and such cases wherein baptism may be had. And, as for extraordinary cases, wherein baptism could not be had, though men were desirous of it, they made several exceptions in behalf of other things, which, in such circumstances, were thought sufficient to supply the want of it.

SECT. XX.—*The want of Baptism supplied by Martyrdom.*

The chief of these excepted cases was martyrdom, which commonly goes by the name of 'second baptism,' or 'baptism in men's own blood,' in the writings of the ancients, because of the power and efficacy it was thought to have to save men by the invisible baptism of the Spirit, without the external element of water. Tertullian^z, upon this account, not only dignifies it with the title of 'second baptism,' but says, it was that which men desired to suffer, as that which procured the grace of God, and pardon^a of all sins, by the compensation of their own blood; for by this act all sins were pardoned. This was that 'second baptism^b in men's own blood,' with which our Lord himself was baptized, after he

^z Tertull. de Patient. c. xiii. (Rigalt. 1641. p. 168. A 8.) Quum vero producit ad experimentum felicitatis, ad occasionem secundæ intinctionis, etc.

^a Ibid. Apolog. c. l. (p. 45.) Quis non, ubi requisivit, accedit? ubi accessit, pati exoptat? ut totam Dei gratiam redimat, ut omnem veniam ab eo compensatione sanguinis sui expediat? Omnia enim huic operi delicta donantur.

^b Ibid. de Baptism. c. xvi. (p. 163, A 3.) Est quidem nobis etiam secundum lavacrum, unum et ipsum, sanguinis scilicet: de quo Dominus, 'Habeo,' inquit, 'baptismo tingui,' quum jam tinctus fuisset. . . . Hic est baptismus, qui lavacrum et non acceptum repræsentat, et perditum reddit.

had been baptized in water. This baptism was of force both to compensate for want of baptism, and to restore it when men had lost it. Cyprian treads in the steps of his master, Tertullian; for, speaking of the catechumens who were apprehended and slain for the name of Christ, before they could be baptized in the Church, he says, "These were not deprived^c of the sacrament of baptism, seeing they were baptized in the most glorious and celebrated baptism of their own blood, to which our Lord had reference, when he said, 'I have another baptism to be baptized with.' And," says he, "that they who are thus baptized in blood, are also sanctified and consummated by their passion, and made partakers of the grace which God hath promised, is further declared by our Saviour in his Gospel, in that he said to the thief, who believed and confessed him upon the cross, 'To-day thou shalt be with me in Paradise.' " Cyprian has many other noble encomiums and flights upon this 'second baptism,' and he excepts no sort of men from the benefit of it, but only one, that is, heretics and schismatics, because they wanted the grace of charity, and died out of the communion of the Church without repentance; in which case he thought martyrdom itself not sufficient^d to expiate their

^c Cyprian. Epist. lxxiii. ad Jubaian. (Fell, p. 208.) (p. 150, edit. Rigalt. Paris. 1648.) *Sciant catechumenos illos primo integram fidem et ecclesiae unitatem tenere, et ad debellandum diabolum de divinis castris cum plena et sincera Dei Patris, et Christi, et Spiritus Sancti, cognitione procedere: deinde nec privari baptismi sacramento, utpote qui baptizentur gloriosissimo et maximo sanguinis baptismo, de quo et Dominus dicebat habere se aliud baptismum baptizari. Sanguine autem suo baptizatos, et passione sanctificatos consummari, et divinae pollicitationis gratiam consequi, declarat in evangelio idem Dominus, quando ad latronem in ipsa passione credentem et confidentem loquitur, et quod 'secum futurus sit in paradiso,' pollicetur.*

^d Cyprian. de Orat. Dominic. (Fell, p. 150.) (p. 226, edit. Par. 1648.) *Quale delictum est, quod nec baptismo sanguinis potest abluī? Quale crimen est, quod martyrio non potest expiari? — Ibid. de Unitat. Eccles. (Fell, p. 113.) (p. 212, edit. citat.) Qui extra Christi ecclesiam colliguntur, tales etiam si occisi in confessione nominis fuerint, macula ista nec sanguine abluītur, etc. — Ibid. Epist. lvii. ad Cornel. (Fell, p. 118.) Nec quisquam dicat, qui martyrium tollit, sanguine suo baptizatur: nec pax illi ab episcopo necessaria est, habituro gloriae suae pacem, et accepturo majorem de Domini dignatione mercedem. Idoneus esse non potest ad martyrium, qui ab ecclesia non armatur ad praelium, etc. — It. Epist. lx. (al. lvii.) ad Cornel. Si aliquis ex talibus fuerit apprehensus, non*

crimes, though it was available to purge away any others. Origen was wont to speak of this kind of baptism, under the name of 'baptism by fire,' as that which often translated even catechumens to heaven, though they wanted 'baptism by water.' For so Eusebius represents both Origen's sense and his own, when speaking of the martyrs that suffered out of the school of Origen, he says, "Two of them were only catechumens; Heraclides among the men, and Heraïs among the women^e," were in this class only when they died; but they 'received baptism by fire,' as Origen was used to phrase it. And that this baptism did purge away sins, as well as 'baptism by water,' Origen himself declares, for he argues thus: that martyrdom^f is rightly called baptism, because it procures remission of sins, as 'baptism by water' and the Spirit doth; and that by virtue of Christ's promise, who ascertains pardon of sins to all that suffer martyrdom, saying, "Whosoever shall confess me before men, him will I confess before my Father which is in heaven." And that this was then the general doctrine of the Christians in that age, appears further from this, that it was so common and well known, that the heathens themselves were not ignorant of it; for, in the Acts of the Martyrdom of St. Felicitas and Perpetua, who suffered about the time of Origen and Tertullian, one Saturus, a catechumen^g, is spoken of as being thrown to a leopard,

est quod sibi quasi in confessionis nomine blandiantur, quum constet, si occisi ejusmodi extra ecclesiam fuerint, fidei coronam non esse, sed poenam potius esse perfidiæ.

^e Euseb. Histor. lib. vi. c. iv. (Aug. T. p. 228.) Γυναικῶν Ἡραΐς ἐτι κατηχουμένη, τὸ βάπτισμα, ὡς πού φησὶν αὐτὸς, τὸ διὰ πυρὸς λαβοῦσα, τὸν βίον ἐξελέλυθεν.

^f Origen. Tract. xii. in Matt. (Oberthür, vol. xii. p. .) Si baptismus indulgentiam peccatorum promittit, sicut accepimus de baptismo aquæ et Spiritus: remissionem autem accepit peccatorum et qui martyrii suscipit baptismum: sine dubio ipsum martyrium rationabiliter baptismus appellatur. Quoniam autem remissio sit peccatorum omni martyrium sustinenti, manifestum est ex eo, quod ait, 'Omnis qui confessus fuerit in me coram hominibus, et ego confitebor in illo coram Patre meo, qui est in cœlis.'

^g Acta Perpetuæ et Felicit. ad calcem Lactantii de Mort. Persecutor. p. 34. Statim in fine spectacula leopardo ejecto, de uno morsu tanto perfusus est sanguine, ut populus revertenti illi secundi baptismatis testimonium reclamaverit: 'Salvum lotum! Salvum lotum!' Plane utique salvus erat, qui hoc modo laverat.

who by the first bite of the wild beast was so washed all over in blood, that the people, as he returned, gave him the testimony of the second baptism, crying out, *Salvum lotum! salvum lotum!* ‘Baptized and saved! baptized and saved!’ This they said only by way of ridicule of the Christian doctrine of martyrdom being esteemed a second baptism, and a means of salvation; but the author of the Acts rightly observes, “that he was saved, indeed, who was so baptized.”

Nor was this only the doctrine of the more ancient writers who lived in the times of persecution and martyrdom, but of those that followed after, and who are commonly imagined more rigid defenders of the necessity of baptism: for even St. Austin, and all his contemporaries, who were engaged against Pelagius, made the same allowance in the case of martyrdom. St. Austin declares himself^h wholly of Cyprian’s opinion, that martyrdom does many times supply the room of baptism; and he thinks Cyprian argued well, from the instance of the thief upon the cross, to whom it was said, though he was not baptized, “To-day thou shalt be with me in Paradise.” St. Austin often argues from the sameⁱ example of the thief in other places, telling us, “that by the ineffable power and justice of God, baptism was imputed to the thief upon his faith, and it was accounted to him as if he had received it, because he had a good mind and will toward it, though he could not actually receive it in his body by reason of his crucifixion;” therefore he reckons him^k among those who are sanctified

^h Augustin. de Bapt. lib. iv. c. xxii. (Bened. vol. ix. p. 139.) (tom. vii. p. 432, edit. Basil. 1569.) Baptismi vicem aliquando implere passionem, de latrone illo cui non baptizato dictum est, ‘Hodie mecum eris in paradiso,’ non leve documentum beatus Cyprianus adsumit.

ⁱ Ibid. 83 Quæst. lib. quæst. lxii. (Bened. vol. vi. p. 38.) (tom. iv. opp. p. 568.) Ineffabili potestate dominantis Dei atque justitia, deputatum est etiam baptismum credenti latroni, et pro acceptis habitum in animo libero, quod in corpore crucifixo accipi non poterat.

^k Ibid. Quæst. in Levit. qu. lxxxiv. (Benedict. vol. iii. p. 524. E.) Hoc et de latrone illo cui secum crucifixo Dominus ait, ‘Hodie mecum eris in paradiso.’ Neque enim sine sanctificatione invisibili tanta felicitate donatus est. Proinde colligitur invisibilem sanctificationem quibusdam adfuisse atque profuisse sine visibilibus sacramentis.—Sed paullo post addit: ‘Nec tamen ideo sacramentum visibile contemnendum est: nam contemtor ejus sanctificari nullo modo potest.’

by the invisible grace without the visible sacrament, as he thinks many were, both under the Old and New Testament. From whence yet it does not follow, that the visible sacrament may be contemned by any: for the contemner of it cannot by any means be sanctified by the invisible grace thereof. In his book *De Civitate Dei*, he speaks more generally¹ of all those that suffer martyrdom, that though they have not been washed in the laver of regeneration, yet their dying for the confession of Christ avails as much toward the remission of sins, as if they had been washed in the holy fountain of baptism: for which he alleges those sayings of our Saviour, “He that loses his life for my sake shall find it;” and, “He that confesses me before men, him will I confess before my Father which is in heaven.” This passage is repeated and approved by Prosper, in his Collection of Sentences^m out of St. Austin’s Works; to which he adds an epigram of his own, expressing his sense to this purpose: “They are not”

¹ Augustin. de Civit. Dei, lib. xiii. c. vii. (Bened. vol. viii. p. 329.) Quicumque etiam, non percepto regenerationis lavacro, pro Christi confessione moriuntur, tantum eis valet ad dimittenda peccata, quantum si abluerentur sacro fonte baptismatis.—Quam in rem dicta Servatoris nostri adlegat: ‘Qui perdiderit animam suam propter me, inveniet eam.’ Et: ‘Qui me confessus fuerit coram hominibus, confitebor et ego eum coram Patre meo, qui in coelis est.’—It. Epist. cviii. ad Seleucian. (vol. ii. p. 897.) Quoscumque legimus in corpore Christi, quod est Ecclesia, pertinere ad regnum cœlorum, nonnisi baptizatos intelligere debemus: nisi forte quos angustia passionis invenit, et nolentes negare Christum, antequam baptizarentur occisi sunt, quibus ipsa passio pro baptismo deputata est.—It. de Orig. Animæ, lib. i. c. ix. (vol. x. p. 342.) Nemo fit membrum Christi, nisi aut baptisate in Christo, aut morte pro Christo. Unde et latro ille non ante crucem Domini sectator, sed in cruce confessor, de quo nonnumquam præjudicium captatur, sive tentatur, contra baptismatis sacramentum, a Cypriano Sancto inter martyres computantur, qui suo sanguine baptizantur, quod plerisque non baptizatis fervente persecutione provenit.

^m Prosper. Sentent. cxlix. (Bassani, vol. i. p. 297.)

ⁿ Id. Epigramma lxxxvii. (vol. i. p. 360.)

Si mundo moritur divino fonte renascens,
Fitque novus vita, qui sepelitur aqua;
Fraudati non sunt sacro baptismate Christi,
Fons quibus ipsa sui sanguinis unda fuit.
Et quicquid sacri fert mystica forma lavacri,
Id totum implevit gloria martyrii.

deprived of the holy baptism of Christ, who, instead of a font, are washed in their own blood; for whatever benefit accrues to any by the mystical rite of the sacred laver, is all fulfilled by the glory of martyrdom." Fulgentius is as severe as any man, yet he allows martyrdom^o to compensate for the want of baptism. Though he pronounces peremptorily of all others that die without the sacrament of faith and repentance, which is baptism, that they shall not inherit eternal life, yet he excepts those that are baptized in their own blood for the name of Christ. And Gennadius, after he has said, that none but persons^p baptized are in the way of salvation, and that no catechumen, though he die in good works, can have eternal life; yet he excepts the case of martyrdom, because in that all the mysteries of baptism are fulfilled. "A martyr," as the author of the Apostolical Constitutions^q expresses it, "may rejoice in the Lord, and leave this life without sorrow, though he be but a catechumen, because his passion for Christ is a more genuine baptism: he really and experimentally dies with his Lord, whilst others only do it in figure." It were easy to add many other such testimonies out of St. Chrysostom^r, and

^o Fulgent. de Fide ad Petrum, c. xxx. (Bibl. Max. Patr. vol. ix. p. 82.) Firmissime tene et nullatenus dubites, exceptis illis qui pro nomine Christo suo sanguine baptizantur, nullum hominem accepturum vitam æternam, qui non hic a malis suis fuerit per poenitentiam fidemque conversus, et per sacramentum fidei et poenitentiae, id est, per baptismum liberatus. Vid. Fulgent. de Baptismo Æthiopis, c. viii.

^p Gennad. de Eccles. Dogmat. c. lxxiv. Baptizatis tantum iter esse salutis credimus, nullum catechumenum, quamvis in bonis operibus defunctum, vitam æternam habere credimus, excepto martyrio, ubi tota baptismi sacramenta complentur.

^q Constitut. Apostol. lib. v. c. v. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 343. D 3.) Ὁ δὲ ἀξιωθεὶς μαρτυρίου, χαιρέτω τὴν ἐν Κυρίῳ χαρὰν, ὡς τηλικούτου ἐπιτυχῶν στεφάνου, καὶ δι' ὁμολογίας ποιούμενος τὴν ἐξοδὸν τοῦ βίου· κἂν κατηχούμενος ᾖ, ἄλυπος ἀπίτω· τὸ γὰρ πάθος, τὸ ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ, ἔσται αὐτῷ γνησιώτερον βάπτισμα· ὅτι αὐτὸς μὲν πείρα συναποθνήσκει τῷ Κυρίῳ, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ, τύπῳ.

^r Chrysost. Hom. xi. in Ephes. (Bened. vol. xi. p. 86. C 9.) Ἀνὴρ δέ τις ἅγιος εἰπέ τι δοκοῦν εἶναι τολμηρὸν, πλὴν ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐφθέγγετο· τί δὴ τοῦτο ἔστιν; οὐδὲ μαρτυρίου αἷμα ταύτην δύνασθαι ἐξαλείφειν τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἔφησεν· εἰπέ γάρ μοι, τίνος ἕνεκεν μαρτυρεῖς; οὐ διὰ τὴν δόξαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ; ὁ τοίνυν τὴν ψυχὴν προέμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, πῶς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν πορθεῖς, ὑπὲρ ἧς τὴν ψυχὴν προήκατο ὁ Χριστός;

St. Jerome^s, St. Basil^t, Gregory Nazianzen^u, Cyril of Jerusalem^x, and St. Ambrose^y. But enough has been already said to show this to be the general sense of the ancients, that catechumens were not to be despaired of, though they died without baptism, if they were baptized in their own blood.

SECT. XXI.—*And by Faith and Repentance in such Catechumens as were piously preparing for Baptism.*

Nor was it only the case of martyrs they spake so favourably of, but all other catechumens, who, whilst they were preparing for baptism by the exercises of faith, and repentance, and a pious life, were suddenly cut off, before they could have opportunity to put their desires in execution. St. Ambrose joins these two cases together, and makes them in a manner parallel; for, in his funeral oration upon the younger Valentinian,

^s Hieron. Commentar. in Rom. vi. (Vallars. 1771. vol. xi. p. 165.) (tom. viii. p. 172, Par. 1643.) Tribus modis baptismus accipitur in scripturis, aquæ, et Spiritus Sancti, qui et ignis appellatus est, et sanguinis in martyrio; de quo Salvator dicebat, ‘Baptismo habeo baptizari.’

^t Basil. de Spirit. Sanct. c. xv. (Bened. fol. vol. iii. p. 30. C.) “Ἡδὴ τίνες ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας ἀγῶσιν, ἀληθεία καὶ οὐ μιμήσει τὸν ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ θάνατον ὑποστάντες, οὐδὲν τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος συμβόλων εἰς τὴν σωτηρίαν ἐπεδείθησαν, ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ αἵματι βαπτισθέντες.

^u Gregor. Nazianzen. Orat. xxxix. in S. Lumina, (Benedict. vol. i. p. 688. E.) Οἶδα καὶ τέταρτον βάπτισμα, τὸ διὰ μαρτυρίου καὶ αἵματος, ὃ καὶ αὐτὸς Χριστὸς ἐβαπτίσατο, καὶ πολὺ γε τῶν ἄλλων αἰδεσιμώτερον, ὅσῳ δευτέροις ῥύποις οὐ μολύνεται.

^x Cyrill. Hierosolym. Catech. iii. (Paris. 1640. p. 19, at bottom.) Εἴ τις μὴ λάβῃ τὸ βάπτισμα, σωτηρίαν οὐκ ἔχει, πλὴν μόνων μαρτύρων, οἱ καὶ χωρὶς τοῦ ὕδατος λαμβάνουσι τὴν βασιλείαν· λυτρούμενος γὰρ τὴν οἰκουμένην ὁ Σωτὴρ διὰ τοῦ σταυροῦ, καὶ τὴν πλευρὰν νυγείς, ἐξήγαγεν αἷμα καὶ ὕδωρ, ἵνα οἱ μὲν ἐν καιροῖς εἰρήνης ἐν ὕδατι βαπτισθῶσιν· οἱ δὲ ἐν καιροῖς διωγμῶν ἐν οἰκείοις αἵμασι βαπτισθῶσι.

^y Ambros. de Virgin. lib. iii. (Paris. 1836. vol. iii. p. 248.) (Paris. 1642, vol. iv. p. 478.) Verum illæ spiritali volatu jam campum castitatis tenebant, quum subito hinc persecutoribus imminentibus, inde torrente fluvio exclusæ a fuga, inclusæ ad coronam; ‘Quid veremur?’ inquit: ‘Ecce aqua: quis nos baptizari prohibet? Et hoc baptismus est, quo peccata donantur, regna quærentur. Et hoc baptismus est, post quod nemo delinquit. Excipiat nos aqua, quæ regenerare consuevit. Excipiat nos aqua, quæ virgines facit. Excipiat nos aqua, quæ cælum aperit, inferos tegit, mortem abscondit, martyres reddit.’

who was thus snatched away before he could attain to his desired baptism, he thus makes apology for him : “ If any one^z is concerned that the holy rites of baptism were not solemnly administered to him, he may as well say that the martyrs are not crowned, if they happen to die whilst they are only catechumens ; but if the martyrs are washed in their own blood, then this man also was washed by his piety and desire of baptism.” St. Austin was entirely of the same opinion, that not only martyrdom^a, but faith and repentance, joined with a desire of baptism, was sufficient to save a man in the article of necessity, when there was otherwise no opportunity to receive it. “ Considering,” says he, “ over and over again the case of the thief upon the cross, I find that not only suffering for the name of Christ may supply that which was wanting of baptism, but also faith and true conversion of heart, if want of time in extreme necessity would not suffer the sacrament of baptism to be administered. For that thief was not crucified for the name of Christ, but for the merit of his own crimes ; nor did he suffer because he was a believer, but he became a believer whilst he was a suffering. Therefore his case declares, how far that saying of the apostle avails, without the visible sacrament of baptism, ‘ With the heart man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation.’” But then only this invisible operation is performed, when the ministry of baptism is excluded purely by the article of necessity, and not any contempt of religion. Therefore, when these writers speak in general terms of the absolute

^z Ambros. de Obitu Valent. (vol. iv. p. 186.) (p. 113. B. tom. v. edit. Paris.) Si, quia solemniter non sunt celebrata mysteria, hoc movet, ergo nec martyres, si catechumeni fuerint, coronantur : non enim coronantur, si non initiantur. Quod si suo abluuntur sanguine, et hunc sua pietas abluit et voluntas.

^a August. de Bapt. lib. iv. c. xxii. (Bened. vol. ix. p. 139. C 5.) Etiam atque etiam considerans, invenio non tantum passionem pro nomine Christi, id quod ex baptismo deerat, posse supplere, sed etiam fidem conversionemque cordis, si forte ad celebrandum mysterium baptismi, in angustiis temporum, succurri non potest. Neque enim latro ille pro nomine Christi crucifixus est, sed pro meritis facinorum suorum ; nec quia credidit, passus est ; sed dum patitur, credidit. Quantum itaque valeat etiam sine visibili sacramento baptismi, quod ait Apostolus, ‘ Corde creditur ad justitiam, ore autem confessio fit ad salutem ;’ in illo latrone declaratum est. Sed tunc impletur invisibiliter, quum ministerium baptismi non contemptus religionis, sed articulus necessitatis excludit.

necessity of baptism, they must be allowed to interpret themselves with these two limitations and restrictions. As when St. Ambrose^b says, "No man ascends into the kingdom of heaven but by the sacrament of baptism," he must be understood to except martyrs, and such catechumens as were desirous of baptism, but could not have it by reason of some pressing necessity intervening to hinder it: such as was the case of Valentinian, who was slain suddenly, before he had opportunity to receive it. The like interpretation must be put upon all such passages in St. Austin^c, Chrysostom^d, Cyril of Jerusalem^e, or any others, who speak in general terms, of the absolute necessity of baptism for catechumens or adult persons.

SECT. XXII.—*The Case of Heretics returning to the Unity of the Church. How far Charity, in that Case, was thought to supply the want of Baptism.*

Cyprian, also, had a very charitable opinion concerning all such heretics and schismatics as forsook their errors, and returned to the unity of the Catholic Church; for though, according to his principles, none of those who denied the validity of their baptism could be really and truly baptized, unless they were rebaptized upon their return to the Church; yet if any such died in the unity of the Church without being rebaptized, he did not think their condition deplorable, though in his

^b Ambros. de Abrah. Patriarch. lib. ii. c. xi. (Paris. 1836. vol. i. p. 239.)
Nemo adscendit in regnum coelorum, nisi per sacramentum baptismatis.

^c Aug. de Bapt. lib. iv. c. xxi. tot.

^d Chrysost. de Sacerdot. lib. iii. c. v. (Bened. vol. i. p. 383. E 4.) Μαρία περιφανής ὑπερορᾷ τῆς τοσαύτης ἀρχῆς, ἥς ἄνευ οὔτε σωτηρίας ἡμῖν, οὔτε τῶν ἐπηγγελμένων τυχεῖν ἐστὶν ἀγαθῶν· εἰ γὰρ οὐ δύναται τις εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν, ἐὰν μὴ δι' ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος ἀναγεννηθῇ· καὶ ὁ μὴ τρώγων τὴν σάρκα τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ πίνων, ἐκβέβληται τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς· πάντα δὲ ταῦτα δι' ἑτέρου μὲν οὐδενός, μόνον δὲ διὰ τῶν ἁγίων ἐκείνων ἐπιτελεῖται χειρῶν· τῶν τοῦ ἱερέως λέγω· πῶς αὐτοῖς τούτων ἐκτός, ἢ τὸ τῆς γέννησης ἐκφυγεῖν δυνήσεται πῦρ, ἢ τῶν ἀποκειμένων στεφάνων τυχεῖν;—It. Hom. iii. in Philipp. (Bened. vol. xi. p. 217. C.) Κλαῦσον τοὺς ἀπίστους, κλαῦσον τοὺς οὐδὲν ἐκείνων ἀπέχοντας, τοὺς χωρὶς φωτίσματος ἀπερχομένους, τοὺς χωρὶς σφραγίδος.—It. Hom. iii. in 1 Cor. (vol. x. p. 18. B.) Μέγα μὲν γάρ ἐστι τὸ βάπτισμα, καὶ ἄνευ βαπτίσματος ἀμήχανον βασιλείας ἐπιτυχεῖν.

^e Cyril. Catech. iii. n. vii. Vid. sub lit. anteced. (x).

opinion they died without baptism; but charitably hoped they might find mercy and favour with the Lord. For he thus answers the objection that was made against his own opinion about rebaptization: "Some man^f will say, What then becomes of all those who, in times past, came over from heresy to the Church, and were admitted without baptism? The Lord," says he, "is able, of his mercy, to grant them indulgence, and not exclude them from the gifts of his Church, who are simply admitted into the Church, and die in the communion of it." Firmilian, bishop of Cæsarea, delivers himself much after the same manner, in answer to the same objection: "What shall become^g of those who, returning from heretics, are admitted without the baptism of the Church? If they depart out of the world," says he, "in that condition, we reckon them in the number of such catechumens among us, as die before they are baptized." So that, in his opinion, two sorts of persons might be saved without baptism; that is, catechumens in the Church, and such heretics as returned to the peace and unity of the Church, though, according to his sentiments, they were not baptized. St. Austin often mentions and approves this opinion^h of Cyprian, nay, and urges

^f Cyprian. Ep. lxxiii. ad Jubaian. (Fell, Oxon. p. 208.) (p. 313, edit. Fell. Amstel. 1700.) Dicet aliquis: Quid ergo fiet de his, qui in præteritum de hæresi ad ecclesiam venientes sine baptismo admissi sunt? Potens est Dominus misericordia sua indulgentiam dare, et eos qui ad ecclesiam simpliciter admissi, in ecclesia dormierunt, ab ecclesiæ suæ muneribus non separare.

^g Firmil. Epist. lxxv. apud Cyprian. (Fell, Oxon. 1682. p. 226.) (p. 325, edit. cit.) Quid ergo fiet de his, qui ab hæreticis venientes, sine ecclesiæ baptismo admissi sunt? Si de sæculo excesserunt, in eorum numero, qui apud nos catechizati quidem, sed priusquam baptizarentur, obierunt, habentur.

^h Aug. de Bapt. lib. ii. c. xiii. (Bened. vol. ix. p. 106. F 6.) Quum arbitraretur eos qui extra ecclesiæ communionem baptizarentur, baptismum non habere, credidit eos tamen in ecclesiam simpliciter admissos, propter ipsius unitatis vinculum, posse ad veniam pervenire.—It. lib. v. c. ii. (p. 143. A 4.) Bene quidem præsumsit, quod caritas unitatis possit cooperire multitudinem peccatorum. . . . Nos autem si ad ecclesiam sine baptismo admittimus, in eo numero sumus, quibus Cyprianus propter unitatis custodiam ignosci posse præsumsit.—It. lib. v. c. xxviii. (p. 160. C.) Quomodo non sunt per aquam salvati, quos in præteritum cum eo baptismate, quod in hæresi acceperant, in ecclesiam simpliciter admissos Cyprianus ipse commemorat? Eadem quippe arcæ unitas eos salvos fecit, in qua nemo nisi per aquam salvatus est.—Conf. cont. Crescon. lib. ii. cc. xxxiii. xxxv.

it in favour of the Church against the Donatists; for, supposing the Catholics did err in admitting heretics without baptism, yet they were in the number of those whom Cyprian presumed capable of pardon, for the sake of unity and charity, which covers a multitude of sins. St. Basil, also, as Vossiusⁱ has rightly observed, seems to have been of Cyprian's opinion, that God, in his mercy, was able to save such schismatics as returned to the peace and unity of the Church, even without baptism: for though he thought their baptism null and void, as Cyprian did, yet he advises men to comply with the custom of receiving^k such to communion in those Churches which received their baptism, rather than break the peace and unity of the Church upon it. Which advice he would hardly have given, had he not thought such men, in such circumstances, capable of salvation by God's mercy, without baptism.

SECT. XXIII.—*The Case of Persons communicating with the Church without Baptism. How far that was thought to supply the want of Baptism.*

I find one case more, in which some of the ancients made

ⁱ Voss. de Bapt. disputat. vii. p. 105. Neque Basilus videtur putasse, baptismum esse ἀπλῶς necessarium, saltem in iis, qui quomodocumque, etsi non vere, essent baptizati. Nam epistola ad Amphilochem (can. i.) tradit, baptismum Catharorum, et Encratitarum, et Hydroparastatarum, et Apotaeticorum, non esse verum baptismum; quia etsi, qui initio schismatis baptizarent, manusque imponent, spiritualem gratiam conferrent, propterea quod legitime essent vocati ad hoc munus; ii tamen, qui a schismaticis illis vocati essent, non acceperint potestatem eam tribuendi gratiam Spiritus Sancti, ac proinde non magis baptizarint, quam si laici fuissent. Unde concludit, tales esse rebaptizandos. Agnoscit interim, serio esse dispiciendum, quod imprimis e re fecerit ecclesiae, ac pacis publicae. Si enim baptismus eorum sit futurus offendiculo, satius esse arbitratur, illum omittere; non quasi sit vere baptizatus, sed quia credatur a multis vere baptizatus; qualibus futurum sit scandalo, si iterum tingatur. Audiamus ipsum Basilium: Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὅλως ἔδοξε τισι τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν, οἰκονομίας ἕνεκα τῶν πολλῶν, δεχθῆναι αὐτῶν τὸ βάπτισμα. Et postea, quum Encratitas iterum baptizari praecepisset, restringit hæc eo pacto: Ἐὰν μὲν τοι μέλλῃ τῇ καθόλου οἰκονομίᾳ ἐμπόδιον εἶσθαι τοῦτο, πάλιν τῇ εἰρηματικῇ καὶ τοῖς οἰκονομήσουσι, τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς πατράσιν ἀκολουθητέον. Atqui si credidisset Basilus, baptismum ἀπλῶς esse necessarium, non docuisset, posse eum in non vere baptizatis omitti οἰκονομίας ἕνεκα. Nam sine quo salvari non possumus, id concordiae causa omitti nulla ratione potest aut debet.

^k Basil. Can. Ep. c. i. tom. ii. opp. p. 759, edit. Paris. an. 1618. (In tomis Conc. tom. ii. append. p. 1717. C.) Vid. sub lit. anteced. (i).

an allowance for the want of baptism; and that was, when the Church, presuming a person to have been truly baptized (he himself *bona fide* presuming so too), admitted him to communicate constantly at the altar for many years; though it appeared at last, that either he had not been baptized at all, or at least with a very doubtful and suspicious baptism. Yet, in this case, constant communicating with the Church was thought to supply this defect, or want of baptism. A single act of communicating, indeed, in a child or a catechumen, happening only by some surprise or mistake, was not deemed sufficient to compensate for baptism: for, in that case, the canons provided, that whenever any such thing happened, the party should be immediately baptized. Thus, in the canonical determinations of Timothy, bishop of Alexandria, the question being put, “What should be done in case a youth that was seven years old, or a man that was only a catechumen, being present at the oblation, had communicated through ignorance or mistake?” The answer¹ is, “Let him be baptized.” And so the author of the Apostolical Constitutions brings in the apostles making this decree^m, “that if any unbaptized person should, through ignorance, partake of the eucharist, they should immediately instruct and baptize him, that he might not go away a despiser.” But in case a man, upon presumption of his being truly baptized, when he was not so, had been allowed to communicate with the Church for many years, his communicating at the altar was thought to supersede the necessity of baptism, and such a one was allowed to continue in the Church without rebaptizing. There is a famous instance in Eusebius of such a case, that happened at Alexandria, in the time of Dionysius, which Eusebius relates out of an epistle of Dionysius to Xystus, bishop of Rome, where he asks the bishop of Rome’s advice upon it. “A certain person, who,

¹ Timoth. Resp. Can. quæst. i. ap. Bevereg. Pandect. tom. ii. p. 165. Vid. supra, c. i. sect. iv. ‘Si puellus catechumenus, utpote annorum septem, vel homo etiam perfectus, dum fieret oblatio, opportune adfuerit, ejusque nescius particeps factus sit, quid de eo fieri debes?’ Responsio. ‘Debet illuminari,’ [hoc est, baptizari.] See the Greek, page 262 of this volume.

^m Constitut. Apostol. lib. vii. c. xxvi. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 427. E 3.) Εἰ δὲ τις κατὰ ἄγνοιαν μεταλάβοι, τοῦτον τάχιον στοιχειώσαντες μνήσατε, ὅπως μὴ καταφρονητῆς ἐξέλθοι.

for many years, had assembled and communicatedⁿ with the Church, both in his own time, and in the time of his predecessor Heraclas, happening to be present at the baptism of some who were lately baptized, upon hearing the interrogatories and answers that are usually made in that solemnity, came to me weeping and lamenting himself, and falling down at my feet, confessed, with a most solemn protestation, that the baptism which he received among heretics, was not like this, nor had any thing common with it, for it was full of blasphemy and impiety; and, therefore, he said his soul was full of trouble, and he had not confidence to lift up his eyes unto God, being initiated with such impious words and ceremonies. He prayed, therefore, that I would give him our sincere baptism, and admit him to the adoption and grace of the Church. Which thing I durst not do, but told him, his communicating for so long at the altar was sufficient to this purpose. For I durst not rebaptize one, who had so often heard the solemn thanksgiving, and joined with the rest in saying Amen to it; who had stood at the Lord's table, and stretched forth his hand to receive the holy food; who had taken it, and been so long used to participate of the body and blood of Christ. But I bid him be of good courage; and with a firm belief, and a good conscience, continue to partake of the holy mysteries."

ⁿ Dionys. Epist. ad Xystum, ap. Euseb. lib. vii. c. ix. (Aug. T. 1747. p. 288.)
 Τῶν συναγομένων ἀδελφῶν πιστὸς νομιζόμενος ἀρχαῖος καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἐμῆς χειροτονίας· οἶμαι δὲ καὶ πρὸ τῆς τοῦ μακαρίου Ἡρακλᾶ καταστάσεως, τῆς συναγωγῆς μετασχών· τοῖς ὑπόγυον βαπτιζομένοις παρατυχών, καὶ τῶν ἐπερωτήσεων καὶ τῶν ἀποκρίσεων ἐπακούσας, προσῆλθέ μοι κλαίων καὶ καταθρηνῶν ἑαυτὸν, καὶ πίπτων πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν μου· ἐξομολογούμενος μὲν καὶ ἐξομνύμενος τὸ βάπτισμα ὃ παρὰ τοῖς αἰρετικοῖς βεβάπτιστο, μὴ τοιοῦτο εἶναι, μηδὲ ὅλως ἔχειν τινὰ πρὸς τοῦτο κοινωνίαν· ἀσεβείας γὰρ ἐκεῖνο καὶ βλασφημιῶν πεπληρωθῆναι· λέγων δὲ πάνυ τι τὴν ψυχὴν νῦν κατανεύχθαι, καὶ μηδὲ παρρησίαν ἔχειν ἐπᾶραι τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνοσιῶν ἐκείνων ῥημάτων καὶ πραγμάτων ὀρμώμενος· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δεόμενος τῆς εἰλικρινεστάτης ταύτης καθάρσεως, καὶ παραδοχῆς, καὶ χάριτος τυχεῖν· ὅπερ ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἐτόλμησα ποιῆσαι· φήσας αὐτάρκη τὴν πολυχρόνιον αὐτῷ κοινωνίαν εἰς τοῦτο γεγονέναι· εὐχαριστίαν γὰρ ἐπακούσαντα, καὶ συνεπιφθεζάμενον τὸ ἀμὴν, καὶ τραπέζῃ παραστάντα, καὶ χεῖρας εἰς ὑποδοχὴν τῆς ἀγίας τροφῆς προτείναντα· καὶ ταύτην καταδεξάμενον, καὶ τοῦ σώματος καὶ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μετασχόντα ἱκανῶς χρόνῳ, οὐκ ἂν ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς ἀνασκευάζειν ἔτι πολμήσαιμι· θαρσεῖν δὲ ἐκέλευον, καὶ μετὰ βεβαίας πίστεως καὶ ἀγαθῆς συνειδήσεως τῇ μετοχῇ τῶν ἁγίων προσιέναι.

This was a nice resolution of a rare and singular case, and we scarce meet with such another instance in ancient history. But I have mentioned this, and all the preceding cases, to show that the ancients had not generally that rigid opinion of the absolute necessity of baptism (barring the neglect and contempt of the sacred institution), which some would father upon them; since they thought the bare want of it might be dispensed with, and supplied so many several ways: either, 1, by martyrdom; or 2, by faith and true conversion; or, 3, by an immense charity, and love of unity and peace; or, 4, by a constant partaking of the eucharist in the bosom of the Church.

SECT. XXIV.—*The Case of Infants dying Unbaptized. The Opinion of the Ancients concerning it.*

But it is to be observed, that these allowances were chiefly made to adult persons, who could exhibit faith and repentance, the essential parts of religion, to make some compensation for the want of the external ceremony of baptism. But as to infants, the case was thought more difficult, because there was no personal faith or repentance could be pleaded in their behalf; so that they were destitute both of the outward visible sign, and the inward spiritual grace, of baptism. Upon this account, they who spoke the most favourably of them, would only venture to assign them a middle state, neither in heaven nor hell. As Gregory Nazianzen^o, who says, “that such children as die unbaptized, without their own fault, shall neither be glorified nor punished by the righteous Judge, as having done no wickedness, though they die unbaptized, and as rather suffering loss than being the authors of it.” Severus, bishop of Antioch, follows Nazianzen in this opinion. For first, he says^p, “that if children die unbaptized, without par-

^o Nazianz. Orat. xl. (Benedict. vol. i. p. 708. D.) Τοὺς δὲ μήτε δοξασθήσεσθαι μήτε κολασθήσεσθαι παρὰ τοῦ δικαίου κριτοῦ, ὡς ἀσφραγίστους μὲν, ἀπονήρους δὲ, ἀλλὰ παθόντας μᾶλλον τὴν ζημίαν, ἢ δράσαντας.

^p Sever. Catena in Joh. iii. p. 83. Ζητεῖται δὲ λοιπὸν, εἰ καὶ τὰ παῖδια τὰ ἄωρῳ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ τετελευτηκότα, τῆς βασιλείας μετὰσχειν τῶν οὐρανῶν· καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο λεκτέον· Ὡς εἰ ἀφώτιστα τελευτήσειεν, μὴ μετασχόντα τοῦ τῆς παλιγγενεσίας λουτροῦ, προδήλως ἔξω τῆς τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλείας καθίστα-

taking of the laver of regeneration, they are certainly excluded from the kingdom of heaven." But then he adds, "that forasmuch as they have committed no sin, they shall not undergo any punishment or torment, but be consigned to a sort of middle state, which he describes as a state betwixt the glory of the saints and the punishment of the damned." But this opinion of a middle state never found any acceptance among the Latins. For they make but two places to receive men after the day of judgment, heaven and hell; and concluded, that since children, for want of washing away original sin, could not be admitted into heaven, they must of necessity be in hell, there being no third place between them. St. Austin frequently insists upon this against the Pelagians, who distinguish between the kingdom of God and eternal life; asserting that children dying unbaptized might be admitted to eternal life and salvation, though not to the kingdom of God; whom he opposes after this manner in his books about the Merits and Remission of Sin. "Though," he says, "the condemnation^a of those shall be greater, who to original sin add actual sins of their own; and every man's condemnation so much the greater, by how much greater sin he commits; yet original sin alone does not only separate from the kingdom of God, whither children, dying without the grace of Christ, cannot enter, as the Pelagians themselves confess; but also it excludes them from eternal life and salvation, which can be no other than the kingdom of God, into which our communion with Christ alone can introduce us." A little after^r, he says plainly, "that

ται, διὰ τὸ τὸν Κύριον ἐν Εὐαγγελίοις ἀποφύνασθαι πρὸς Νικόδημον, καὶ εἰπεῖν· Ἀμήν, ἀμήν, λέγω σοι, ἐὰν μὴ . . . βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐδὲν ἐπλημμέλησαν τὰ ἐν αἵματι τῇ ἡλικίᾳ τετελευτηκότα, οὔτε κολάσειν, ἢ τισι βασάνοις ὑπάγονται, μέσην δὲ τινα τάξιν ὑφέξουσιν.

^a Augustin. de Peccator. Merit. et Remiss. lib. i. c. xii. (Bened. vol. x. p. 9. G.) Quamvis enim condemnatio gravior sit eorum, qui originali delicto etiam propria conjunxerunt, et tanto singulis gravior, quanto gravius quis peccavit; tamen etiam illud solum quod originaliter tractum est, non tantum a regno Dei separat, quo parvulos sine accepta gratia Christi defunctos intrare non posse ipsi (Pelagiani) etiam confitentur; verum et a salute ac vita æterna facit alienos, quæ nulla alia esse potest præter regnum Dei, quo sola Christi societas introducit.

^r Ibid. c. xvi. (p. 12.) Potest proinde recte dici, parvulos, sine baptismo de corpore exeuntes, in damnatione omnium mitissima futuros. Multum autem fallit et fallitur, qui eos in damnatione prædicat non futuros, dicente Apostolo,

children dying without baptism are under condemnation, though theirs be the mildest of any other. But he is very much deceived, and deceives others, who teaches that they are in no condemnation at all, whilst the apostle declares, 'that judgment was by one offence to condemnation.' And again, 'that by the offence of one, judgment came upon all men to condemnation.'” He tells us^s, upon this account, the Punic Christians were used to call baptism by the name of salvation; and the sacrament of the body of Christ, life. And, therefore, since no one could hope for salvation and eternal life, without baptism and the body and blood of the Lord, it was in vain to promise children salvation without them. In the same book^t he declares peremptorily against the doctrine of a middle state for infants or any other. “There is no middle place for any,” says he; “he must be with the devil, who is not with Christ. For our Lord himself, intending to take away this opinion of a middle state, which some erroneously endeavour to assign to children dying unbaptized, as if, by virtue of their innocence, they might be in eternal life, though not with Christ in his kingdom, so long as they wanted baptism, pronounced this definitive sentence to stop the mouths of these men, saying, ‘He that is not with me, is against me.’” He argues against this middle state in many other places^u, against

‘judicium ex uno delicto in condemnationem.’ Et paullo post, ‘Per unius delictum in omnes homines ad condemnationem.’

^s Augustin. de Peccator. Merit. et Remiss. lib. i. c. xxiv.

^t Ibid. c. xxviii. (Bened. vol. x. p. 30. D 3.) Non est ullus ulli medius locus, ut possit esse nisi cum diabolo, qui non est cum Christo. Hinc et ipse Dominus volens auferre de cordibus male credentium istam nescio quam medietatem, quam conantur quidam parvulis non baptizatis tribuere, ut quasi merito innocentiae sint in vita aeterna, sed quia non sunt baptizati, non sint cum Christo in regno ejus, definitivam protulit ad hæc ora obstruenda sententiam ubi ait: ‘Qui mecum non est, adversum me est.’

^u Ibid. de Anima, lib. i. c. ix. (Bened. vol. x. p. 343. A 7.) Verum hæc ut volet quisque accipiat, dum tamen de baptismo non præscribatur Salvatoris præcepto, hujus latronis exemplo; et non baptizatis parvulis nemo promittat inter damnationem regnumque cœlorum, quietis vel felicitatis cujuslibet atque ubilibet, quasi medium locum. Hoc enim eis etiam hæresis Pelagiana promisit; quia nec damnationem metuit parvulis, quos nullum putat habere originale peccatum; nec sperat eis regnum cœlorum, si non perveniunt ad baptismatis sacramentum. — Ibid. lib. ii. c. xii. (p. 367. A 5.) Novellos hæreticos Pelagianos justissime conciliorum Catholicorum et sedis apostolicæ damnavit auctoritas, eo quod ausi

the Pelagians; and urges the necessity of baptism to take away original sin in children, and bring them, by regeneration, to eternal life. “Therefore,” he says^w, “men ran with their children to be baptized, because they verily believed they could not otherwise be made alive in Christ.” Fulgentius^x is rather more peremptory and severe than St. Austin; he says, “It is to be believed, without all doubt, that not only men who are come to the use of reason, but infants, whether they die in their mother’s womb, or after they are born, without baptism in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, are punished with everlasting punishment in eternal fire; because, though they have no actual sin of their own, yet they carry along with them the condemnation of original sin, from their first conception and birth.” The author, under the name of Justin Martyr^y, also, speaking of infants, says, “There is this difference between those that die baptized and those that die unbaptized, that the one obtain the benefits that come by baptism, which the other do not obtain.” And the author of the Hypognostics^z, under the name of St. Austin, who is

fuerint non baptizatis parvulis dare quietis et salutis locum, etiam præter regnum cœlorum. Quod ausi non fuissent, nisi negarent eos habere originale peccatum, quod opus esset absolvi per baptismatis sacramentum.—Ibid. lib. iii. c. xiii.

^w Ibid. Epist. xxviii. ad Hieron. (tom. ii. opp. p. 107. B.) Propterea, cum baptizandis parvulis festinatur et curritur, quia sine dubio creditur, aliter eos in Christo vivificari omnino non posse.

^x Fulgent. de Fide, ad Petrum, c. xxvii. (Bibl. Max. Patr. vol. ix. p. 81.) Firmissime tene, et nullatenus dubites, non solum homines jam ratione utentes, verum etiam parvulos, qui sive in uteris matrum vivere incipiunt, et ibi moriuntur, sive quum de matribus nati, sine sacramento sancti baptismatis, quod datur in nomine Patris, Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, de hoc sæculo transeunt, ignis æterni sempiterno supplicio puniendos. Quia etsi propriæ actionis peccatum nullum habuerunt, originalis tamen peccati damnationem carnali conceptione et navitate traxerunt.—Vid. Fulgent. de Baptismo Æthiopis, c. viii. citat. infra lib. xi. sect. v.

^y Justin. Martyr. Quæst. ad Resp. ad Orthodox. quæst. lvi. (Benedict. 1742. p. 462.) Ἀὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ διαφορά τῶν βαπτισθέντων πρὸς τὰ μὴ βαπτισθέντα, τοῦ τυχεῖν μὲν τὰ βαπτισθέντα τῶν διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος ἀγαθῶν· τὰ δὲ μὴ βαπτισθέντα, μὴ τυχεῖν.

^z Augustin. Hypognost. lib. v. c. v. (Bened. vol. x. app. p. 40. A 7.) Si quis non renatus fuerit ex aqua et Spiritu Sancto, non potest introire in regnum cœlorum. Intrare quippe in regnum cœlorum non aliud est, quam vita beata vivere, quæ permanet in sæcula sæculorum. Ecce non baptizatus, vitali etiam

supposed, by learned men, to be either Marius Mercator, or Sixtus, bishop of Rome, disputing against the Pelagians, treads exactly in the steps of St. Austin; for he says, "There is no middle state between heaven and hell; a third place for unbaptized infants is no where mentioned in Scripture. This was only an invention forged in the shop of the Pelagians, to find out a place where infants might have rest and glory without the grace of Christ." These are pretty severe expressions; and yet, considering the state of the controversy between the Catholics and Pelagians, there seems to have been pretty good reason for them. For Pelagius said there was no original sin, nor any need of baptism to wash away the guilt of it; but children might obtain salvation and eternal life, distinct from the kingdom of God, without it. In opposition to this, the Catholics maintained the necessity of baptism for infants, as well as adult persons, to purge away original sin, and procure eternal life for them. But they have not so plainly told us whether there be any excepted cases as to what concerns infants, as they have concerning adult persons: whether a bare want of baptism in the child, when there was no contempt or neglect of baptism in the parent, but an unavoidable necessity and sudden death intervening, debars the child from the kingdom of heaven. Among all the ancients, only Fulgentius has declared absolutely against the salvation of infants, dying before the birth, in the mother's womb. But others seem to speak more favourably, except where the parents were guilty of a contempt or neglect of baptism, in not bringing their children to be baptized when they had time and opportunity to do it: in which case the child might fail of salvation for the parents' fault, and there be no impeachment of God's justice or mercy in the punishment. This seems to

cibo poculoque privatus, dividitur a regno cælorum, ubi fons viventium permanet Christus. Da mihi præter hunc alterum locum, ubi vita possit requies esse perennis. Primum enim locum fides Catholicorum divina auctoritate regnum credit esse cælorum, unde (ut dixi) non baptizatus excipitur; secundum, gehennam, ubi omnis apostata vel a Christi fide alienus æterna supplicia experietur: tertium penitus ignoramus, immo nec esse in Scripturis Sanctis invenimus. Finge, Pelagiane, locum ex officina perversi dogmatis tui, ubi alieni a Christi gratia vitam requiei et gloriæ possidere parvuli possint.

have been the judgment of that excellent author, who wrote the book *De Vocatione Gentium*, which goes under the name of Prosper, or St. Ambrose. For he gives this reason why this doctrine about the necessity of baptism, for the salvation of infants, was so earnestly impressed upon men, "That parents might not be remiss or negligent in bringing their children to baptism;" which they certainly would be, if they were once possessed with an opinion that there was no necessity of baptism to salvation. "We ought not to believe," says he^a, in general terms, "that they who obtain not the sacrament of regeneration, can appertain to the society of the blessed^b. For every one must be sensible how easily sloth and negligence would creep into the hearts of the faithful, if, in the business of baptizing infants, nothing was to be feared from the parents' carelessness, or the mortality of their children." This author presses the necessity of baptizing infants, as all good Christians do, upon supposition of some benefit which the parents' care may bring to the child; and, contrariwise, an irreparable damage and loss which the child may sustain by the parents, default and negligence. And this is sufficient to quicken the care and watchfulness of parents, though it be allowed that, in cases of extreme necessity, children may be saved without baptism. Nor is it improbable that the ancients intended any more, though their expressions run in severe and general terms, without standing precisely to make exceptions. For it cannot be denied that infants may be martyrs, as well as adult persons: such were the children Herod slew at Bethlehem. Parents, likewise, may desire baptism for their children, vowing faith and repentance in their name, when some extreme necessity only, and not any culpable neglect, hinders the obtaining of it. And, in such cases, if adult persons may be saved without baptism, as all the ancients agree, there seems to be a parity of reason to extend the same charity and indulgence

^a Prosper. de Vocat. Gentium, lib. ii. c. xx. (Bassani, vol. i. p. 487.) Neque credi fas est, eos, qui regenerationis non adepti sunt sacramentum, ad ullum beatorum pertinere consortium.

^b Ibid. c. xxiv. (p. 489.) Non latet, quantum cordibus fidelium desidiæ gigneretur, si in baptizandis parvulis nihil de cujusquam negligentia, nihil de ipsorum esset morte metuendum.

to little children. Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, a man of great reputation and learning in his time, and one well versed in the writings of the ancients, gives this solution of the whole matter upon a remarkable case that happened in his time. A certain bishop of the same country, Hincmar, bishop of Leon, had, for some unjust cause, hindered the baptism of infants in his diocese, when their parents or godfathers desired they might be baptized; by which means, many children died without baptism. Now the question was concerning the future state of these infants, Whether the parents' desire, and presenting them to baptism, was sufficient for the salvation of their children? This, without any scruple^c, Hincmar resolves in the affirmative, "that as children who are subject to original sin, which is the sin of other men, are saved by the faith of others; that is, their godfathers answering for them in baptism; so those infants, who, by the command of that perverse bishop, were denied baptism, might be saved by the faith and faithful desire of their parents or godfathers, who had required, both in heart and words, that their children might be baptized; and this by the gift of him, whose Spirit, that is the author of regeneration, bloweth where it listeth." If we thus interpret the sense of the ancients with Hincmar, then all those passages which condemn infants dying without baptism, must be understood, not of the bare want of baptism, when it could not be had, but of the parents' contempt or neglect in not desiring or procuring baptism for their children, when it was in their power to do it. I have been the longer in explaining and confirming the truth of these points, concerning the necessity of baptism, both for infants and adult persons, because the ancients are mistaken by some and accused by others, as too severe in urging the necessity of baptism, when yet it appears their sentiments about it were exact enough as to what concerned the case of catechumens,

^c Hincmar. Opusc. lv. capit. c. xlviii. Sicut parvulis naturali, id est alieno, peccato obnoxiiis, aliorum, id est, patronorum, fides pro eis respondentium in baptismate fit ad salutem; ita parvulis, quibus baptismum denegari jussisti, parentum vel patronorum corde credentium, et pro parvulis suis fidei verbo baptismum expetentium, sed non impetrantium, fides et fidelis postulatio prodesse potuerunt, dono ejus, cujus Spiritus, quo regeneratio fit, ubi vult, spirat.

and also capable of a favourable interpretation in the case of infants, if we do not over rigidly force their general expressions beyond the true design and intentions of the authors.

I should here have put an end to this discourse concerning the institution and discipline of the catechumens, but only that there are two things that may seem to require a little more distinct handling than has been allowed them above. 1. Concerning the original nature and use of the ancient creeds of the Church, which were chiefly drawn up for the institution and service of the catechumens ; and, therefore, are most proper to be considered in this place. 2. Concerning that part of their discipline which consisted in concealing from them, for some time, the distinct and full knowledge of some of the higher doctrines and mysterious rites of the Church : the consideration of which things shall be the subject of the following chapters.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE ORIGINAL NATURE AND NAMES OF THE ANCIENT CREEDS OF THE CHURCH.

SECT. I.—*Why the Creed is called Symbolum.*

IN speaking of the Creed, it will be proper to say something, in the first place, of its several ancient names, and the reasons of them, because some of them are a little obscure and liable to be mistaken. The most usual name of the Creed was *Symbolum* : but why it was called so, is not agreed among learned men. Baronius^a assigns three reasons of the name :

^a Baron. an. 44, n. xv. (Lucæ, vol. i. p. 293.) Tunc etiam Catholicæ fidei consulturi (apostoli), quid singuli essent prædicaturi gentibus, ne ulla ex parte aliqua vel apparens inter eos in adnuntiatione evangelii diversitas esset, quosdam fidei canones, quibus universam Christianam fidem perstringentes firmarent ac stabilirent, constituerunt : quos proprio nomine Dei ecclesia nominare consuevit 'Symbolum Apostolorum,' vel quod singuli ex eis ad eum perficiendum

1. He supposes every apostle cast in his *symbola*, his ‘article,’ or ‘part,’ to the composition of it, and therefore it might be called their symbol, or collation. But if the foundation of this supposition be uncertain (as we shall see hereafter that it is), this could not be the reason of the name. 2. He thinks it might be so called, because it was like the *tessera militaris* among the Roman soldiers ; a sort of mark or badge, by which true Christians might be distinguished from infidels or heretics. 3. Because it was a collation, or epitome, of the Christian doctrine. Suicerus^b adds to these a fourth reason of the name. It might be so called, he thinks, not from the military badge, but the military oath, or contract which soldiers made with the emperor, when they entered into his service : for the Creed is a token of the contract which we make with God at our baptism. For this he alleges the testimony of St. Ambrose^c, who calls the Creed the “oath or bond of our warfare ;” and Petrus Chrysologus^d, who says, “An agreement, or covenant, is called *symbolum* both in human and Divine contracts.” This last signification is not improbable, but the second is more generally received and approved by modern^e

attulerint suum symbolum ; . . . vel quoniam, qui Christiani essent, eo symbolo, velut tessera militari data, dignosci possent, etc.

^b Suicer. Thesaur. Eccles. voce *σύμβολον*. (tom. ii. p. 1084, sub fin.) Dicere possumus, symbolum non a militari, sed a contractuum tessera, nomen id accepisse. Est enim tessera pacti, quod in baptismo inimus cum Deo. Unde Ambrosius, lib. iii. de Velandis Virginibus, dicit, ‘Symbolum cordis signaculum, et nostræ militiæ sacramentum.’ Quasi dicat, esse quasi tabellam, qua cum Imperatore nostro paciscimur, eique nos obstringimus, ut milites sacramento solent.

^c See preceding note.

^d Chrysolog. Hom. lxii. Placitum vel pactum, quod lucri spes venientis continet, vel futuri, symbolum nuncupari, contractu etiam docemur humano, etc.

^e Forbes. Instruct. Histor. Theol. lib. i. c. i. n. ii. (Amstel. 1703. vol. ii. p. 1.) Symboli hujus institutionem quod attinet ; Ruffinus (in Expositione Symboli), et Augustinus (lib. i. De Symbolo ad Catechumenos, c. i. et Serm. clxxxi. de Tempore), et auctor Sermonis cxv. de Tempore (inter sermones illos Augustini), et Isidorus Hispalensis (lib. vi. Originum, cap. ix.), et Etherius ac Beatus (lib. i. cont. Elipandum, tom. iv. Bibl. Patrum, part. ii. col. 506, edit. 4), et Rabanus Maurus (lib. ii. de Institutione Clericorum, cap. lvi.), scribunt, se a majoribus traditum accepisse, institutum esse hoc symbolum ab apostolis, ad diversas nationes ad prædicandum evangelium discessuris, ut omnes ubique fideles summam hanc brevem haberent illius doctrinæ, quæ ab omnibus unanimiter

authors, and has also the countenance of some ancient writers ; for Maximus Taurinensis ^f supposes it to be called the ‘symbol,’ because it is a sign, or mark, by which believers are distinguished from unbelievers and renegadoes. And Ruffinus ^g allows this signification, when he says, “It was therefore called the sign, or mark, because at that time” (when, according to his opinion, it was made by the apostles), “many of the circumcised Jews, as is related both by St. Paul and in the Acts of the Apostles, did feign themselves to be the apostles of Christ: and, to serve their own lucre or their belly, went forth to preach, naming indeed the name of Christ, but not preaching him according to the true lines of tradition ; therefore, the apostles laid down this mark, or test, whereby to discern him who preached Christ truly, according to the apostolical rules. It is further reported to be a customary thing in civil wars, that because their arms, language, methods, and manner of fighting, are the same,—therefore, every general, to prevent fraud, should give his soldiers a distinct symbol, which in Latin is called *signum* or *indicium* : that if one met another, of whom he had reason to doubt, by asking him the symbol, he might discover whether he was friend or foe.” But this does not satisfy a late learned ^h writer, who thinks, “that this name was not derived from any military custom, but rather to be fetched from the *sacra*, or ‘religious services of the hea-

prædicaretur, et symbolo hoc, veluti tessera militari, discernerentur fideles ab aliis sectis.

^f Maxim. Taurin. Hom. in Symbol. p. 239. Signaculum symboli inter fideles perfidosque discernit.

^g Ruffin. Exposit. Symboli, ad calcem Cypriani. (Oxon. 1682, p. 17.) (in opusculis, p. 170, edit. Paris. 1580.) Indicium, vel signum idcirco dicitur, quia illo tempore, sicut et Paulus apostolus dicit, et in Actis Apostolorum refertur, multi ex circumcisis Judæis simulabant se esse apostolos Christi, et lucri alicujus vel ventris gratia ad prædicandum proficiscebantur ; nominantes quidem Christum, sed non integris traditionum lineis nuntiantes. Idcirco ergo istud indicium posuere, per quod agnosceretur is, qui Christum vere secundum apostolicas regulas prædicaret. Denique et in bellis civilibus hoc observari ferunt, quoniam et armorum habitus par, et sonus vocis idem, et mos unus est, atque eadem instituta bellandi ; ne qua doli subreptio fiat, symbola discreta unusquisque dux militibus suis tradit ; quæ Latine ‘signa’ vel ‘indicia’ nominantur : ut si forte occurrerit quis de quo dubitetur, interrogatus symbolum, prodatur si sit hostis an socius.

^h Critical History of the Creed, p. 11.

thens,' where those who were initiated in their mysteries, and admitted to the knowledge of their peculiar services, which were hidden and concealed from the greatest part of the idolatrous multitude, had certain signs, or marks, called *symbola*, delivered unto them, by which they mutually knew each other, and upon the declaring of them were, without scruple, admitted in any temple to the secret worship and rites of that god, whose symbols they had received." The use of these symbols among the heathens is abundantly proved by that learned author, both from heathen and Christian writers; but then he alleges no authority to prove that the Christians called their Creed by the name of 'symbol,' in imitation of that heathen practice; and it is some prejudice against it, that no such thing is said or hinted by any ancient writer. Neither is it very likely, that the Christians would have so nice a regard to the abominable and filthy mysteries of the heathen, as to choose that signification of the name 'symbol' for their Creed, when, with much more decency, it might be fetched from the innocent and ordinary customs used in military affairs or civil contracts; from which it is with greater probability derived, both by ancient and modern writers.

SECT. II.—*Why called Canon, and Regula Fidei.*

Another usual name of the Creed was κανὼν, the 'rule,' so called because it was the known standard or rule of faith, by which orthodoxy and heresy were examined and judged; as when the Council of Antiochⁱ says of Paulus Samosatensis, that he was "an apostate from the 'rule,'" it is plain the meaning is, "he had deviated in his doctrine from the Creed, the rule of faith." Agreeably to this it is commonly styled among the Greeks^k ὁρος and ἑκδοσις πίστεως, 'the deter-

ⁱ Epist. Conc. Antioch. ap. Euseb. lib. vii. c. xxx. (Cambr. p. 360, 30.) "Οπου δὲ ἀποστὰς τοῦ κανόνος ἐπὶ κίβδηλα καὶ νόθα διδάγματα μετελήλυθεν, οὐδὲν δεῖ τοῦ ἔξω ὄντος τὰς πράξεις κρίνειν.

^k Socrat. lib. ii. c. xxxix. p. 147. D. (Cambr. 150, 47.) Τέλος Σιλβανὸς τῆς Ταρσοῦ προεστὼς ἐκκλησίας μέγα ἀνέκραγε, λέγων μὴ χρῆναι καινὴν ὑπαγορεύειν πίστεως ἑκδοσιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἤδη πρότερον ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τοῖς ἐγκαινίοις ὑπαγορευθεῖσαν ὀφείλειν κρατεῖν. — Ibid. c. xl. Ταῦτα ἔλεγε βουλόμενος ἐτέραν ἑκδοσιν πίστεως ἀντεισενεγκεῖν. — Ibid. lib. v. c. iv.

mination or exposition of the faith,' and sometimes simply *πίστις*, 'the faith¹;' which answers to the Latin name, *regula fidei*, 'the rule of faith,' the common appellation of it in Irenæus^m, Tertullianⁿ, Novatian^o, and St. Jerome^p, where they speak of heretics, and their deviations from the common articles of the Christian faith, contained in the creeds of the Church.

SECT. III.—*Why called Μάθημα.*

Another ordinary appellation of the Creed, in the ancient Greek writers, is *μάθημα*, 'the lesson,' so called from the obligation the catechumens were under to learn it. This may easily be mistaken by an unwary reader for a lesson in the Bible, unless where some note of distinction is added to it. Therefore, when we read in the Council of Constantinople, under Mennas, that after the reading of the Gospel, in time of the communion-service, the holy lesson^q was read according to custom, we are not to understand it of any other lesson out of the Bible, but of the Creed, which was then made part of the communion-service; and so Socrates^r sometimes uses the

(p. 265, 34.) Ἐπιμιγνύμενοι αὐτοί τε καὶ οἱ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὸν ὅρον τῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ στέρξαντες πίστεως.

¹ Theod. lib. i. c. vii. (Aug. T. p. 24.) Οὕτω δὲ τοῦ δυσσεβοῦς ἐκποδὼν γενομένου, συμφώνως ἅπαντες τὴν μέχρι καὶ νῦν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις πολιτευομένην πίστιν ὑπαγορεύσαντες, καὶ ταῖς ὑπογραφαῖς βεβαιώσαντες, διέλυσαν τὸ συνέδριον.

^m Iren. lib. i. c. xix. (Venet. 1734. vol. i. p. 98.) Quum teneamus nos regulam veritatis, id est, quia sit unus Deus omnipotens, etc. Ibid. Hanc ergo tenentes regulam, etc.

ⁿ Tertull. de Præscript. c. xiii. (Rigalt. 1641, p. 235. C 3.) Regula est autem fidei, qua creditur unum omnino Deum esse, etc.—It. de Veland. Virgin. c. i. (p. 192. C.) Regula quidem fidei una omnino est, sola immobilis, et irreformabilis, credendi scilicet in unicum Deum omnipotentem, etc.

^o Novatian. de Trinitat. c. i. (Jackson, p. i.) Regula exigit veritatis, ut primo omnium credamus in Deum Patrem et Dominum omnipotentem, etc.—It. c. ix. (p. 58.) Eadem regula veritatis docet nos, credere, post Patrem, etiam in filium Jesum Christum, etc.

^p Hieronym. Epist. liv. ad Marcell. cont. Errores Montani. (Vallars. vol. i. p. 189.) Primum in fidei regula discrepamus, etc.

^q Conc. Constantinop. sub Menna, act. v. (tom. v. Conc. p. 185. C.) Τοῦ ἁγίου μαθήματος κατὰ τὸ σύνηθες λεχθέντος.

^r Socrat. Histor. lib. iii. c. xxv. Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἓνα Θεὸν Πατέρα παντο-

word. And Valesius^s has observed, that in two manuscripts of that author, where the Nicene Creed is recited, the title of *μάθημα* is set before it. But Leontius Byzantinus^t speaks more explicitly, and calls it, by way of distinction, ‘the decree, or lesson of faith,’ speaking of the creed which the fathers of the Council of Chalcedon were about to make.

SECT. IV.—*Why called Γράμμα and Γραφή.*

Valesius^u has also observed out of Socrates, that it is sometimes styled, simply and absolutely, *γραφὴ* and *γράμμα*: which words, though they are usually taken to signify the Holy Scripture, yet here they must have another meaning; for the Creed, properly speaking, is not an inspired writing, unless in that sense it may be said to be collected out of the inspired writings. But here those words signify only, in a common sense, letters or learning, and so are used, as the foregoing word, *μάθημα*, with a peculiar reference to the learning of the catechumens. Some also allege Cyprian for another name, as if he called the Creed peculiarly ‘the sacrament of faith^x.’ But I am not satisfied that Cyprian’s meaning is so

κράτορα, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ μαθήματος. — Usserius de Symbolis, p. 20. shows the same out of Justinian, Maxentius, and Photius. Leg. vii. Cod. de summa Trinitate et Fide Catholica, ad Epiphanium Constantinopolitanum patriarcham: “Ὅρον τῆς πίστεως, τουτέστι τὸ ἅγιον μάθημα ἦτοι σύμβολον, κρατοῦμέν τε καὶ φυλάττομεν, τὸ παρὰ τῶν 318 ἁγίων πατέρων ἐκτεθὲν, κ. τ. λ.

^s Vales. Not. in Socrat. lib. i. c. viii. (Cambr. p. 24.) Τὴν δὲ τὴν γραφὴν πεποιήκασιν] Post hæc verba, ante symbolum Nicænum, in Codice Florentino et Sfortiano adduntur hæc verba, τὸ μάθημα. Ita Græci vocabant symbolum fidei, eo quod a catechumenis memoriter disceretur.

^t Leont. de Sectis, act. vi. (in Auctar. Biblioth. Patr. Ducæno, tom. i. p. 315.) Μετὰ ταῦτα ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς, ὥστε ὅρον πίστεως καὶ μάθημα ποιῆσαι.

^u Vales. Not. in Theodor. Hist. lib. i. c. viii. (p. 24.) Scribit Theodorus in superiore capite, Arianæ factionis episcopus formulam fidei a se compositam obtulisse concilio, quæ ab omnibus uno consensu repudiata est. Ad quem locum observavi, formulam illam intelligi, quam Eusebius in Epistola ad Cæsareenses proposuisse se dicit. Hæc est igitur, quam Eustathius hoc loco vocat *γράμμα* Εὐσεβίου. Nam *γράμμα* et *γραφὴ* pro formula fidei sæpissime sumitur, ut in lib. iv. Sozomeni legere memini. Sic Eustathius paullo post *συμφώνους γραμμάτων* dicit, de formula Nicænæ fidei loquens.

^x Cyprian. Testim. ad Quirin. lib. iii. c. 1. Sacramentum fidei non esse profanandum. Apud Solomonem in Paræmiis: ‘In aures imprudentis noli quid-

to be restrained : for he is rather speaking in general against profaning the mysteries of religion, which include the sacraments, or any other religious rites, as well as the Creed, applying that text of Scripture to his purpose, "Give not that which is holy unto dogs ; neither cast ye your pearls before swine, lest they tread them under their feet, and turn again and rend you." Or, if it be limited to any particular mystery, it should rather signify baptism than the Creed : for baptism is sometimes called the 'sacrament of faith' by St. Austin^y, and the 'sacrament of faith and repentance' by Fulgentius^z and others ; as I shall more particularly show when I come to treat of baptism. For which reason, I do not take this to be any particular name given to the Creed by any ancient writer ; but the Creed is the faith itself (the *Credulitas*, as some middle-aged writers^a call it), and the sacrament of faith is baptism.

SECT. V.—*Whether that which is commonly called the Apostles' Creed, was composed by the Apostles in the present Form of Words ?*

The next inquiry is into the original and nature of the ancient creeds, which will admit of three questions :—1. Whether that which is commonly called the Apostles' Creed, was composed by the apostles in the same form of words as now it is used in the Church ? 2. Whether the apostles made or used

quam dicere ; ne quando audierit, irrideat sensatos sermones tuos.' Item in evangelio κατὰ Matthæum : 'Ne dederitis,' etc.

^y August. Epist. xxiii. ad Bonifac. (Bened. vol. ii. p. 267. F 5.) Sicut, secundum quemdam modum sacramentum corporis Christi corpus Christi est, sacramentum sanguinis Christi sanguis Christi est, ita sacramentum fidei fides est.

^z Fulgent. de Fide ad Petrum, c. xxx. (Bibl. Max. Patr. vol. ix. p. 82.) Per sacramentum fidei et poenitentiae, id est, baptismum, liberatus.

^a Vid. Herardi Turonensis Capitul. cxi. ap. Wharton. Auctar. Historiæ Dogmatic. Usserii, p. 368. Gloria Patri, ac Sanctus, atque Credulitas, et Kyrie Eleeson a cunctis reverenter canantur.—It. Edictum Reccaredi Regis, ad calcem Concilii Toletani tertii, (tom. v. Conc. p. 1009. B.) Ut primum populi quam credulitatem teneant, fateantur : et sic corda fide purificata ad Christi corpus et sanguinem percipiendum exhibeant. Dum enim constitutio hæc fuerit perenniter conservata in Dei ecclesia, et fidelium ex solido corroboratur credulitas, et, perfidia infidelium confutata, ad id quod repetitum sæpius recognoscit, facillime inclinatur.

any creeds at all, for the institution of catechumens, or the administration of baptism? 3. If they did, what articles were contained in them? The first question is now generally resolved in the negative by learned men, though many, both of the ancients and moderns, have been of a different opinion. Some have thought that the twelve apostles, in a full meeting, composed the Creed in the very same form of words as now it is used in the Church; and others have gone so far as to pretend to tell what article was composed by every particular apostle. Dr. Comber is so positive in the matter as to say, “We have no better medium to prove the books^b were written by those authors whose names they bear, than the unanimous testimony of antiquity; and by that we can abundantly prove the apostles were the authors of this creed.” For this he cites Clemens Romanus, Irenæus, Origen, Tertullian, Ruffinus, Ambrose, Austin, Jerome, Pope Leo, Maximus Taurinensis, Cassian, and Isidore. But none of these writers, except Ruffinus, speak home to his purpose, but only say, “the creeds, in general, are of apostolical institution;” which for the substance no one denies; for they speak of several forms, and yet ascribe them all to the apostles: which is an argument they did not mean this particular form any more than others: for the Nicene Creed is often called the Apostles’ Creed, and yet no one believes that that creed was composed *totidem verbis* by the apostles. Ruffinus, indeed, seems to say there was an ancient tradition, that “the apostles, being about to depart from Jerusalem^c, first settled a rule for their future preaching; lest, after they were separated from one another, they should expound different doctrines to those whom they invited to the Christian faith. Wherefore being all assembled together, and

^b Comber’s Companion to the Temple, p. 132.

^c Ruffin. Exposit. Symboli, ad calcem Cypriani, p. 17. Discessuri itaque ab invicem, normam prius futuræ sibi prædicationis in commune constituunt: ne forte alius ab alio abducti, diversum aliquid his qui ad fidem Christi invitabantur, exponerent. Omnes ergo in uno positi, et Spiritu Sancto repleti, breve istud futuræ sibi, ut diximus, prædicationis indicium, conferendo in unum quod sentiebat unusquisque, componunt; atque hanc credentibus dandam esse regulam statuunt. Symbolum autem hoc, multis et justissimis caussis, appellare voluerunt. Symbolum enim Græce et ‘indicium’ potest, et ‘collatio,’ hoc est, quod plures in unum conferunt.

filled with the Holy Ghost, they composed this short rule of their preaching, each one contributing his sentence, and left it as a rule to be given to all believers. And for this reason, he thinks, it might be called the symbol, because that word in Greek signifies both a 'test' and a 'collation' of opinions together." The author^d, under the name of St. Austin, is a little more particular in the story: for he pretends to tell us what article was put in by each particular apostle. "Peter said, 'I believe in God the Father Almighty.' John, 'Maker of heaven and earth.' James, 'And in Jesus Christ, his only Son, our Lord.' Andrew added, 'Who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary.' Philip said, 'Suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried.' Thomas, 'He descended into hell: the third day he rose again from the dead.' Bartholomew, 'He ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty.' Matthew, 'From thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.' James, the son of Alphæus, added, 'I believe in the Holy Ghost, the holy Catholic Church.' Simon Zelotes, 'The communion of saints, the forgiveness of sins.' Jude, the brother of James, 'The resurrection of the body.' Matthias; 'Life everlasting, Amen.'"

But now there is an insuperable difficulty lies against this tradition, which is this; that there are two or three articles here mentioned, which are known not to have been in this Creed for three or four ages at least. For Ruffinus himself tells us, 'the descent into hell,' was neither in the Roman Creed^e, which is that we call 'the Apostles' Creed,' nor yet in

Augustin. de Tempore Serm. cxv. al. xcii. (Bened. vol. v. append. p. 395.) Petrus dixit, Credo in Deum, Patrem Omnipotentem. Joannes dixit: Creatorem cœli et terræ. Jacobus dixit: Credo et in Jesum Christum, filium et unicum, Dominum nostrum. Andreas dixit: Qui conceptus est de Spiritu Sancto, natus Maria Virgine. Philippus ait: Passus sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixus, mortuus, et sepultus. Thomas ait: Descendit ad inferna, tertia die resurrexit a mortuis. Bartholomæus dixit: Adscendit ad cœlos, sedet ad dexteram Dei Patris Omnipotentis. Matthæus dixit: Inde venturus judicare vivos et mortuos. Jacobus Alphæi: Credo et in Spiritum sanctum, sanctam Ecclesiam Catholicam. Simon Zelotes: Sanctorum communionem, remissionem peccatorum. Judas Jacobi: Carnis resurrectionem. Matthias complevit: Vitam æternam, Amen.

^e Ruffin. Exposit. Symbol. p. 22. (p. 179, edit. Paris. cit.) Sciendum sane

any creed of the Eastern Churches ; only the sense of it might be said to be couched in that other expression, ‘He was buried.’ Bishop Ussher and Bishop Pearson have demonstrated the truth of this observation by a particular induction from all the ancient creeds, and showed this article to be wanting in them all for four hundred years, except the creed of Aquileia, which Ruffinus expounds ; and the creed of the Council of Ariminum mentioned^f in Socrates. Others have made the same observation upon the article concerning ‘the communion of saints,’ which is not to be found either in the Creed of Aquileia, or any ancient Greek or Latin creed, for above the space of four hundred years. Nor is the article of the ‘life everlasting,’ expressly mentioned in many creeds, but only inclusively contained in the resurrection of the body, which is the concluding article in many ancient creeds. These are plain demonstrations, without any other argument, that the creed, as it stands in the present form, could not be composed in the manner, as is pretended, by the apostles. The silence of the Acts of the Apostles about any such composition is a collateral evidence against it. The silence of ecclesiastical writers, for above three whole centuries, is a further confirmation. The variety of creeds, in so many different forms, used by the ancients, yet extant in their writings, some with omissions, others with additions, and all in a different phrase, are no less evident proofs, that one universal form had not been pitched upon and prescribed to the whole Church by the apostles. For, then, it is scarce to be imagined, that any Church should have received any other form in the least tittle varying from it. These reasons do now generally satisfy learned men, that no such precise form was composed, according to that pretended tradition, by all the apostles. The reader may find dissertations in Vossius^g, Bishop Ussher^h,

est, quod in ecclesiæ Romanæ symbolo non habetur additum, ‘Descendit ad inferna ;’ sed neque in Orientis ecclesiis habetur hic sermo ; vis tamen verbi eadem videtur esse in eo, quod sepultus dicitur.

^f Socrat. lib. ii. c. xxxvii. (p. 117.) *Τοῦτον ἴσμεν τὸν μονογενῆ αὐτοῦ υἱὸν . . . σταυρωθέντα, καὶ ἀποθανόντα, καὶ εἰς καταχθόνια κατελθόντα, καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖσε οἰκονομήσαντα.*

^g Voss. de Tribus Symbolis. Amsterdam, 1692, 4to.

^h Usser. de Symbolo Romanæ Ecclesiæ. Oxoniæ, 1660, 4to.

L'Estrange¹, Basnagius^k, Suicerus^l, and the learned author of the late Critical^m History of the Creed, to this purpose. And it is much to be wondered at, that any knowing person, against such convincing evidence, should labour to maintain the contrary upon no better grounds than only this, that the ancients agree in calling the creed Apostolical. For they do not always intend this particular form, but call all other forms Apostolical—the Nicene Creed, the Constantinopolitan Creed, the Eastern Creeds, the Western Creeds, and all others which agree with this in substance, though not in method or expression ; and are all equally apostolical, as being all derived from the apostles' preaching, and for substance composed by them ; and some of them perhaps left in the Churches where they preached, as the first rudiments of this creed seem to have been in the Roman Church. So far all the ancient Catholic creeds may be said to be Apostolical, as being in substance the same with the creeds used in baptism by the apostles.

SECT. VI.—*That probably the Apostles used several Creeds differing in Form, not in Substance.*

By all, then, that has hitherto been said, I intend not to insinuate that the apostles used no creeds at all, but rather that they used many differing in form, but not in substance, from one another. All that I contend for, is only this ; that none of the present forms are exactly the same in expression with those of the apostles ; which is demonstrated from the variety of creeds used in several Churches, and from the addition of some words to that creed which pretends to be most apostolical. But though the apostles composed no one creed to be of perpetual and universal use for the whole Church, yet it is not to be doubted, but that they used some forms in admitting catechumens to baptism. There are many expressions in Scripture that favour this, particularly Philip's questions to

¹ L'Estrange's Alliance of Divine Offices, chap. iii. p. 80.

^k Basnag. Critic. in Baron. p. 471, seq.

^l Suicer. Thesaur. Eccles. voce *σύμβολον*, tom. ii. p. 1092.

^m Critical History of the Creed, chap. i. p. 27. See also Bishop Bull's *Judicium Ecclesie Cathol. etc.* cap. v. n. 3, where he refers to Vossius as having abundantly proved this thesis.

the eunuch before he baptized him ; and St. Peter's interrogatories, or the answer of a good conscience towards God, which was used in baptism. And the constant practice of the Church, in imitation of the apostles, admitting none to baptism but by answer to such interrogatories, is a sufficient demonstration of the apostolical practice. But, then, as the Church used a liberty of expression in her several creeds, so it is not improbable the apostles did the same, without tying themselves to any one form, who had less need to do it, being all guided by inspiration. And hence it came to pass, that there being no one certain form of a creed prescribed universally to all Churches, every Church had liberty to frame their own creeds, as they did their own liturgies, without being tied precisely to any one form of words, so long as they kept to the analogy of faith and doctrine at first delivered by the apostles ; which seems to be the true reason of so many ancient forms, differing in words, not in substance.

SECT. VII.—*What Articles were contained in the Apostolical Creeds.*

But, now, the grand question still remains concerning the nature, substance, and extent of the apostolical creeds, that is, what articles were contained in them ? Some there are who would confine these to very narrow bounds, making them, at first, to be no more than what is contained expressly in the form of baptism, “ I believe in God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.” So Episcopusⁿ and his followers, who would

ⁿ Episcop. Institut. lib. iv. sect. ii. cap. xxxiv. (London, 1678. vol. i. p. 339.) *Tertium argumentum* : In primitivis ecclesiis, quæ ab ipsis usque apostolorum temporibus, saltem per tria integra sæcula fuerunt, fides ac professio specialis hujusmodi filiationis (divinæ) ad salutem scitu ac creditu necessaria judicata non fuit. (p. 340.) Antiquissimum [symbolum,] quodque in prima baptismi administratione jam inde ab ipsis apostolorum temporibus usitabatur, hoc erat, Credo in Deum Patrem, Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum ; nempe ad præscriptam ab ipso Jesu formulam, ‘Ite et docete omnes gentes : baptizantes eos in nomine Patris, Filii, et Spiritus Sancti.’ Symboli hujus ἐξηγήσεις, quæ variæ apud scriptores veteres, (puta apud Irenæum, lib. i. cc. ii. iii. ; apud Tertul. lib. de Præscript. adversus Hæreticos et de Velandis Virginibus, etc.) reperiuntur, earum nullæ modi hujus professionem continent, nedum ut ejus profitendæ necessitatem declarent.

persuade the world, that for the three first ages, the doctrine of our Saviour's divinity was no necessary article of the Christian faith. But the learned Bishop Bull^o, and Dr. Grabe^p, have judiciously refuted these pretences, the one by showing, from all the ancient creeds, that this doctrine was a necessary article before the Nicene Council; and the other by evincing, from Scripture, that the lineaments of the Apostles' Creed, used in the administration of baptism, were at the first much larger than what Episcopus pretended; and that in the apostles' age, either by their authority or permission, the Creed consisted of all the present articles, except only those two, of "the descent into hell," and "the communion of saints," which are owned to be of later admission. Mr. Basnage^q, indeed, has a peculiar opinion, that the Creed was composed, and the chief articles inserted, only in the second century, in opposition to several heresies which then began to infest the Church. The Gnostics brought in the doctrine of a twofold deity, the one good, the other evil: against this pestilent heresy the Church put that article into her creed, "I believe in God," or "in one God." Menander, the disciple of Simon Magus, asserted, "that the world was not created by God, but by angels:" this occasioned the Church to insert those words, "Maker of heaven and earth." Carpocrates taught that Jesus was a mere man, and begotten of both sexes as other men: in opposition to whom it was inserted, that "Christ

^o Bull. Judic. Eccles. Cathol. cap. vi. tot. p. 47—60.

^p Grabe, Adnotata ad cc. v. vii. ejusd.

^q Basnag. Exercit. in Baron. (Ultraj. 1692. p. 475.) Non me levis incessit opinio, ex Scripturæ articulis symbolum a patribus fuisse conditum, erroribus Gnosticorum, Simonianorum, Ebionitarum, ejusmodique furfuris hominum coarguendis atque confutandis. Gnostici bonum Deum et malum suis in dogmatibus habere dicebantur: pestilentissima hæresis his evertitur; 'Credo in Deum.' Menander Simonis discipulus, mundum asserebat, non a Deo sed ab angelis factum: huic oppositum; 'Creatorem cœli et terræ.' Carpocrates Jesum hominem $\psi\lambda\delta\nu$ et de utroque sexu natum esse docebat: hoc impugnatum ex verbis; 'Christum conceptum de Spiritu Sancto.' Basilidiani non credebant, Jesum a Judæis fuisse crucifixum, sed Simonem Cyreniensem: paucis quidem, sed solidissimis verbis confutantur; 'Mortuus est et sepultus.' Carnis resurrectionem adjiciebat Carpocrates cum Marcella sectæ socia: dictum; 'Credo resurrectionem carnis.' Omnes symboli articulos sigillatim percurrenti, planum fiet, ad errores tum grassantes referri.

was conceived by the Holy Ghost." The Basilidians did not believe Jesus was crucified by the Jews, but only Simon of Cyrene: to confute whom, they put in those words, "He was dead and buried." Carpocrates rejected the resurrection of the flesh: and, upon that, "I believe the resurrection of the flesh," was added to the Creed. Thus, if we will hearken to this learned person, there was no creed at all made by the apostles, but it was composed entirely by the Church, and gradually augmented, only as the rise of sects and heresies had required some opposition to be made to them. The learned author of the late Critical History of the Creed goes the same way, only with this difference, that he supposes (what Mr. Basnage does not) that some articles were inserted by the apostles themselves, and others superadded by the Church, as the occasion of heresies required. But when he speaks of the particular articles, he falls in with Mr. Basnage's notion about the chiefest; for he supposes the first article, "I believe in one God," not to be made against the polytheism of the Gentiles, by the apostles, but only by the Church, upon the rise of the heresies of the Valentinians, Cerdonians, Marcionites, and others in after ages. Which in effect is to say, the Creed was made, and not made, by the apostles. For if the principal articles were not composed by them, I see not what else can entitle them to have been the authors of it. And, therefore, I much more readily subscribe to the opinion of the learned Dr. Grabe, which he maintains against this learned person, that the article of "one God the Father, Maker of heaven and earth," was originally inserted into the creed by the apostles, against the capital error of the Gentiles, who made one God to have power over heaven, another over the earth, another over the sea, &c. and divided the divine honour among them. For so the vulgar among the heathen practised their idolatry; however the philosophers among them might be a little more refined in their theology, and have more agreeable notions of the unity of the supreme God. Therefore, it is reasonable to believe this first article was inserted to make men renounce, in their baptism, this erroneous opinion of the Gentiles.

The opinion of Episcopi, that nothing more was origin-

ally in the Creed about our Saviour, but only the bare title of the Son, is solidly refuted by Dr. Grabe, who proves, from Scripture, that he had always this title, with the addition of his being the Son of God; and that those other articles, "He was crucified, dead, and buried; that he rose again, and ascended into heaven, and sat at the right hand of God, and from thence should come to judge the quick and dead," were all original articles of the Creed; being such doctrines as the apostles chiefly taught their catechumens; and such as the Jews and Gentiles either denied or ridiculed. And, therefore, it was proper to make all new converts, at their entrance on Christianity, make a particular profession of such articles, in opposition to their former errors, whether they came over from the Jews or Gentiles. Upon this account, he also rejects the opinion of the author of the Critical History, who supposes the article of the ascension of Christ into heaven to have been added to the Creed only in the second century; and that in opposition to Apelles, one of Marcion's disciples, who denied the ascension of Christ's flesh into heaven. But if it had been designed against him, it would, no doubt, have been more particularly expressed, that "his flesh ascended into heaven," as Dr. Grabe observes it is in Irenæus: and not barely that "Christ ascended into heaven." For the same reason he concludes that the following articles, "of his session at God's right hand; and his coming to judge the quick and the dead," could not be inserted into the Creed in opposition to the Marcionites and Gnostics, as the forementioned author supposes; for then they would have been more precisely worded against their reigning tenets, which were, "that Christ's flesh was void of sense in heaven; and that Christ is not the Son of that God who is the Judge of the world." Wherefore, it is more reasonable to suppose those articles were originally inserted by the apostles, to correct the ignorance and errors of the Jews and Gentiles.

As to those two articles, "He was conceived by the Holy Ghost, and born of the Virgin Mary," Dr. Grabe makes some question whether they were as ancient as the former, because they do not appear in the common catechetical discourses of the apostles: but he thinks, before St. John's death, they

were inserted against the heresies of Carpocrates, Ebion, and Cerinthus, who denied both articles, and asserted that Christ was born of Joseph and Mary, after the common way of mankind.

The article of the "Holy Ghost" was always a part of the Apostles' Creed, by the confession of Episcopius himself. And, therefore, the opinion of those who maintain, that nothing more was required of catechumens before baptism, but only the profession of their faith in Jesus Christ as the Son of God, is wholly to be rejected.

The article of "remission of sins" was also originally in the apostolical creeds, because it always appears to have been one principal point of their catechetical institutions. And, therefore, the opinion of the learned author of the Critical History, that it was only in some creeds, but not in all, till the rise of the Novatian heresy, is also to be rejected; because it appears from Cyprian, that it was in the creed which the Novatians themselves made use of in baptism.

The articles of "the resurrection of the dead, and life everlasting," are also concluded to have been in the Apostles' Creed, if not from the very first, yet, at least, when St. Paul wrote his Epistle to the Hebrews, because he there mentions (vi. 2) the "resurrection of the dead, and eternal judgment," among the fundamental doctrines of the Christian faith.

The article of "the Church," Dr. Grabe thinks, was not originally in the Creed, but added in the latter end of the first century, or beginning of the second, upon occasion of heretics and schismatics separating from the Church. At least, it appears from Tertullian's book *De Baptismo*, that the profession of it was required, in his time, of catechumens at their baptism. For he says^r, "After they had testified their faith in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, they also added 'the Church;' because where those three were, there was the Church, and it was the body of the three."

^r Tertul. de Bapt. c. vi. (Rigalt. 1641. p. 258. C 5.) Quum autem sub tribus et testatio fidei, et sponsio salutis pignerentur, necessario adjicitur Ecclesiæ mentio; quoniam ubi tres, id est, Pater, Filius, et Spiritus Sanctus, ibi Ecclesia, quæ trium corpus est.

The article of the “communion of saints,” he readily acknowledges, was never in any creed before the fourth century. And that concerning the “descent into hell,” was not originally in the Creed, but added upon occasion of heretics in after ages. But the precise time of its addition is not exactly agreed upon between the author of the *Critical History* and Dr. Grabe. The former (who is allowed to have explained the genuine sense of this article with as great exactness as the most consummate divine) supposes it to have been added against the Arians and Apollinarians (who denied the soul or spirit of Christ), because the fathers argued thus against them: Christ descended into hell either in his divinity, or his soul, or his body. But it is absurd to ascribe the descent into hell either to his divinity or his body; and therefore it must be his soul that descended; which proves the reality of his soul. But Dr. Grabe thinks this article was of earlier date, because it is to be found in some of the Arian creeds themselves, and others more ancient than the Apollinarians; and that if it had been inserted against the Apollinarian doctrine, it would not have been barely said, “He descended into hell;” but rather, “He descended, by his soul, into hell;” which had been directly against that heresy. Therefore, he rather supposes it to have been added to the Creed, in opposition to the Valentinians and Marcionites, who, according to the account given by Irenæus^s and Tertullian^t, pretended, that the souls

^s Iren. lib. v. c. xxxi. (Venet. 1734. vol. i. p. 330.) Hæretici despicientes plasmationem Dei, et non suscipientes salutem carnis suæ, contemnentes autem et repromissionem Dei, et totum supergredientes Deum sensu, simulatque mortui fuerint, dicunt, se supergredi cœlos et Demiurgum, et ire ad matrem, vel ad eum, qui ab ipsis affingitur, patrem. — Et paullo post, (p. 331, col. i.) Dicunt inferos quidem esse hunc mundum, qui sit secundum nos; interiorem autem hominem ipsorum derelinquentem heic corpus, insuper cœlestem adscendere locum.

^t Tertul. de Anima, c. lv. (Rigalt. p. 353. A 9.) Nobis inferi, non nuda cavititas, nec subdivalis aliqua mundi sentina, creduntur; sed in fossa terræ, et in alto vastitas, et in ipsis visceribus ejus, abstrusa profunditas. — Ibid. Christum in corde terræ triduum mortis legimus expunctum, id est, in recessu intimo et interno, et in ipsa terra operto, et intra ipsam clauso, et inferioribus adhuc abyssis superstructo. Quod si Christus Deus, quia et homo, mortuus secundum Scripturas, et sepultus secus easdem, huic quoque legi satisfecit, forma humanæ mortis apud inferos functus; nec ante adscendit in sublimiora cœlorum, quam

of all that died of their sects, went immediately to heaven : when yet Christ himself went into the state and place of separate souls, for three days, before his resurrection and ascension.

Upon the whole matter, Dr. Grabe concludes, that all the articles of the Creed, except these three, “ the communion of saints,” “ the Church,” and “ the descent of Christ into hell,” were solemnly professed by the first Christians, in their confessions of faith, in the apostles’ days, by their authority, or at least their approbation. For which reason, the Creed, as to those parts of it, may properly be called Apostolical. And it could hardly be that all Churches in the world should so unanimously agree in the common confession of so many articles of it, unless it had proceeded from some such authority as they all acknowledged. But the reason why the confessions of particular churches differed in words and phrases, he thinks, was from hence ; that the Creed which the apostles delivered, was not written with paper and ink, but in the “ fleshly tables of the heart,” as St. Jerome^u words it ; whence every Church was at liberty to express their sense in their own terms. But he will not undertake to vindicate the common tradition of Ruffinus, that it was made by joint consent of all the apostles, when they were about to separate from one another ; and much less, that every one of the twelve apostles cast in his symbol to complete the number of twelve articles, as the other story is told by the author under the name of St. Austin, which he thinks is not in the least to be regarded. I have been a little more particular in representing the sense of this great man upon this point, both because his account of the original of the several articles of the Creed seems to be most exact ; and because the discourse where he delivers his opinion may not yet be fallen into the hands of every ordinary reader.

descendit in inferiora terrarum, ut illic patriarchas et prophetas compotes sui faceret ; habes et regionem inferûm subterraneam credere, et illos cubitos pellere, qui satis superbe non putant animas fidelium inferis dignas : servi super dominum, aspernati, si forte, in Abrahæ sinu, expectandæ resurrectionis solatium capere.

^u Hieron. Epist. lxi. ad Pammach. c. ix.

CHAPTER IV.

A COLLECTION OF SEVERAL ANCIENT FORMS OF THE CREED
OUT OF THE PRIMITIVE RECORDS OF THE CHURCH.SECT. I.—*The Fragments of the Creed in Irenæus.*

I SHALL now, in the next place, present the reader with several of the ancient forms of the Creed, as we find them preserved in the most ancient writers, and the most authentic primitive records of the Church. The use of these will be, not only to illustrate and confirm what has been said in the last chapter, but also to declare what was the ancient faith of the Church, and show the vanity of modern heretics, especially the Arians, who pretend that the doctrine of our Saviour's divinity was no necessary article of faith before the Council of Nice. Bishop Ussher, in his curious tract *De Symbolo Romano*, has already collected a great many of these ancient forms; but because that piece is written in Latin, and become very scarce, and some things more may be added to it, I will here oblige the English reader with a new account of them, beginning with the fragments of the creed which we have in Irenæus, Origen, Cyprian, Tertullian, and other private writers, which Bishop Ussher gives no account of. Some fancy the Creed may be found in the writings of Ignatius, Clemens Romanus, Polycarp, and Justin Martyr. But Bishop Pearson^a has rightly observed, "that these writers, however they may incidentally mention some articles of faith, do not formally deliver any rule of faith used in their own times." The first that speaks of this, is Irenæus, who calls it the "unalterable canon^b, or rule of truth, which every man received at his baptism," and he immediately declares what it was, in these words:—"The Church, though it be dispersed over all the

^a Pearson's Exposition of the Creed, art. v. initio.

^b Iren. lib. i. c. i. (Bened. Venet. 1734. vol. i. p. 46.) Οὕτω δὲ τὸν κανόνα τῆς ἀληθείας ἀκλινῇ ἐν ἑαυτῷ κατέχων, ὃν διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος εἴληφε, τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῶν γραφῶν ὀνόματα, καὶ τὰς λέξεις, καὶ τὰς παραβολὰς ἐπιγνώσεται.

world^c, from one end of the earth to the other, received from the apostles and their disciples the belief in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven, and earth, and sea, and all things in them; and in one Christ Jesus, the Son of God, who was incarnate for our salvation; and in the Holy Ghost, who preached by the prophets the dispensations [of God], and the advent, and nativity of a virgin, and passion, and resurrection from the dead, and bodily ascension of the flesh of his beloved Son Christ Jesus our Lord into heaven, and his coming again from heaven in the glory of the Father to recapitulate all things, and raise the flesh of all mankind, that according to the will of the invisible Father every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in the earth, and things under the earth, to Jesus Christ our Lord, and God, and Saviour, and King; and that every tongue should confess to him; and that he may exercise just judgment upon all, and send spiritual wickednesses, and the transgressing and apostate angels, with all ungodly, unrighteous, lawless, and blaspheming men, into everlasting fire; but grant life to all righteous and holy men that keep his commandments and persevere in his love, some from the beginning, others after repentance, on whom he confers immor-

^c Iren. lib. i. c. ii. p. 48. Ἡ μὲν ἐκκλησία, καίπερ καθ' ὅλης τῆς οἰκουμένης, ἕως περάτων τῆς γῆς διεσπαρμένη, παρὰ δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν ἐκείνων μαθητῶν παραλαβοῦσα τὴν εἰς ἓνα Θεὸν Πατέρα παντοκράτορα, τὸν πεποιηκότα τὸν οὐρανὸν, καὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ τὰς θαλάσσας, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς, πίστιν καὶ εἰς ἓνα Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὸν σαρκωθέντα ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμετέρας σωτηρίας καὶ εἰς Πνεῦμα ἅγιον, τὸ διὰ τῶν προφητῶν κεκηρυχὸς τὰς οἰκονομίας, καὶ τὰς ἐλεύσεις, καὶ τὴν ἐκ Παρθένου γέννησιν, καὶ τὸ πάθος, καὶ τὴν ἔγερσιν ἐκ νεκρῶν, καὶ τὴν ἑνσαρκον εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἀνάληψιν τοῦ ἡγαπημένου Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν, καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐν τῇ δόξῃ τοῦ Πατρὸς παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι τὰ πάντα, καὶ ἀναστῆσαι πᾶσαν σάρκα πάσης ἀνθρωπότητος, ἵνα Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν, καὶ Θεῷ, καὶ Σωτῆρι, καὶ Βασιλεῖ, κατὰ τὴν εὐδοκίαν τοῦ Πατρὸς τοῦ ἀοράτου, πᾶν γόνυ κάμψῃ ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων, καὶ καταχθονίων, καὶ πᾶσα γλῶσσα ἐξομολογήσῃται αὐτῷ, καὶ κρίσιν δικαίαν ἐν τοῖς πᾶσι ποιήσῃται· τὰ μὲν πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας, καὶ ἀγγέλους παραβεβηκότας, καὶ ἐν ἀποστασίᾳ γεγονότας, καὶ τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς, καὶ ἀδίκους, καὶ ἀνόμους, καὶ βλασφήμους τῶν ἀνθρώπων, εἰς τὸ αἰώνιον πῦρ πέμψῃ· τοῖς δὲ δικαίοις, καὶ ὁσίοις, καὶ τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ τηρηκόσι, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ αὐτοῦ διαμεμενηκόσι, τοῖς μὲν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, τοῖς δὲ ἐκ μετανοίας, ζωὴν χαρισάμενος, ἀφθαρσίαν δωρήσῃται, καὶ δόξαν αἰώνιαν περιποιήσῃ.

talities, and invests them with eternal glory." "This faith," he says, "was the same in all the world: men professed it with one heart and one soul; for though there were different dialects in the world, yet the power of the faith was one^d and the same. The Churches in Germany had no other faith or tradition than those in Iberia, or Spain, or those among the Celtæ, that is France, or in the East, or in Egypt, or in Libya, or in the middle parts of the world [by which he means Jerusalem and the adjacent Churches, which were reckoned to be in the midst of the earth]. But as one and the same sun enlightened all the world, so the preaching of this truth shined all over and enlightened all men, that were willing to come to the knowledge of truth. Nor did the most eloquent ruler of the Church say any more than this (for no one was above his master), nor the weakest diminish any thing of this tradition: for the faith being one and the same, he that said most of it, could not enlarge it; nor he that said least, take any thing from it."

The reader will easily perceive that Irenæus, by this one faith, did not mean the express form of words now used in the Apostles' Creed, for his words differ much in expression from that, though in sense and substance it be the same faith, and that which was then preached and taught over all the Churches.

^d Iren. lib. i. c. iii. p. 49. Ταύτην τὴν πίστιν . . . ἡ ἐκκλησία, καίπερ ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ διεσπαρμένη, ἐπιμελῶς φυλάσσει, ὡς ἓνα οἶκον οἰκοῦσα· καὶ ὁμοίως πιστεύει τοῦτοις, ὡς μίαν ψυχὴν καὶ αὐτὴν ἔχουσα καρδίαν, καὶ συμφώνως ταῦτα κηρύσσει, καὶ διδάσκει, καὶ παραδίδωσιν, ὡς ἐν στόμα κεκτημένη· καὶ γὰρ αἱ κατὰ τὸν κόσμον διάλεκτοι ἀνόμοιαι, ἀλλ' ἡ δύναμις τῆς παραδόσεως μία καὶ ἡ αὐτή· καὶ οὔτε αἱ ἐν Γερμανίαις ἰδρυμέναι ἐκκλησίαι ἄλλως πεπιστεύκασιν, ἢ ἄλλως παραδιδόασιν, οὔτε ἐν ταῖς Ἰβηρίαις, οὔτε ἐν Κελτοῖς, οὔτε κατὰ τὰς ἀνατολάς, οὔτε ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, οὔτε ἐν Λιβύῃ, οὔτε αἱ κατὰ μέσα τοῦ κόσμου ἰδρυμέναι· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ὁ ἥλιος, τὸ κτίσμα τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ εἰς καὶ ὁ αὐτός· οὕτω καὶ τὸ κήρυγμα τῆς ἀληθείας πανταχῇ φαίνει, καὶ φωτίζει πάντας ἀνθρώπους τοὺς βουλομένους εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν ἀληθείας ἐλθεῖν· καὶ οὔτε ὁ πάνυ δυνατὸς ἐν λόγῳ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις προεστώτων, ἕτερον τούτων ἐρεῖ· (οὐδεὶς γὰρ ὑπὲρ τὸν διδάσκαλον) οὔτε ὁ ἀσθενὴς ἐν τῷ λόγῳ ἐλαττώσει τὴν παράδοσιν· μίᾳ γὰρ καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς πίστεως οὔσης, οὔτε ὁ πολὺ περὶ αὐτῆς δυνάμενος εἰπεῖν ἐπλεόνασεν, οὔτε ὁ τὸ ὀλίγον, ἡλαττόνησε.

SECT. II.—*The Creed of Origen.*

There is another such form of apostolical doctrine collected by Origen in his books of Christian Principles^e, where he thus delivers the rule of faith:—"The things which are manifestly handed down by the apostolical preaching, are these,—first, that there is one God, who created and made all things, and caused the whole universe to exist out of nothing; the God of all the just that ever were, from the first creation and foundation of all; the God of Adam, Abel, Seth, Enos, Enoch, Noe, Sem, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, the twelve patriarchs, Moses, and the prophets; and that this God in the last days, as he had promised before by his prophets, sent our Lord Jesus Christ, first to call Israel, and then the Gentiles, after the infidelity of his people Israel. This just and good God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, gave both the law, and the prophets, and the Gospels, being the God of the apostles, and of the Old and New Testament. The next article is, that Jesus Christ, who came into the world, was begotten of the Father before every creature; who, ministering to his Father in the creation of all things [for by him all things were made], in the last times, made himself of no reputation, and became man; he who was God was made

^e Origen. *περὶ ἀρχῶν*, in Præfat. (Oberthür, 1781. vol. iii. p. 13.) Species eorum, quæ per prædicationem apostolicam manifeste traduntur, istæ sunt. Primo, quod unus Deus est, qui omnia creavit atque composuit; quique ex nullis fecit esse universa; Deus, a prima creatura et conditione mundi, omnium justorum, Deus Adam, Abel, Seth, Enos, Enoch, Noë, Sem, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, XII. patriarcharum, Mosis, et prophetarum: et quod hic Deus, in novissimis diebus, sicut per prophetas suos ante promiserat, misit Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, primo quidem vocaturum Israël. Hic Deus justus et bonus, Pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi, legem, et prophetas, et evangelia, ipse dedit, qui et apostolorum Deus est, et Veteris et Novi Testamenti. Tum deinde quod Jesus Christus ipse, qui venit, ante omnem creaturam natus ex Patre est. Qui quum in omnium conditione Patri ministrasset, (per ipsum enim omnia facta sunt) novissimis temporibus, se ipsum exinaniens, homo factus est: incarnatus est, quum Deus esset; et homo mansit, quod Deus erat. Corpus adsumsit nostro corpori simile, eo solo differens, quod natum ex virgine de Spiritu Sancto est. Et quoniam hic Jesus Christus natus et passus est in veritate, et non per imaginem, communi hac morte, vere mortuus est: vere enim a mortuis resurrexit, et post resurrectionem conversatus cum discipulis suis, adsumtus est. Tum deinde, honore ac dignitate, Patri ac Filio sociatum tradiderunt Spiritum Sanctum.

flesh; and when he was man, he continued the same God that he was before. He assumed a body in all things like ours, save only that he was born of a virgin by the Holy Ghost; and because this Jesus Christ was born, and suffered death common to all, in truth, and not only in appearance, he was truly dead: for he rose again truly from the dead; and after his resurrection, conversed with his disciples, and was taken up into heaven. They also delivered unto us, that the Holy Ghost was joined in the same honour and dignity with the Father and the Son."

Thus far Origen speaks of the principal articles of the Christian faith, as handed down by the Church from the preaching of the apostles. And there goes another book under his name, written by way of dialogue against the Marcionites, where he more succinctly delivers the Catholic faith in opposition to the false principles of those heretics:—"I believe there is one God^f, the Creator and Maker of all things; and One that is from him, God the Word, who is consubstantial with him and co-eternal; who, in the last times, took human nature upon him of the [Virgin] Mary, and was crucified, and raised again from the dead. I believe also the Holy Ghost, who exists to all eternity." 'Tis true, learned men are not certainly agreed who was the true author of those dialogues. Wetstenius, who first published them in Greek, ascribes them to Origen; but Huetius makes one Maximus the author, who lived, as he conjectures, in the time of Constantine; but, whoever was the author, they contain a form of a very orthodox creed: for which reason I have given it a place in this collection.

SECT. III.—*The Fragments of the Creed in Tertullian.*

Next after Origen, we find some parts of the ancient creed in Tertullian, who speaks of it as the rule of faith common to

^f Origen. cont. Marc. dial. i. p. 815. tom. ii. edit. Latin. Basil. 1571. (p. 533, ed. Paris.) Credo unum omnium Conditorum esse et Opificem: et qui ab illo est, Deum Verbum, consubstantialem juxtaque perennem; eumque extremis temporibus hominem ex Maria adsumsisse, et in crucem actum, et excitatum a mortuis: Credo etiam Spiritui Sancto, qui in omnem æternitatem existit.

all Christians. “There is,” says he, “one rule^g of faith only, which admits of no change or alteration, that which teaches us to believe in one God Almighty, the Maker of the world : and in Jesus Christ his Son, who was born of the Virgin Mary, crucified under Pontius Pilate, the third day arose again from the dead, received into heaven, and sitteth now at the right hand of God : who shall come again to judge both the quick and the dead, by the resurrection of the flesh.”

In his book of Prescriptions^h against Heretics, he has another form not much unlike this. “The rule of faith is that whereby we believe one God only, and no other beside, the Maker of the world, who produced all things out of nothing, by his Word which he sent forth before all things. This Word was called his Son, who, at sundry times, appeared to the patriarchs, and always spake by the prophets ; and at last descended in the Virgin Mary by the power and Spirit of God the Father, and was made flesh in her womb, and born of her a man Jesus Christ ; who preached a new law, and a new promise of the kingdom of heaven ; who wrought miracles, and was crucified ; and the third day arose again, and was taken into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of the Father, whence he sent the power of the Holy Ghost in his stead, to guide them that believe : who shall come again with glory, to

^g Tertul. de Veland. Virgin. c. i. (Rigalt. 1641. p. 192. C.) Regula fidei una omnino est, sola immobilis, et irreformabilis, credendi scilicet in unicum Deum omnipotentem, mundi Conditorem, et Filium ejus Jesum Christum, natum ex Virgine Maria, crucifixum sub Pontio Pilato, tertia die resuscitatum a mortuis, receptum in cœlis, sedentem nunc ad dexteram Patris, venturum judicare vivos et mortuos per carnis etiam resurrectionem.

^h Tertul. de Præscript. adv. Hæreticos, c. xiii. (Rigalt. 1641. p. 235. C 3.) Regula est fidei, illa scilicet qua creditur, Unum omnino Deum esse, nec alium præter mundi Conditorem, qui universa de nihilo produxerit per Verbum suum, primo omnium demissum : id Verbum Filium ejus appellatum, in nomine Dei varie visum a Patriarchis, in Prophetis semper auditum, postremo delatum ex Spiritu Patris Dei et virtute, in Virginem Mariam, carnem factum in utero ejus, et ex ea natum egisse Jesum Christum : exinde prædicasse novam legem, et novam promissionem regni cœlorum ; virtutes fecisse ; fixum cruci ; tertia die resurrexisse ; in cœlos ereptum sedere ad dexteram Patris ; misisse vicariam vim Spiritus Sancti, qui credentes agat : venturum cum claritate ad sumendos sanctos in vitæ æternæ et promissorum cœlestium fructum, et ad profanos judicandos igni perpetuo, utriusque partis resurrectione cum carnis restitutione.

take the saints into the possession and fruition of eternal life and the heavenly promises, and to condemn the profane to everlasting fire, having first raised both the one and the other by the resurrection of the flesh. This rule," he says, "was instituted by Christ himselfⁱ, and there were no disputes in the Church about it, but such as heresies brought in, or such as made heretics. To know nothing beyond this, was to know all things."

In his book against Praxeas, he repeats the same creed, with a little variation of expression :—"We believe in one God^k; yet under this dispensation, which we call the economy, that one God hath a Son, which is his Word, who proceeded from him, by whom all things were made, and without whom nothing was made. We believe that he was sent by the Father to be born of a virgin, both man and God, the son of man, and the Son of God, and that he was called Jesus Christ; that he suffered, and was dead and buried, according to the Scriptures; that he was raised again by the Father, and taken up again into heaven, where he sits at the right hand of the Father, and shall come again to judge the quick and dead; from whence also he sent from his Father, according to his promise, the Holy Ghost the Comforter, who sanctifies the faith of those that believe in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. This faith," he says, "was the rule of believing from the beginning of the Gospel: and the antiquity of it was suffi-

ⁱ Ibid. c. xiv. (p. 235.) *Hæc regula a Christo instituta nullas habet apud nos quæstiones, nisi quas hæreses inferunt, et quæ hæreticos faciunt. Nihil ultra scire, omnia scire est.*

^k Tertull. advers. Prax. c. ii. (p. 635. A 3.) *Unicum quidem Deum credimus; sub hac tamen dispensatione, quam œconomiam dicimus, et unici Dei sit et Filius Sermo ipsius, qui ex ipso processerit, per quem omnia facta sunt, et sine quo factum est nihil. Hunc missum a Patre in virginem, et ex ea natum hominem et Deum, filium hominis et filium Dei, et cognominatum Jesum Christum. Hunc passum, hunc mortuum, et sepultum secundum Scripturas, et resuscitatum a Patre, et in cœlos resumptum, sedere ad dexteram Patris, venturum judicare vivos et mortuos. Qui exinde miserit, secundum promissionem suam, a Patre Spiritum Sanctum, Paracletum, sanctificatorem fidei eorum qui credunt in Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum. Hanc regulam ab initio evangelii decurrisset, etiam ante priores quosque hæreticos, nedum ante Praxeam hesternum, probabit tam ipsa posteritas omnium hæreticorum, quam ipsa novellitas Praxeæ hesterni.*

ciently demonstrated from the novelty of heresies, which were but of yesterday's standing in comparison of it."

Now it is easy to observe, that Tertullian here speaks not of any certain form of words, but of the substance of the faith; for some articles, as the descent into hell, and the communion of saints, are not here expressly mentioned, though they may be implied; but the articles of the Trinity, the Incarnation, &c. are both expressed and carefully explained in such a manner, as shows the necessity of an explicit faith in those points, and how the doctrine of our Saviour's divinity was a prime article of the Creed, from the very foundation of the Church.

SECT. IV.—*The Fragments of the Creed in Cyprian.*

Next, after Tertullian, we have some remains of the use of the Creed in Cyprian. He says, "Both the Catholics and Novatians agreed in the same form of interrogatories, which they always proposed to catechumens at their baptism, some of which were these questions in particular:—'Whether they believed in God¹ the Father, and in Christ his Son, and in the Holy Ghost?' And, 'Whether they believed the remission of sins and life eternal was to be obtained by the Holy Church?' For though," as he observes, "the Novatians did but falsify and prevaricate, as it were, in these questions, there being no true Church among them to grant remission of sins; yet, however, they observed the same form of words as the Church did in her Creed, and put the same questions to all that came to them for baptism." Cyprian repeats this in another epistle, which is written in the name of the Council of Carthage^m to

¹ Cyprian. Epist. lxi. al. lxxvi. ad Magnum. (Fell, Oxon. 1682. p. 183.) (p. 296, Fell, Amstelod. 1700.) Quod si aliquis illud opponit, ut dicat, eandem Novatianum legem tenere, quam Catholica Ecclesia teneat, eodem symbolo quo et nos, baptizare; eundem nosse Deum Patrem, eundem Filium Christum, eundem Spiritum Sanctum, ac propter hoc usurpare eum potestatem baptizandi posse, quod videatur in interrogatione baptismi a nobis non discrepare; sciat, quisquis hoc opponendum putat, primum non esse unam nobis et schismaticis symboli legem, neque eandem interrogationem. Nam quum dicunt, 'Credis remissionem peccatorum et vitam æternam per sanctam ecclesiam,' mentiuntur in interrogatione, quando non habeant ecclesiam.

^m Ibid. Epist. lxx. ad Episc. Numid. (p. 190.) (p. 301, Amstelod.) Sed et ipsa interrogatio quæ fit in baptismo, testis est veritatis. Nam quum dicimus,

the bishops of Numidia, where mention is made of the same interrogatories as generally used in the administration of baptism. From whence it appears, that not only the articles of the Trinity, but those other which relate to the Church, and remission of sins, and eternal life, were parts of the Creed, used, in Cyprian's time, in all the African Churches; and, except the 'descent into hell,' and the 'communion of saints' (which are of later date in the Creed than the times of Cyprian or Tertullian), all the other articles are taken notice of by these two primitive writers.

SECT. V.—*The Creed of Gregory Thaumaturgus.*

Not long after Cyprian lived Gregory, bishop of Neocæsarea, commonly called Thaumaturgus. Among his works, published by Gerhard Vossius, of Tongres, we have a creed which he composed for the use of his own Church; or rather, as Gregory Nyssen reports in his Life, a creed which he received in the entrance on his ministry, by a vision from heaven. The form is in these wordsⁿ:—"There is one God, the Father of the living Word, the subsisting wisdom and power, the eternal express image of God, who is a perfect begetter of a perfect, a Father of an only begotten Son.

'Credis in vitam æternam et remissionem peccatorum per sanctam ecclesiam?' intelligimus remissionem peccatorum non nisi in ecclesia dari: apud hæreticos autem, ubi ecclesia non sit, non posse peccata dimitti.

ⁿ Gregor. Neocæsar. Oper. p. 1. See Gregor. Nyssen. Paris. 1638. vol. iii. p. 546. Εἰς Θεὸς, πατὴρ Λόγου ζῶντος, σοφίας ὑφ'εστῶσης, καὶ δυνάμεως, καὶ χαρακτῆρος αἰδίου· τέλειος τελείου γεννήτωρ, πατὴρ Υἱοῦ μονογενοῦς· εἰς Κύριος, μόνος ἐκ μόνου, Θεὸς ἐκ Θεοῦ· χαρακτὴρ καὶ εἰκὼν τῆς θεότητος, λόγος ἐνεργῆς· σοφία, τῆς τῶν ὅλων συστάσεως περιεκτικὴ· καὶ δύναμις τῆς ὅλης κτίσεως ποιητικὴ· Υἱὸς ἀληθινός, ἀληθινοῦ πατρὸς, ἀόρατος τοῦ ἀοράτου· καὶ ἀφθαρτος ἀφθάρτου, καὶ ἀθάνατος ἀθανάτου, καὶ αἰδίου αἰδίου. Καὶ ἐν Πνεῦμα ἁγίον, ἐκ Θεοῦ τὴν ὑπαρξιν ἔχον· καὶ διὰ υἱοῦ πεφηνός, δηλαδὴ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις· εἰκὼν τοῦ υἱοῦ, τελείου τελεία ζωὴ, ζώντων αἰτία· πηγὴ ἁγία, ἀγιότης, ἁγιασμοῦ χορηγός· ἐν ᾧ φανεροῦται Θεὸς ὁ Πατήρ, ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων καὶ ἐν πᾶσι· καὶ Θεὸς ὁ Υἱός, ὁ διὰ πάντων. Τριάς τελεία, δόξη καὶ αἰδιότητι καὶ βασιλείᾳ μὴ μεριζομένη, μηδὲ ἀπαλλοτριουμένη· οὔτε οὖν κτιστόν τι, ἢ δοῦλον ἐν τῇ Τριάδι· οὔτε ἐπείσακτον, ὡς πρότερον μὲν οὐχ ὑπάρχον, ὕστερον δὲ ἐπείσελθόν· οὔτε οὖν ἐνέλιπε ποτὲ Υἱὸς Πατρί, οὔτε Υἱῷ τὸ Πνεῦμα· ἀλλ' ἄτρεπτος καὶ ἀναλλοίωτος, ἡ αὐτὴ Τριάς αἰεί.

And one Lord, One of One, God of God, the character and image of the Godhead, the Word of power, the Wisdom that comprehends the whole system of the world, the power that made every creature; the true Son of the true Father, invisible of invisible, incorruptible of incorruptible, immortal of immortal, eternal of eternal. And one Holy Ghost, who has his existence from God, who was manifested to men by the Son, the perfect image of the perfect Son, the living cause of all living, the fountain of holiness, essential sanctity, who is the author of holiness in all others; in whom God the Father is manifested, who is above all and in all; and God the Son, whose power runs through all things; a perfect Trinity, whose glory, eternity, and dominion, is no way divided or separated from each other. In this Trinity, therefore, there is nothing created or servile, nothing adventitious or extraneous, that did not exist before, but afterward came into it. The Father was never without the Son, nor the Son without the Spirit; but the Trinity abides the same, unchangeable and invariable, for ever."

This creed is not a complete summary of the faith, but only so far as relates to the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, of which it is one of the most convincing testimonies that is to be met with in any of the ante-Nicene fathers, it being particularly designed against the two opposite heresies of the Samosatenians and Sabellians: the one of which denied the divinity of our Saviour; and the other, his personal subsistence. Some modern Arians, following Sandius, have objected against it, as not genuine; but the learned Bishop Bull has abundantly vindicated the credit of it^o, from the undeniable

^o Bull. Defensio Fid. Nic. sect. ii. c. xii. n. ii. (Lond. 1703. p. 152.) Formulam illam Confessionis Catholicæ de SS. Trinitate a Gregorio revera profectam fuisse constat. Nam eidem illam tribuit non modo Ruffinus, sed et ipsius cognominis Gregorius Nyssenus, qui viri admirabilis res gestas et scripta accurate perspecta habuit, adeoque vitam ejus descripsit. Quin et rem hanc ita narrat vir eximius, ut vix quisquam cordatus de ea dubitare possit. Nimirum confessionem illam recitaturus, hæc verba præmittit: *Δι' ἧς μυσταγωγεῖται μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ὁ ἐκεῖνος λαός, πάσης αἰρετικῆς κακίας διαμείνας ἀπείρατος*, i. e. 'Per quam (confessionem) usque in præsentem diem instituitur plebs illa (nempe Neocæsareensis) quæ ab omni hæretica malitia intacta remansit.' Scilicet adeo certum erat, Confessionem illam fidei a Gregorio Thaumaturgo profectam,

evidences of Gregory Nyssen and St. Basil : to whose excellent dissertation I refer the reader.

ut plebs omnis civitatis Neocæsareensis, cujus episcopus et immortale decus ille fuit, illam, ut Gregorii indubie genuinam, amplexa, perque ipsam a Patrum memoria usque ad Nysseni ætatem institui solita fuerit : indeque factum, ut ecclesia Neocæsareensis, quum totus mundus Arianus fieret, ab hæretica malitia se illæsam conservaverit. Postquam vero Confessionem recitasset Nyssenus, hæc subjungit : "Ὅτω δὲ φίλον περὶ τούτου πεισθῆναι, ἀκούετω τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἐν ᾗ τὸν λόγον ἐκήρυττεν, παρ' οἷς αὐτὰ τὰ χαράγματα τῆς μακαρίας ἐκείνης χειρὸς εἰς ἔτι καὶ νῦν διασώζεται, i. e. 'Quod si quis sibi fidem de hac re fieri cupit, audiat ecclesiam, apud quam illa ipsa verba, a beata illa manu exarata, adhuc etiam nunc conservantur.' Appellat ipsum Thaumaturgi αὐτόγραφον, a Neocæsareensibus ad suam ætatem religiose custoditum. Nescio sane, an ad ejusmodi traditionem aliquam confirmandam quidquam amplius desiderari possit. Ceterum Gregorii Nysseni testimonio aperte suffragari mihi videtur Basilius Magnus, ipsius frater, qui Epist. lxxv. ad Neocæsareenses testatur, se ab avia sua, in tenera ætate, Gregorii Thaumaturgi ipsa verba didicisse, quibus recte in fide de SS. Trinitate institutus fuerit. Verba ejus sunt : Πίστεως δὲ τῆς ἡμετέρας τίς ἂν γένοιτο ἐναργεστέρα ἀπόδειξις, ἢ ὅτι τραφέντες ἡμεῖς ὑπὸ τίτῃ μακαρίᾳ γυναικί, παρ' ὑμῶν ὠρμημένῃ Μακρίναν λέγω τὴν περιβόητον παρ' ἧς ἐδιδάχθημεν τὰ τοῦ μακαριωτάτου Γρηγορίου ῥήματα, ὅσα πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀκολουθία μνήμης διασωθέντα αὐτῇ τε ἐφύλασσε, καὶ ἡμᾶς ἔτι νηπίους ὄντας ἐπλαττε καὶ ἐμόρφου τοῖς εὐσεβείας δόγμασι ; i. e. 'Fidei vero nostræ quæ poterit esse evidentior probatio, quam quod a nutrice beata femina, quæ ex vestro gremio progressa est (Macrinam dico, illustrem illam), educati sumus ; a qua et beatissimi Gregorii verba didicimus, quæ memoriæ beneficio ad illius usque ætatem conservata, et ipsa retinuit, et nos adhuc infantes iisdem tamquam pietatis dogmatibus formavit ?' Omnino, inquam, heic Thaumaturgi confessio designari mihi videtur. Nam totidem verbis a Gregorio traditam fidei ὑποτύπωσιν de SS. Trinitate (quippe de ea ibi agit) se in infantia sua, ab avia Macrina Neocæsareensi edoctum fuisse, diserte testatur Basilius. Attende, lector. Nyssenus refert, populum Neocæsareensem per Thaumaturgi Confessionem, a patrum memoria ad suam usque ætatem, institui solitum fuisse : ait vero Basilius, se ab avia sua (nempe dum apud ipsam Neocæsareæ in Ponto una cum parentibus suis vitam ageret), in tenera ætate (hoc est, ante Concilium Nicænum), recte fidem de SS. Trinitate, totidem Gregorii verbis conceptam, edidicisse. Quis non existimaverit de eadem fidei Confessione utrumque loqui ? Quin et idem Basilius (lib. de Spiritu Sancto, c. xxxix.) testatur, tantam fuisse Gregorii illius apud Neocæsareenses usque ad sua tempora existimationem, ut nihil sive in doctrina, sive in ritibus, admittere in ecclesia voluerint, nisi quod a maximo illo fundatore suo traditum accepissent. Verba Basilius hæc sunt : Τούτου μέγα ἔτι καὶ νῦν τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις τὸ θαῦμα, καὶ νεαρὰ καὶ αἰεὶ πρόσφατος ἡ μνήμη ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἐνίδρυται, οὐδενὶ χρόνῳ ἀμανρουμένη· οὐκοῦν οὐ πρᾶξιν τινα, οὐ λόγον, οὐ τύπον τινὰ μυστικόν, παρ' ὃν ἐκείνοις κατέλιπε, τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ προσέθηκαν, i. e. 'Hujus (Gregorii), et in hodiernum quoque diem magna est apud ejus regionis homines admiratio ; recensque ac semper vicens

SECT. VI.—*The Creed of Lucian the Martyr.*

In the same age with Gregory Thaumaturgus lived Lucian the martyr, who suffered in the last persecution under Diocletian. He was presbyter of the Church of Antioch, where he wrote a confession of faith, in opposition to the Sabellians. The form is recorded both by Athanasius^p, and Socrates^q, and Hilary, who comments upon it, and vindicates it from the

memoria sic infixæ est ecclesiis, ut nullo tempore obscuretur. Itaque non praxin aliquam, non dictum, non formam ullam mysticam, ultra quam illis reliquit, ecclesiæ (suæ) adjecerunt.' Si dictum nullum, ultra quam illis reliquit Gregorius, certe multo minus symbolum aliquod aut fidei confessionem, quam ab ipso non acceperat, ecclesia Neocæsarensis voluit admittere. Et tamen Basilii ætate confessionem fidei, de qua agimus, in ecclesia ista receptam fuisse, idque ut a Gregorio traditam, certissimum est.

P Athan. de Syn. Arimin. et Seleuc. (Colon. 1686. tom. i. p. 392. D.) (tom. i. p. 735. E, edit. Paris. 1698.) Πιστεύομεν, ἀκολουθῶν τῇ εὐαγγελικῇ καὶ ἀποστολικῇ παραδόσει, εἰς ἓνα Θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα, τὸν τῶν ὅλων δημιουργόν τε, καὶ ποιητήν, [καὶ προνοητήν] ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα· καὶ εἰς ἓνα Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, τὸν μονογενῆ Θεόν, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα, τὸν γεννηθέντα πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς, Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ, ὅλον ἐξ ὅλου, μόνον ἐκ μόνου, τέλειον ἐκ τελείου, βασιλέα ἐκ βασιλέως, κύριον ἐκ κυρίου, λόγον ζῶντα, σοφίαν ζῶσαν, φῶς ἀληθινόν, ὁδόν, ἀλήθειαν, ἀνάστασιν, ποιμένα, θύραν, ἄτρεπτόν τε καὶ ἀναλλοίωτον τῆς θεότητος, οὐσίας τε καὶ βουλῆς καὶ δυνάμεως, καὶ δόξης τοῦ πατρὸς ἀπαράλλακτον εἰκόνα, τὸν πρωτότοκον πάσης τῆς κτίσεως, τὸν ὄντα ἐν ἀρχῇ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, Θεὸν λόγον, κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ, καὶ Θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐν ᾧ τὰ πάντα συνέστηκε· τὸν ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν κατελθόντα ἄνωθεν, καὶ γεννηθέντα ἐκ παρθένου, κατὰ τὰς γραφάς, καὶ ἄνθρωπον γενόμενον, μεσίτην Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων, ἀπόστολόν τε τῆς πίστεως ἡμῶν, καὶ ἀρχηγόν τῆς ζωῆς, (ὥς φησιν· ὅτι καταβέβηκα ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, οὐχ ἵνα ποιῶ τὸ θέλημα τὸ ἐμὸν, ἀλλὰ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πέμψαντός με) τὸν παθόντα ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ ἀνελθόντα εἰς οὐρανοὺς, καὶ καθεσθέντα ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ πάλιν ἐρχόμενον μετὰ δόξης καὶ δυνάμεως, κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς. Καὶ εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, τὸ εἰς παράκλησιν, καὶ ἁγιασμόν, καὶ τελείωσιν τοῖς πιστεύουσιν διδόμενον, καθὼς καὶ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς διετάξατο τοῖς μαθηταῖς λέγων, Πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ ἁγίου Πνεύματος· δηλονότι πατὴρ ἀληθῶς πατὴρ ὢντος, Υἱοῦ δὲ ἀληθῶς Υἱοῦ ὢντος, τοῦ δὲ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἀληθῶς ἁγίου Πνεύματος ὢντος· τῶν ὀνομάτων οὐχ ἀπλῶς οὐδὲ ἀργῶς κειμένων, ἀλλὰ σημαινόντων ἀκριβῶς τὴν οἰκίαν ἐκάστου τῶν ὀνομαζομένων ὑπόστασιν τε καὶ τάξιν καὶ δόξαν· ὥς εἶναι τῇ μὲν ὑποστάσει τρία, τῇ δὲ συμφωνίᾳ ἓν.

^q Socrat. lib. ii. c. x.

objections which some made against it, because it was produced by the Arians in the Council of Antioch, under Constantius (an. 341), as if it had favoured their opinion; which Hilary shows it did not, though there were some expressions in it against the Sabellians, that might be wrested to an heretical sense (as any Catholic words may be), contrary to the mind of the author. The form, as delivered by St. Hilary, runs thus:—
 “ We believe^r, according to the tradition of the Gospels and apostles, in one God, the Father Almighty, Creator, and Maker, and Governor of all things, of whom are all things; and in one Lord Jesus Christ, his only begotten Son, who is God, by whom are all things, who was begotten of the Father, God of God, Whole of Whole, One of One, Perfect of Perfect, King of King, Lord of Lord, the Word, the Wisdom, the Life, the true Light, the true Way, the Resurrection, the Shepherd, the Gate, the incommutable and unchangeable image

^r Hilar. de Synodis. (Bened. 1693. vol. ii. p. 1168.) Credimus, consequenter evangelicæ et apostolicæ traditioni, in unum Deum Patrem Omnipotentem, cunctorum quæ sunt ædificatorem et factorem et provisorem, de quo omnia: Et in unum Dominum Jesum Christum, Filium ipsius unigenitum, Deum per quem omnia, qui generatus est ex Patre, Deum ex Deo, Totum ex Toto, Unum ex Uno, Perfectum de Perfecto, Regem de Rege, Dominum de Domino, Verbum, Sapientiam, Vitam, Lumen verum, Viam veram, Resurrectionem, Pastorem, Januam, inconvertibilem et immutabilem, Divinitatis essentiæque et virtutis et gloriæ incommutabilem imaginem, primum editum totius creaturæ, qui semper fuit in principio apud Deum Verbum Deus, juxta quod dictum est in evangelio: ‘Et Deus erat Verbum,’ per quem omnia facta sunt, et in quo omnia constant; qui in novissimis diebus descendit de sursum, et natus est ex virgine secundum Scripturas, et agnus factus est, Mediator Dei et hominum, prædestinatus fidei nostræ et dux vitæ. Dixit quippe, ‘Non enim descendi de cœlo, ut facerem voluntatem meam, sed voluntatem ejus qui me misit.’ Qui passus est, et resurrexit pro nobis tertia die, et ascendit in cœlos, et sedet in dextera Patris, et iterum venturus cum gloria judicare vivos et mortuos. Et in Sanctum Spiritum, qui in paraclesin et sanctificationem et consummationem credentibus datus est, juxta quod et Dominus Jesus Christus ordinavit discipulis, dicens, ‘Pergite, et docete universas gentes, baptizantes eas in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti: manifeste utique Patris vere Patris, certumque Filii vere Filii, et Spiritus Sancti vere Spiritus Sancti; hisque nominibus non simpliciter, neque otiose propositis, sed significantibus diligenter propriam uniuscujusque nominatorum substantiam et ordinem et gloriam, ut sint quidem per substantiam tria, per consonantiam vero unum. *Τῇ ὑποστάσει τρία, τῇ δὲ συμφωνίᾳ ἓν.* So the Greek in Socrates and Athanasius.

of the Divine essence, power, and glory, the first-born of every creature, who was always from the beginning God, the Word, with God, according to what is said in the Gospel, ‘And the Word was God, by whom all things were made, and in whom all things subsist:’ who, in the last days, descended from on high, and was born of a virgin, according to the Scriptures; and being the Lamb of God, he was made the Mediator between God and men, being fore-ordained to be the Author of our faith and life: for he said, ‘I came not from heaven to do my own will, but the will of him that sent me;’ who suffered and rose again for us the third day, and ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father; and he shall come again with glory to judge the quick and the dead. And we believe in the Holy Ghost, which is given to believers for their consolation, and sanctification, and consummation, according to what our Lord Jesus Christ appointed his disciples, saying, ‘Go, teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.’ Whence the properties of the Father are manifest, denoting him to be truly a Father; and the properties of the Son, denoting him to be truly a Son; and the properties of the Holy Spirit, denoting him to be truly the Holy Ghost. These names not being simply put, and to no purpose, but to express the particular subsistence, or hypostatic substance, as the Greeks term it, of each person named, so as to denote them to be three in hypostasis, and one by consent.”

This creed was anciently suspected by some as an Arian creed, because of the term “three hypostases,” or “three substances,” in Hilary’s translation. But Hilary abundantly clears it from this suspicion, by showing that these terms were only used to oppose the Sabellians, who made the three persons no more than three names, and that all other expressions in it are very full and significant against the Arian heresy. And, therefore, neither does he censure the Council of Antioch as Arians, who only repeated and adopted this creed from Lucian; but he calls them a synod of ninety-five holy bishops, who intended thereby to establish the Catholic faith against the Sabellians chiefly, though not without a sufficient guard against the Anomians or Arians. His words

are these^s:—"The holy synod, intending to destroy the impiety of those heretics who eluded the true faith of a Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, by the equivocation of three names only, that by a triple appellation, without any real subsistence belonging to each name, they might, under the false shadow of three names, introduce such an unity, as that the Father alone, though but one and the same, should have the name of the Holy Spirit and the Son also; therefore the synod used the term, 'three substances, or hypostases,' meaning by 'substances' subsisting persons, and not intending to introduce such a division of substance in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, as implies a dissimilitude and diversity of essence [which was the heresy of the Arians, who made the Father only God, and the other two persons only creatures, so dividing the substance by a diversity of nature, or essence, which this council did not]; and, therefore," Hilary says, "they were not to be blamed, though they spake of the Divine Persons as of three substances, or hypostases, and one by consent, because they meant no more than real subsisting persons, in opposition to the Sabellians." Yet, notwithstanding this just defence and apology made by St. Hilary for this council, it is condemned by Baronius, Binnius, Hermantius, and many other modern writers, as an Arian council. But the learned Schelstrate has written an accurate dissertation in favour of this council, wherein he answers^t all the objections made by Baronius and his followers, either against this Council or the creed of Lucian the martyr; which is also done by our learned Bishop Bull^u, to whose dissertations I refer the curious reader.

^s Hilar. de Synodis, p. 1170. Volens igitur congregata sanctorum synodus impietatem eam perimere, quæ veritatem Patris, Filii, et Spiritus Sancti nominum numero eluderet, ut, non subsistente causa uniuscujusque nominis, triplex nuncupatio obtineret, sub falsitate nominum, unionem, et Pater solus atque unus idem atque ipse haberet et Spiritus Sancti nomen et Filii; idcirco tres substantias esse dixerunt, subsistentium personas per substantias edocentes; non substantiam Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti diversitate dissimilis essentiae separantes. Quod autem dictum est, 'ut sint quidem per substantiam tria, per consonantiam vero unum,' non habet calumniam, etc.

^t Schelstrat. Sacrum Antiochenum Concilium, pro Arianorum Conciliabulo passim habitum, nunc ex omni antiquitate auctoritati suæ restitutum, Dissert. iii. c. ii. pp. 109—116.

^u Bull. Defensio Fid. sect. ii. c. xiii. n. vi. (Grabe, p. 161.) Vere fuisse

SECT. VII.—*The Creed of the Apostolical Constitutions.*

About the time of Lucian the martyr, in the latter end of the third century, Cotelierius supposes the author or compiler of the book called the Apostolical Constitutions to have lived :

Luciani hoc symbolum, non ab Arianis ipsi affictum, multa evincunt. Primo episcopi illi imprudenter admodum, adeoque impudenter, formulam aliquam fidei sub Luciani nomine, quæ ipsius revera non fuisset, Antiochiæ edidissent ; ubi et sancti martyris memoria merito sacra, et scripta ejus religiosissime custodita fuerunt, ut facillime ab omnibus fraus deprehendi potuisset. Deinde, ut semel illis tuto mentiri licuisset, fieri tamen certe non potuit, ut impostura diutius lateret. At symbolum istud, ut indubie Luciani martyris, venditarunt etiam Ariani, idque summa cum fiducia, multis post annis, nempe quum, Valentiniano et Valente imperantibus, synodus congreganda esset in urbe Tarso Ciliciæ, referente Sozomeno Hist. Eccles. lib. vi. c. xii. Tum enim, inquit ibidem Sozomenus, *συνελθόντες ἐν Καρία τῆς Ἀσίας ἀμφὶ τριάκοντα τέσσαρες τῶν Ἀσιανῶν ἐπισκόπων, τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ ὁμονοίᾳ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν σπουδὴν ἐπύκνουν· παρηγοῦντο δὲ τὸ τοῦ ὁμοουσίου ὄνομα· καὶ τὴν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ καὶ Σελευκείᾳ ἐκτεθεῖσαν πίστιν χρῆναι κρατεῖν ἰσχυρίζοντο, ὥς καὶ Λουκιανοῦ τοῦ μάρτυρος οὖσαν, καὶ μετὰ κινδύνων καὶ πολλῶν ἰδρώτων παρὰ τῶν πρὸ αὐτῶν δοκιμασθεῖσαν, i. e.* ‘Quatuor circiter ac triginta Asiani episcopi in Caria Asiæ provincia collecti, studium quidem in restituenda ecclesiarum concordia positum magnopere laudarunt : ‘consubstantialis’ autem vocabulum admittere recusabant ; affirmantes, fidem quæ Antiochiæ et Seleuciæ promulgata fuerat, ratam esse oportere, quippe quæ et Luciani martyris fides esset, et non sine multis periculis ac laboribus ab ipsorum antecessoribus fuisset comprobata.’ Porro si hoc symbolum consarcinassent ipsi Ariani, certe illud suis placitis aptius conformassent ; saltem ea non inseruissent, quæ ipsorum hæresin plane jugularent : cujusmodi nonnulla in eo reperiuntur, uti mox ostendemus. Denique hæc fidei confessio præcipue dirigitur adversus hæresin Sabellianam, ut ex iis, quæ sub finem continet, manifestissimum est. Nam post explicatam fusius de SS. Trinitate fidem, demum concluditur symbolum hoc quasi epilogo, summam et scopum totius præcedentis sermonis explicante, ‘Patris,’ inquam, ‘vere Patris ; et Filii vere Filii ; et Spiritus Sancti revera Spiritus Sancti : ita ut hæc vocabula non sint nuda et sine re vocabula ; sed quæ accurate exprimant propriam uniuscujusque personam, ordinem, ac gloriam : adeo ut personis quidem tres sint ; consensu autem unum.’ Quid autem ista attinebant ad Arianam controversiam, quæ in Concilio illo Antiocheno agitabatur ? A Luciani ætate dogma Sabellii maxime viguit, ejusdemque fertur ipse Lucianus acerrimus fuisse impugnator. His mantissæ loco addam observationem Philostorgii (Hist. Eccles. lib. ii. c. xv.) ubi de Luciani martyris discipulis agens, qui magistri sui doctrinam haud illibatam servarunt, scribit : *Καὶ τὸν Ἀστήριον παρατρέψαι τὸ φρόνημα, ἀπαράλλακτον εἰκόνα τῆς τοῦ Πατρὸς οὐσίας εἶναι τὸν Υἱὸν, ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῦ λόγοις καὶ γράμμασι διαμαρτυρούμενον.* Atqui illud Asterius ex Luciani symbolo totidem verbis mutuatus est, ut ex collatione apparebit.

which I think more probable than either the opinion of those who thrust him down to the fifth century ; or the opinion of Mr. Whiston, who will needs have this book not only to be the genuine work of Clemens Romanus, but the work of a divine and inspired writer. For this reason I speak of him in this place next after Lucian, as one that has left us the form of an ancient creed, then most probably used in some of the Eastern or Greek Churches ; for he brings in the catechumen, making his profession in these words :—“ I believe^x, and am baptized in one Unbegotten, the only true God Almighty, the Father of Christ, the Creator and Maker of all things, of whom are all things. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, his only begotten Son, first-born of every creature, who before all ages was begotten, not made, by the good will of the Father ; by whom all things were made in heaven and in earth, visible and invisible ; who, in the last times, came down from heaven, and taking flesh upon him, was born of the holy Virgin, Mary, and lived a holy life, according to the laws of God his Father ; and was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and died for us ; and the third day after he had suffered, rose again from the dead, and ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father, and shall come again with glory, in the end of the

^x Constit. Apostol. lib. vii. c. xlii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 439. A 3.) Καὶ συντάσσομαι τῷ Χριστῷ, καὶ πιστεύω, καὶ βαπτίζομαι εἰς ἓνα ἀγέννητον, μόνον ἀληθινὸν Θεὸν παντοκράτορα, τὸν πατέρα τοῦ Χριστοῦ· κτιστὴν καὶ δημιουργὸν τῶν ἀπάντων· ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα. Καὶ εἰς τὸν Κύριον Ἰησοῦν τὸν Χριστὸν, τὸν μονογενῆ αὐτοῦ υἱὸν, τὸν πρωτότοκον πάσης κτίσεως, τὸν πρὸ αἰώνων εὐδοκία τοῦ πατρὸς γεννηθέντα, οὐ κτισθέντα· δι’ οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο τὰ ἐν οὐρανοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ὁρατά τε καὶ ἀόρατα· τὸν ἐπ’ ἐσχάτων ἡμερῶν κατελθόντα ἐξ οὐρανῶν, καὶ σάρκα ἀναλαβόντα· καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας παρθένου Μαρίας γεννηθέντα· καὶ πολιτευσάμενον ὁσίως κατὰ τοὺς νόμους τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ· καὶ σταυρωθέντα ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, καὶ ἀποθανόντα ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν· καὶ ἀναστάντα ἐκ νεκρῶν μετὰ τὸ παθεῖν τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, καὶ καθεσθέντα ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ πατρὸς, καὶ πάλιν ἐρχόμενον ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τοῦ αἰῶνος μετὰ δόξης κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκροὺς, οὗ τῆς βασιλείας οὐκ ἔσται τέλος. Βαπτίζομαι καὶ εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, τουτέστι τὸν παράκλητον, τὸ ἐνεργῆσαν ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἀπ’ αἰῶνος ἁγίοις, ὕστερον δὲ ἀποσταλὲν καὶ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς, κατὰ τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ, μετὰ τοὺς ἀποστόλους, πᾶσι τοῖς πιστεύουσιν, ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, εἰς σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν, καὶ εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, καὶ εἰς βασιλείαν οὐρανῶν, καὶ εἰς ζωὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος.

world, to judge both the quick and dead, of whose kingdom there shall be no end. And I am baptized into the Holy Ghost, that is to say, the Comforter, which wrought effectually in all the saints from the beginning of the world, and was afterward sent to the apostles by the Father, according to the promise of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and after the apostles to all others, who, in the holy Catholic Church, believe the resurrection of the flesh, the remission of sins, the kingdom of heaven, and the life of the world to come."

Some have suspected this author of Arianism, but there is nothing of it appears in this creed. For though he gives the title of ἀγέννητον only to the Father, yet that is no more than what Alexander, and Athanasius, and all the opposers of Arius always did, who never asserted δύο ἀγέννητα, as those words signify 'two absolute, co-ordinate, unbegotten principles,' which is the proper notion of two Gods; but always reserved the title of ἀγέννητον, 'unbegotten,' to the Father only, as the eternal principle and fountain of the Deity; and styled the Son μονογενῆ Θεόν, 'the only-begotten God;' which is the proper notion of the Son of God, who is neither created nor unbegotten, but eternally begotten of the substance of the Father; and this title of μονογενῆς Θεός, 'the only-begotten God,' is the same as this very author of the Constitutions elsewhere^y ascribes to the Son, whom he makes to be no creature but God, in this only differing from the Father, that He is not unbegotten; which is necessary to the notion of a Son: for it were a contradiction to say he is the Son of God, and yet unbegotten also. I observe this, to show how little advantage the modern Arians have from this author, if we allow him but that favourable interpretation which, in justice, ought to be allowed to all ancient Catholic writers.

We may further observe, that though this creed be the

^y Constit. Apostol. lib. vii. c. xlv. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 439.) Εὐλογεῖ καὶ δοξάζει τὸν δεσπότην Θεὸν τὸν παντοκράτορα, τὸν πατέρα τοῦ μονογενοῦς Θεοῦ, εὐχαριστῶν ὁ ἱερεύς.— It. lib. viii. c. vii. (p. 466.) Μονογενὲς Θεέ, μεγάλου Πατρὸς Υἱέ.— It. lib. viii. c. xi. (p. 472. D 2.) Καταξίωσον αὐτοὺς τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς, τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ τῷ Υἱῷ σου τῷ μονογενεῖ, τῷ Θεῷ καὶ Σωτῆρι ἡμῶν.— Cap. xii. Ὁ Θεὸς καὶ Πατὴρ τοῦ μονογενοῦς Υἱοῦ σου.— Cap. xviii. Διὰ τῆς μεσιτείας τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου Υἱοῦ.

same in substance with the Roman creed, which is commonly called the Apostles' Creed, yet it differs from it very much in phrase and expression, and comes nearer the creeds of the Eastern Church; and though it be as perfect as any of that age, yet it has neither the article of the 'descent into hell,' nor the 'communion of saints,' expressly mentioned in it; which shows that these articles were not *totidem verbis* inserted into the first creeds of the Church.

SECT. VIII.—*The Creed of Jerusalem.*

Thus far I have collected the scattered remains of the ancient creeds, which were composed before the Nicene Creed for the use of several Churches, as they are still upon record in private writers; but we have some more perfect forms also remaining, as those of Jerusalem, Cæsarea, Antioch, Alexandria, and Rome; by comparing which together, the reader may easily perceive how the unity of the faith was exactly agreed upon, and preserved, with some variety of expression. The creed of the Church of Jerusalem we have imperfectly in St. James's Liturgy, and more perfect in the Catechetical Discourses of Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem, which are an exposition upon it. "In St. James's Liturgy we have only the beginning of the creed:—'I believe in one God, the Father Almighty^z, Maker of heaven and earth, and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God.' " But the remaining articles are not inserted, as being vulgarly known without reciting. However, in Cyril's Catechisms the articles are rehearsed at full length; and when collected together, they run in this form:—

"I believe in one God^a, the Father Almighty, Maker of

^z Jacobi Liturg. in Bibl. Patr. Græco-Lat. tom. ii. p. 7. Πιστεύω εἰς ἕνα Θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα, ποιητὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς· καὶ εἰς ἕνα Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ.

^a Cyril. Catech. vi. (Bened. p. 84.) Πιστεύω εἰς ἕνα Θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα, ποιητὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς, ὁρατῶν τε πάντων καὶ ἀοράτων ποιητὴν· Καὶ εἰς ἕνα Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ μονογενῆ, τὸν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς γεννηθέντα πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων, Θεὸν ἀληθινόν, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο· σαρκωθέντα [ἐν σαρκὶ παραγεγνημένον] καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαντα, σταυρωθέντα, καὶ ταφέντα, καὶ ἀναστάντα ἐκ νεκρῶν τῇ τρίτῃ

heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God, begotten of the Father before all ages, the true God, by whom all things were made; who was incarnate and made man; who was crucified and buried; and the third day he rose again from the dead, and ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father, and shall come to judge the quick and dead, of whose kingdom there shall be no end. And in the Holy Ghost, the Comforter, who spake by the prophets: in one baptism of repentance, in the remission of sins, in one Catholic Church, in the resurrection of the flesh, and in life everlasting."

That this creed was neither the Nicene Creed, nor the Constantinopolitan, is evident, because it wants the word 'consubstantial,' and other titles, which are given to the Son in the Nicene Creed. Nor has it the full explication of the character of the Holy Ghost, which was afterward made in the Constantinopolitan Creed, which is not to be wondered at, because Cyril's Catechisms were written some years before the Council of Constantinople was held: therefore it must be the ancient creed of Jerusalem, as learned men^b have rightly

ἡμέρα· καὶ ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, καὶ καθίσαντα ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ Πατρὸς· καὶ ἐρχόμενον ἐν δόξῃ κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς· οὐ τῆς βασιλείας οὐκ ἔσται τέλος· καὶ εἰς ἓν ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, τὸν Παράκλητον, τὸ λαλήσαν ἐν τοῖς προφηταῖς· εἰς ἓν βάπτισμα μετανοίας, εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν· εἰς μίαν ἁγίαν Καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν· καὶ εἰς σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν, καὶ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον.

^b Bull. Judic. Eccles. Cathol. c. vi. n. v. (p. 48, edit. Grab.) Hoc symbolum non ipsum esse Nicænum, et Constantinopolitani quoque symboli additionibus de Spiritu Sancto carere, palam est. Quod posterius nemini mirum videri potest, qui meminerit, catecheses Cyrilli, in quibus symbolum illud recitatur, multis annis ante habitam synodum Constantinopolitanam (quæ demum anno Christi 381 celebrata est), conscriptas fuisse. Restat igitur, ut sit revera vetus symbolum ecclesiæ Hierosolymitanæ. — Sect. vii. Quæ in symbolo Hierosolymitano post ista, 'in Spiritum Sanctum,' ex symbolo Constantinopolitano minime desumta, sed in antiquissimis Orientis symbolis, diu ante synodum Constantinopolitanam, adeoque Nicænam, posita fuisse, validissimis argumentis confirmabo. Certum est, symbola quæ ante Concilium Constantinopolitanum, adeoque Nicænum, ecclesiæ Occidentis usurparunt, minime desiisse in verba illa 'et in Spiritum Sanctum;' sed et alia in ipsis fidei capita subjecta fuisse. Quis vero, qui ea, quæ supra observavimus de origine omnium fere hæresium in Oriente, expendit, facile credat, symbola Occidentalia Orientalibus fuisse auctiora?

concluded; and hence also observed, that the Oriental creeds had originally the articles that follow the Holy Ghost, viz. 'the Catholic Church,' 'the remission of sins,' 'the resurrection of the flesh,' and 'eternal life.' Only the 'communion of saints,' and the 'descent into hell,' are wanting in it.

SECT. IX.—*The Creed of Cæsarea, in Palestine.*

And so we find in the Creed of Cæsarea, in Palestine, in the profession of which Eusebius says he was baptized and catechized. 'The descent into hell' is not mentioned in it; but it differs in expression from the Jerusalem Creed, and comes up the nearest to the Nicene Creed of any other. The form, as it was proposed by Eusebius himself to the Council of Nice, is in these words:—"We believe in one God, the Father^c Almighty, Maker of all things visible and invisible. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Word of God, God of God, Light of Light, Life of Life, his only begotten Son, the first-born of every creature, begotten of the Father before all ages, by whom all things were made; who for our salvation was incarnate, and conversed among men; and suffered, and rose again the third day; and ascended unto the Father, and shall come again to judge the quick and the dead. We believe also in one Holy Spirit. Every one of these we believe to be and exist. We confess the Father to be truly a Father, the Son truly a Son, the Holy Ghost truly a Holy Ghost, according to what our Lord, when he sent his disciples to

^c Euseb. Epist. ad Eccles. Cæsar. ap. Socrat. lib. i. c. viii. p. 24. B. (Cambr. p. 23. 15.) Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα Θεόν, Πατέρα παντοκράτορα, τὰ τῶν ἀπάντων ὁρατῶν τε καὶ ἀοράτων ποιητήν· καὶ εἰς ἕνα Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγον, Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ, Φῶς ἐκ Φωτὸς, Ζωὴν ἐκ Ζωῆς, Υἱὸν μονογενῆ, πρωτότοκον πάσης κτίσεως, πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ Πατρὸς γεγεννημένον· δι' οὗ καὶ ἐγένετο τὰ πάντα, τὸν διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν σαρκωθέντα, καὶ ἐν ἀνθρώποις πολιτευσάμενον· καὶ παθόντα, καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ· καὶ ἀνελθόντα πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα, καὶ ἥξοντα πάλιν ἐν δόξῃ κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς· πιστεύομεν καὶ εἰς ἕν Πνεῦμα ἅγιον· τούτων ἕκαστον εἶναι καὶ ὑπάρχειν πιστεύοντες, Πατέρα ἀληθῶς Πατέρα, καὶ Υἱὸν ἀληθῶς Υἱὸν, καὶ Πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἀληθῶς ἅγιον Πνεῦμα· καθὼς καὶ ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν ἀποστέλλων εἰς τὸ κήρυγμα τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ μαθητάς, εἶπε, Πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος.

preach, said, ‘Go, teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.’”

The articles that follow the Holy Ghost are here omitted only for the same reason, as I shall show hereafter, they were omitted in the Nicene Creed, because then no dispute was made about them; and only so much of the creed was now produced, as was necessary to be mentioned in opposition to the Arian heresy.

SECT. X.—*The Creed of Alexandria.*

The Creed of Alexandria was somewhat shorter than this, and is supposed by learned men to be that which Arius and Euzoius delivered in to Constantine, when they made a sort of feigned recantation before him. The form is recorded in Socrates^d in these words:—“We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, and in Jesus Christ his Son, our Lord; God the Word, begotten of him before all ages; by whom all things were made, that are in heaven and in earth; who came down from heaven and was incarnate, and suffered and rose again, and ascended into heaven, and shall come again to judge the quick and the dead; and in the Holy Ghost; and in the resurrection of the flesh, and in the life of the world to come, and in the kingdom of heaven, and in one Catholic Church of God, extended from one end of the earth to the other.”

SECT. XI.—*The Creed of Antioch.*

The Creed of the Church of Antioch seems to be that which is recorded in Cassian, who delivers it as it was probably received in that Church from the time of the apostles, only with the addition of the word ‘consubstantial’ inserted from

^d Socrat. lib. i. c. xxvi. (Cambr. p. 61, 25.) Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα Θεόν, Πατέρα παντοκράτορα· καὶ εἰς Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν Υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, τὸν ἐξ αὐτοῦ πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων γεγεννημένον Θεόν, Λόγον, δι’ οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο, τὰ τε ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς· τὸν κατελθόντα, καὶ σαρκωθέντα, καὶ παθόντα, καὶ ἀναστάντα, καὶ ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, καὶ πάλιν ἐρχόμενον κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς· καὶ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, καὶ εἰς σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν, καὶ εἰς ζωὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος, καὶ εἰς βασιλείαν οὐρανῶν, καὶ εἰς μίαν Καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὴν ἀπὸ περάτων ἕως περάτων.

the time of the Council of Nice. "The text and faith of the Creed of Antioch," says he, "is this^e:—'I believe in one only true God, the Father Almighty, Maker of all creatures, visible and invisible; and in Jesus Christ our Lord, his only begotten Son, the first-born of every creature, born of him before all ages, and not made; very God of very God, consubstantial with the Father; by whom the world was framed, and all things made; who, for our sakes, came and was born of the Virgin Mary, and was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and buried; and the third day rose again, according to the Scriptures, and ascended into heaven, and shall come again to judge the quick and the dead.'"

Cassian here repeats not the whole creed, but only those articles that were proper to be urged against Nestorius, who had been baptized into this faith, and by this creed, at Antioch; from which he shows his prevarications, and how he had started from the profession which he himself had made in the words of this creed, both at his baptism and ordination, leaving the remaining articles unrecited.

SECT. XII.—*The Roman Creed, commonly called the Apostles' Creed.*

The reader may easily perceive, by comparing the fore-mentioned creeds, that the articles of 'the communion of saints,' and 'the descent into hell,' are not expressly mentioned in any of them; nor were they originally in the Roman Creed, which is commonly called the Apostles' Creed, as appears not only from the testimony of Ruffin, but from some ancient copies of this creed still remaining. Bishop Ussher^f met with

^e Cassian. de Incarnat. lib. vi. (Atrebat. 1628. p. 1045.) Textus ergo et fides Antiocheni symboli, hæc est: Credo in unum et solum verum Deum, Patrem omnipotentem, Creatorem omnium visibilium et invisibilium creaturarum. Et Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, Filium ejus unigenitum, et primogenitum totius creaturæ, ex eo natum ante omnia sæcula, et non factum, Deum verum ex Deo vero, homousion Patri, per quem et sæcula compaginata sunt et omnia facta. Qui propter nos venit, et natus est ex Maria Virgine, et crucifixus sub Pontio Pilato, et sepultus, et tertia die resurrexit secundum Scripturas, et in cœlos ascendit, et iterum veniet judicare vivos et mortuos, etc.

^f Usser. de Symbolis, p. 6. Πιστεύω εἰς Θεὸν Πατέρα παντοκράτορα καὶ

two copies here in England which wanted these additions, and also that of 'life everlasting.' The one was in Greek, though written in Saxon characters, at the end of King Athelstan's Psalter, about the year 703; and the other in Latin, but both exactly in the same form of words:—"I believe in God, the Father Almighty, and in Jesus Christ, his only begotten Son, our Lord, who was born of the Holy Ghost and Virgin Mary, and was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and was buried; and the third day rose again from the dead, ascended into heaven, sitteth on the right hand of the Father, whence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead; and in the Holy Ghost, the holy Church, the remission of sins, and the resurrection of the flesh. Amen."

The variations of these ancient forms from the present form of the Apostles' Creed, in the want of several words that have since been added, are noted by Bishop Ussher^s, who also

εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν Υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογένηνητον, τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν, τὸν γεννηθέντα ἐκ Πνεύματος ἁγίου, καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου· τὸν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου σταυρωθέντα, ταφέντα, τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστάντα ἐκ νεκρῶν, ἀναβάντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, καθήμενον ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Πατρὸς, ὅθεν ἔρχεται κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς· καὶ εἰς Πνεῦμα ἅγιον, ἁγίαν ἐκκλησίαν, ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν. Ἀμήν.

^s Ibid. p. 6, lin. pen. et p. 7. Hoc symbolum illud est, quod . . . tum a Maximo Taurinensi, in homilia de Traditione Symboli explicatur; tum ab Augustino in libello de Fide et Symbolo Competentibus exponitur, et in fine fidelibus omnibus ita commendatur: 'Hæc est fides, quæ paucis verbis tenenda in symbolo novellis Christianis datur. Quæ pauca verba fidelibus nota sunt: ut credendo subjugentur, Deo subjugati recte vivant, recte vivendo cor mudent, corde mundo, quod credunt, intelligant.' Idemque ipsum Græcum, a Marcello Ancyrano professioni fidei suæ ad Julium Romanum antistitem insertum, apud Epiphanium in Hæresi lxxii. legitur: verbo Πατέρα tantum initio, librariorum ut videtur incuria, omisso; et 'vitæ æternæ' articulo in fine superaddito. Quem et in Occidentis quibusdam partibus receptum fuisse, et ex Petro Ravennate, et ex auctore libri de Symbolo ad Catechumenos observo; symbolum eodem modo, quo a Marcello est propositum, explicantibus. Verum apud alios, omissa vitæ æternæ mentione, in carnis resurrectione (ut in nostris illis superioribus) terminatum fuisse symbolum ex Hieronymo et Ruffino intelligitur. Quorum prior in epist. lxi. ad Pammachium, adversus errores Joannis Hierosolymitani, ita loquitur: 'In symbolo fidei et spei nostræ . . . concluditur.' Posterior et in apologia adversus eundem Hieronymum, Aquileienses suos in hujus carnis resurrectione finem symboli statuere confirmat; et in ipsius symboli expositione porro addit, 'Ultimus iste sermo, qui resurrectionem pronuntiat summam totius perfectionis, succincta brevitate concludit:' quem in sua symboli explicatione sequu-

observes, that this creed is delivered by several ancient authors with some variety of expression ; for in some authors, which use this creed, ‘life everlasting’ is added after ‘the resurrection of the flesh :’ as in the Homilies of Petrus Chrysologus^h, bishop of Ravenna, where he expounds this creed ; and in the author of the book *de Symbolo ad Catechumenos*, in the ninth tome of St. Austin’s Works ; and in the creed which Marcellus, bishop of Ancyra, presented to Pope Julius, which is recorded in Epiphaniusⁱ. But others conclude this creed with ‘the resurrection of the flesh,’ and make no express mention of ‘life everlasting ;’ not that they suppose it to be no article of faith, but because it was included in the other article of the resurrection, as they rightly expound it. St. Jerome says plainly^j, that the creed was concluded with the ‘resurrection of the flesh ;’ and Maximus Taurinensis^k, who expounds every article of it distinctly, says the same. And St. Austin also^l concludes the creed with ‘the resurrection of the flesh,’ but then he includes ‘eternal life’ in the exposition of it ; “for,” says he, “when the resurrection of the body is effected, we shall be freed from the conditions of time, and enjoy eternal life, with ineffable charity and stability, without corruption.” And so the author of the Sermons *De Tempore*^m, under his name :—“The resurrection of the flesh is the end of all, but it

tus est Venantius Fortunatus, Pictaviensis apud Gallos episcopus ; eo capitulo summam perfectionis concludi similiter repetens. Quod ipsum etiam Maximus Taurinensis illis verbis significatum voluit ; ‘Hic religionis nostræ finis, hæc summa credendi est :’ et auctor sermonis cxix. de Tempore (operum Augustini tom. x.) notatione illa, ‘Iste jam finis est : sed finis sine fine erit resurrectio carnis.’

^h Petr. Chrysolog. Hom. lvii.—lxii.

ⁱ Epiphan. Hæres. lxxii. Marcell. n. iii. (Colon. vol. ii. p. 836.) Πιστεύω εἰς Θεὸν παντοκράτορα, κ. τ. λ. . . . Ζωὴν αἰώνιον.

^j Hieron. Epist. lxi. ad Pammach. (Bened. vol. iv. p. 323.) In symbolo fidei . . . post confessionem Trinitatis et unitatem ecclesiæ, omne Christiani dogmatis sacramentum ‘carnis resurrectione’ concluditur.

^k Maxim. Taurin. Hom. i. de Diversis. (Romæ, 1784. p. 273.) Hic religionis nostræ finis, hæc summa credendi est.

^l Aug. de Fide et Symbolo, (Bened. vol. vi. p. 164. B 6.) Qua corporis resurrectione facta, a temporis conditione liberati, æterna vita, ineffabili caritate, atque stabilitate, sine corruptione perfruemur.

^m Ibid. Serm. cxix. de Tempore, (Bened. vol. x. p. 942.) Iste jam finis est : sed finis sine fine erit resurrectio carnis, etc.

is an end without end, for there is no death after that." Therefore they made it the conclusion of the creed, because it was the conclusion of all things in this world.

SECT. XIII.—*The Creed of Aquileia.*

And thus it was in the creed of the Church of Aquileia, which differed in other points both from the Roman and Oriental creeds; for Ruffinus, who wrote an exposition upon it, concludes it with the article of 'the resurrection,' and neither mentions nor expounds the article of 'eternal life,' but only tacitly, as it is implied in the resurrection. In other articles, some additions were made to this creed, which were not in the Roman; for here 'the descent into hell' is particularly mentioned, and not only 'the resurrection of the flesh,' in general, but the resurrection of 'this flesh' in particular. And in the first article, after the word 'Almighty,' were added 'impassible and invisible,' as peculiar appellations of God the Father; for it was thus conceived:—"I believe in God, the Father Almighty, invisible and impassible"ⁿ; and in Jesus Christ, his only Son, our Lord, who was born by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and buried; he descended into hell, and the third day rose again from the dead, and ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father, whence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead; and in the Holy Ghost, the holy Catholic Church, the remission of sins, and the resurrection of this flesh."

The reason of adding the words 'invisible and impassible' to this creed, which were not in the Roman, was to obviate the Sabellian or Patripassian heresy, which asserted that God the Father was born of the Virgin, and so made visible and

ⁿ Ruffin. Expos. Symboli, ad calcem Cypriani, p. 19. Credo in Deum Patrem, omnipotentem, invisibilem, et impassibilem. Et in Christum Jesum unicum Filium ejus, Dominum nostrum, qui natus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria Virgine; crucifixus sub Pontio Pilato, et sepultus, descendit ad inferna: tertia die resurrexit a mortuis, ascendit in cœlos, sedet ad dexteram Patris: inde venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos. Et in Spiritum Sanctum, Sanctam Ecclesiam Catholicam, remissionem peccatorum, hujus carnis resurrectionem.

passible in the flesh. In opposition to which impiety Ruffinus^o says, “ Their forefathers seem to have added those words, professing the Father to be invisible and impassible ;” that is, that he never was incarnate, as the Son only was, and not the Father. The ‘descent into hell’ is also almost peculiar to this creed ; for, excepting this, and the creed of the Council of Sirmium, or Ariminum, mentioned by Socrates^p, this article was not expressly mentioned in any other creed of this age ; though Ruffinus thinks it was always implied in the word ‘buried,’ which he reckons of the same importance. When it first came into the Roman Creed, the reader may find a particular account in Bishop Pearson, who speaks of it as done about the year 600.

SECT. XIV.—*The Nicene Creed, as first published by the Council of Nice.*

I have hitherto given an account of all such creeds, as might be reckoned of use in the Church before the time of the Nicene Council. I shall now give the like account of the first forming of the Nicene Creed ; and how it was afterward completed and put into a new form by the Council of Constantinople. The creed, as first published by the Council of Nice, was in these words :—“ We believe in one God Almighty^q,

^o Ruffin. Expos. Symboli, ad calcem Cypriani, p. 19. Sciendum, quod duo isti sermones in Ecclesiæ Romanæ symbolo non habentur : constat autem apud nos additos hæreseos causa Sabellii, illius profecto, quæ a nostris Patripassiana appellatur ; id est, quæ Patrem ipsum vel ex virgine natum dicit, et visibilem factum, vel passum adfirmat in carne. Ut ergo excluderetur talis impietas, etc.

^p Socrat. lib. ii. c. xxxvii. (Cambr. p. 137. A.) Τοῦτον ἴσμεν τὸν μονογενῆ αὐτοῦ Υἱὸν . . . ἀποθανόντα, καὶ εἰς τὰ καταχθόνια κατελθόντα, καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖσε οἰκονομήσαντα· ὃν πύλωροι ᾄδον ἰδόντες ἔφριξαν, κ. τ. λ.

^q Apud Socrat. lib. i. c. viii. p. 22. (Cambr. p. 24.) Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἓνα Θεόν, Πατέρα παντοκράτορα, πάντων ὁρατῶν τε καὶ ἀοράτων ποιητήν· καὶ εἰς ἓνα Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, γεννηθέντα ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς μονογενῆ, τουτέστιν ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Πατρὸς· Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ, Φῶς ἐκ Φωτὸς, Θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ· γεννηθέντα, οὐ ποιηθέντα, ὁμολούσιον τῷ Πατρί· δι’ οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο, τὰ τε ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ· τὸν δι’ ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν κατελθόντα, καὶ σαρκωθέντα, ἐνανθρωπήσαντα· παθόντα, καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, ἐρχόμενον κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ

Maker of all things, visible and invisible; and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, begotten of the Father, the only begotten, that is, of the substance of the Father, God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God, begotten, not made, of one substance with the Father, by whom all things both in heaven and earth were made: who for us men, and our salvation, came down from heaven, and was incarnate and made man, and suffered; and the third day rose again, and ascended into heaven, and shall come again to judge the quick and the dead. And in the Holy Ghost. And those who say, 'there was a time when the Son of God was not, or that he did not exist before he was made, because he was made out of nothing, or of another substance or essence, or that he was created or mutable,' the Catholic and Apostolic Church anathematizes them."

This creed often occurs in the writings of the ancient fathers and councils in this very form, as in Athanasius, *Epist. ad Jovian.* tom. i. p. 247; Hilar. *de Synodis*, p. 114; Leo, *Ep. 95, ad Leonem Imperat.*; the Council of Rome, under Julius (an. 337); the Council of Ephesus, *Epist. ad Nestor.*; the Council of Chalcedon, *act. ii.*; the Council of Hippo; the sixth Council of Carthage; the Preface to the African Code; the third Council of Bracara; the third and thirteenth of Toledo; the fifth General Council of Constantinople, *ac. xvii.*; and many others.

Now, some learned persons have been of opinion, that the ancient creeds, before the Council of Nice, had none of the articles which follow after the Holy Ghost, but all ended as that does, with those words, 'and in the Holy Ghost.' This was the opinion of Vossius and Erasmus; and Bishop Ussher says, he was once inclined to think so himself, but upon better consideration, he professes^r he found it necessary to alter his

νεκρούς· καὶ εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον· τοὺς δὲ λέγοντας ἦν ποτὲ ὅτε οὐκ ἦν, καὶ οὐκ ἦν πρὶν γεννηθῆναι, ἢ ὅτι ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ἐγένετο, ἢ ἐξ ἑτέρας ὑποστάσεως ἢ οὐσίας φάσκοντες εἶναι, ἢ κτιστὸν, ἢ τρεπτὸν, ἢ ἀλλοιωτὸν τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀναθεματίζει ἡ Καθολικὴ καὶ Ἀποστολικὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησία.

^r Usser. *de Symbolis*, p. 17. Sane in ea me aliquando fuisse opinione non diffiteor, veterum Orientalium ecclesiarum symbola in simplice personæ Spiritus

judgment. For it plainly appears, from most of the forms before recited, that several of the articles which follow after the Holy Ghost were always a part of the creed. And the reason why the Council of Nice repeated them not, was only because there was then no dispute about them; and they only rehearsed so much of the former creeds as there was then occasion for, to oppose the heresy of the Arians, leaving the rest to be supplied from the former creeds, then generally received in the Church. This is evident both from the creeds used by the Arians, and those that were used by the Church, before the Council of Constantinople had settled and new modelled the form of the Nicene Creed, that was afterwards generally received in the Church. Thus in the creed of the separating bishops in the Council of Sardica, related by St. Hilary^s and others, after the article of 'the Holy Ghost' there follows, "We believe in the holy Church, and in remission of sins, and eternal life;" or, as it is more perfectly in his Fragments^t, "the holy Church, the remission of sins, the resurrection of the flesh, and eternal life." So, again, the Eusebians, in their first creed, which they published in the Council of Antioch, mentioned both by Athanasius and Socrates^u, after the article of 'the Holy Ghost,' add, "We believe the resurrection of the flesh, and eternal life." Now it were absurd to think the Arians should retain these articles in their creeds, and, in the mean time, the Church reject or neglect them; therefore, it is plain, the Nicene Creed was only one part of the ancient creed that was used at full length in baptism, though not here so recited; and what has been

Sancti confessione fuisse terminata; illius vero amplificationem capituli, et quæ de ecclesia et beneficiis ad eam spectantibus sequebantur omnia, a patribus secundæ synodi œcumenicæ Constantinopoli anno Christo 381 habitæ primum fuisse addita. Sed ab ea me depulit sententia temporis, quo a Cyrillo Hierosolymitano catechetici sermones sunt habiti, et ab Epiphanio Anchoratum fuit editum, diligentior consideratio, etc.

^s Hilar. de Synodis, p. 108. (p. 336, edit. Paris. 1631.)

^t Ibid. Fragment. p. 140. (p. 448.)

^u Socrat. lib. ii. c. x. (p. 76.) Πιστεύομεν καὶ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα· εἰ δὲ δεῖ προσθεῖναι, πιστεύομεν καὶ περὶ σαρκὸς ἀναστάσεως, καὶ ζωῆς αἰωνίου.
— Athanas. de Synod. Arim. et Seleuc. tom. i. p. 892, edit. Paris. 1627. (p. 735. E, edit. Paris. 1698.)

observed before out of Cyril's Catechisms, is a manifest proof of it.

SECT. XV.—*The Creed of Epiphanius.*

This is further evident from the two creeds, a shorter and a longer, recited in Epiphanius, who wrote his Anchorate some years before the Council of Constantinople. The shorter creed, which he says every catechumen repeated at his baptism, from the time of the Council of Nice to the tenth year of Valentinian and Valens (an. 373), was in these words: "We believe^w in one God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God, begotten of the Father before all ages—that is, of the substance of the Father—Light of Light, very God of very God; begotten, not made; of one substance with the Father; by whom all things were made which are in heaven and in earth: who, for us men, and our salvation, came down from heaven, and was incarnate of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary, and was made man, and was crucified for us under Pontius Pilate, and

^w Epiphan. Anchorat. n. cxx. (Colon. 1682. vol. ii. p. 122.) Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἓνα Θεόν, Πατέρα παντοκράτορα, ποιητὴν οὐρανοῦ τε καὶ γῆς, ὁρατῶν τε πάντων καὶ ἀοράτων. Καὶ εἰς ἓνα Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ, τὸν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς γεννηθέντα πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων· τουτέστιν ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Πατρὸς, Φῶς ἐκ Φωτὸς, Θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ, γεννηθέντα οὐ ποιηθέντα, ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρί· δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένοντο, τὰ τε ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ· τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν, κατελθόντα ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν, καὶ σαρκωθέντα ἐκ Πνεύματος ἁγίου, καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου· καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαντα, σταυρωθέντα τε ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, καὶ παθόντα, καὶ ταφέντα, καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, κατὰ τὰς γραφὰς, καὶ ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, καὶ καθεζόμενον ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ πάλιν ἐρχόμενον μετὰ δόξης, κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς· οὗ τῆς βασιλείας οὐκ ἔσται τέλος· καὶ εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, Κύριον, καὶ ζωοποιόν, τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον, τὸ σὺν Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ συνπροσκυνούμενον, καὶ συνδοξαζόμενον, τὸ λαλῆσαν διὰ τῶν προφητῶν· εἰς μίαν Καθολικὴν καὶ Ἀποστολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν· ὁμολογοῦμεν ἓν βάπτισμα εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, προσδοκῶμεν ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν, καὶ ζωὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος, Ἀμήν. Τοὺς δὲ λέγοντας, ἦν ποτὲ, ὅτε οὐκ ἦν, καὶ πρὶν γεννηθῆναι οὐκ ἦν· ἢ ὅτι ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ἐγένετο, ἢ ἐξ ἑτέρας ὑποστάσεως ἢ οὐσίας φάσκοντας εἶναι ῥευστὸν, ἢ ἀλλοιωτὸν τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ Υἱόν, τούτους ἀναθεματίζει ἡ Καθολικὴ καὶ Ἀποστολικὴ ἐκκλησία.

suffered, and was buried; and the third day rose again, according to the Scriptures, and ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father, and shall come again, with glory, to judge both the quick and the dead; of whose kingdom there shall be no end. And in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and Giver of life, who proceedeth from the Father; who, with the Father and the Son together, is worshipped and glorified; who spake by the prophets. And in one Catholic and Apostolic Church. We confess one baptism for the remission of sins; and we look for the resurrection of the dead, and the life of the world to come. But they who say there was a time when the Son of God was not, or that he was not before he was begotten; or that he was made out of nothing, or of any other substance or essence; or that he is mutable or changeable, those the Catholic and Apostolic Church anathematizes."

"This," says Epiphanius, "is the faith which was delivered by the holy apostles, and received by the Church in the Council of Nice, where three hundred and eighteen fathers were present." By which he does not mean that these articles were delivered in this very form, either by the apostles or the Council of Nice, but that the Church agreed upon this form to be used at baptism, in pursuance of the doctrine delivered by the apostles and the Nicene fathers. And, afterwards, upon occasion of the Apollinarian and other heretics, which infested the Church about the tenth year of Valentinian and Valens, and the sixth of Gratian, and the ninetieth year of the Diocletian account, that is, an. 373, she enlarged her creed with a more particular explication of some certain articles in opposition to those heresies. And then the form, appointed to be used in baptism, was in these terms, as he informs us in the same place:—

"We believe^x in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of

^x Epiphan. Anchorat. n. cxx. (tom. ii. p. 123.) Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα Θεόν, Πατέρα παντοκράτορα, πάντων ἀοράτων τε καὶ ὁρατῶν ποιητὴν, καὶ εἰς ἕνα Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, γεννηθέντα ἐκ Θεοῦ Πατρὸς, μονογενῆ· τουτέστιν ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Πατρὸς, Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ, Φῶς ἐκ Φωτὸς, Θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ· γεννηθέντα, οὐ ποιηθέντα, ὁμοού-

all things, visible and invisible. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, begotten of God the Father, the only begotten, that is, of the substance of the Father; God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God, begotten not made, being of one substance with the Father; by whom all things were made, as well in heaven as in earth, visible and invisible: who, for us men, and our salvation, came down from heaven, and was incarnate; that is, was born in perfect manner of the holy Virgin Mary, by the Holy Ghost, and was made man, took upon him perfect man, soul, and body, and mind, and whatsoever is in man, sin only excepted; not by the seed of man, nor merely by existing in man, but by framing flesh to himself into one holy unity; not after the manner as he inspired the

σιον τῷ Πατρὶ, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο, τὰ τε ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ, ὁρατά τε καὶ ἀόρατα· τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν κατελθόντα, καὶ σαρκωθέντα· τουτέστι, γεννηθέντα τελείως ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας Μαρίας τῆς αἰὶ παρθένου, διὰ Πνεύματος ἁγίου, ἐνανθρωπήσαντα, τουτέστι τέλειον ἄνθρωπον λαβόντα, ψυχὴν, καὶ σῶμα, καὶ νοῦν, καὶ πάντα, εἴ τι ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος χωρὶς ἁμαρτίας, οὐκ ἀπὸ σπέρματος ἀνδρὸς, οὐδὲ ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ, ἀλλ' εἰς ἑαυτὸν σάρκα ἀναπλάσαντα, εἰς μίαν ἁγίαν ἐνότητά· οὐ καθάπερ ἐν προφῆταις ἐνέπνευσέ τε, καὶ ἐλάλησε, καὶ ἐνήργησεν, ἀλλὰ τελείως ἐνανθρωπήσαντα· ὁ γὰρ Λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο, οὐ τροπὴν ὑποστάς· οὐδὲ μεταβαλὼν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θεότητα εἰς ἀνθρωπότητα· εἰς μίαν συνενώσαντα ἑαυτοῦ ἁγίαν τελειότητά τε καὶ θεότητα· εἰς γὰρ ἐστὶν Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, καὶ οὐ δύο· ὁ αὐτὸς Θεός, ὁ αὐτὸς Κύριος, ὁ αὐτὸς Βασιλεύς· παθόντα δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐν σαρκί, καὶ ἀναστάντα, καὶ ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ σώματι, ἐνδόξως καθίσαντα ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Πατρὸς, ἐρχόμενον ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ σώματι ἐν δόξῃ κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς· οὐ τῆς βασιλείας οὐκ ἔσται τέλος· καὶ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα πιστεύομεν, τὸ λαλήσαν ἐν νόμῳ, καὶ κηρύξαν ἐν τοῖς προφῆταις, καὶ καταβὰν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰορδάνην, λαλοῦν ἐν ἀποστόλοις, οἰκοῦν ἐν ἁγίοις· οὕτως δὲ πιστεύομεν ἐν αὐτῷ, ὅτι ἐστὶ Πνεῦμα ἅγιον, Πνεῦμα Θεοῦ, Πνεῦμα τέλειον, Πνεῦμα παράκλητον, ἄκτιστον, ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ λαμβανόμενον (αἱ. λαμβάνοντα), καὶ πιστευόμενον· πιστεύομεν εἰς μίαν Καθολικὴν καὶ Ἀποστολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν· καὶ εἰς ἓν βάπτισμα μετανοίας, καὶ εἰς ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν, καὶ κρίσιν δικαίαν ψυχῶν καὶ σωμάτων, καὶ εἰς βασιλείαν οὐρανῶν, καὶ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον· τοὺς δὲ λέγοντας ὅτι ἦν ποτὲ, ὅτε οὐκ ἦν ὁ Υἱός, ἢ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἢ ὅτι ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ἐγένετο, ἢ ἐξ ἐτέρας ὑποστάσεως, ἢ οὐσίας, φάσκοντας εἶναι τρεπτόν, ἢ ἀλλοιωτόν τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἢ τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα· τούτους ἀναθεματίζει ἡ Καθολικὴ καὶ Ἀποστολικὴ ἐκκλησία, ἡ μήτηρ ὑμῶν τε καὶ ἡμῶν· καὶ πάλιν ἀναθεματίζομεν τοὺς μὴ ὁμολογοῦντας ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν, καὶ πάσας τὰς αἵρέσεις, τὰς μὴ ἐκ ταύτης ὀρθῆς πίστεως οὔσας.

prophets, and spake and wrought in them, but by being perfectly made man : for the Word was made flesh, not by undergoing any change, or transforming the Godhead into manhood, but by making one perfect and divine union ; for there is but one Lord Jesus Christ, not two, the same God, the same Lord, the same King ; who suffered in the flesh, and rose again, and ascended with his body into heaven, and sitteth in glory at the right hand of the Father, whence he shall come, with glory, in the same body, to judge the quick and dead ; of whose kingdom there shall be no end. We believe in the Holy Ghost, who spake in the law, and preached by the prophets, and descended at Jordan ; who spake by the apostles, and dwells in the saints : and thus we believe of him, that he is the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of God, the perfect Spirit, the Comforter uncreated, proceeding from the Father, receiving from the Son, in whom we believe. We believe in one Catholic and Apostolic Church ; in one baptism of repentance ; in the resurrection of the dead ; in the just judgment of body and soul ; in the kingdom of heaven ; and life everlasting. And those that say there was a time when the Son or the Holy Ghost was not ; or that they were made out of nothing, or of another substance, or essence ; that say the Son of God or the Holy Ghost are mutable or changeable ; those the Catholic and Apostolic Church, the mother of us and you, anathematizes. And again, we anathematize those that confess not the resurrection of the dead, and all heresies which accord not to this holy faith."

Now, if these creeds were in use in the Church at the time which Epiphanius mentions, then it is certain the Nicene Creed was completed by the Church for the use of her catechumens long before the General Council of Constantinople. And what was done by that Council was rather to contract the form, than to augment or lengthen it ; as any one may easily perceive, that will compare the Constantinopolitan Creed with either of those that have now been recited out of Epiphanius.

SECT. XVI.—*The Nicene Creed, as completed by the Council of Constantinople (an. 381).*

For the creed that was drawn up in the second General Council of Constantinople is no other but the Nicene Creed, with the addition of such articles as were always used by the Church in the interrogatories of baptism, though not inserted in the particular form used by the Nicene Council. I need not here repeat the form, because it is the same with that which is commonly called the Nicene Creed in our liturgy. Only the word *Filioque*, expressing the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and Son together, was added afterward by the Latin Church. For the first copies of this creed, in the Council of Constantinople^y, and the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon^z, have it only ‘proceeding from the Father,’ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον, without any mention of the Son. But, in the Latin Councils, the word *Filioque* is commonly added, as in the first Council of Bracara (an. 411), and the third Council of Toledo^a (an. 589), where the Constantinopolitan Creed is recited.

SECT. XVII.—*Of the Use of the Nicene Creed in the Ancient Service of the Church. And when first it was taken in to be a part of the Liturgy in the Communion Office.*

As to the use of the Nicene Creed, it is certain it was used in the Greek Church much after the same manner as the Apostolical and other creeds were used in the Latin Church: first, in the office of baptism; afterward it was taken in to be a part of the liturgy in the communion service. Some learned persons, I know, are of opinion that the Nicene Creed was never used in the administration of baptism, but only the

^y Conc. Constantin. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 953. A 6.) Καὶ εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, τὸ Κύριον, τὸ ζωοποιόν, τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον, καὶ σὺν Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ συνπροσκυνούμενον, κ. τ. λ.

^z Conc. Chalced. act. ii. (tom. iv. Conc. p. 341.) ubi eadem verba leguntur.

^a Conc. Tolet. III. (tom. v. Conc. p. 1000. E 11.) Credimus et in Spiritum Sanctum, Dominum et vivificatorem, ‘ex Patre et Filio procedentem.’

Apostolical Creed still throughout the whole Church. But this is a very plain mistake: 1. Because it does not appear that the Apostolical Creed, which is the Roman Creed, was ever used in the Greek Church, even before the Nicene Creed was made. For they had several creeds of their own, agreeing, indeed, with the Roman Creed in substance, but differing from it in words and expression; and those creeds were used by the Greek or Eastern Church, in the administration of baptism. 2. When the Nicene Creed was formed, it is very evident that very form was used by many Churches in the East as the creed of baptism. For the fathers of the Council of Constantinople, under Mennas (an. 536) do frequently call it the creed in which both they themselves were baptized^b, and also baptized others. And so it is said in the synodical epistles of the Councils of Tyre and Jerusalem, which are related^c in the Acts of the same Council, as also in the Acts of the General Councils of Ephesus^d and Chalcedon^e: in the former of which an order was made that catechumens should be taught the Nicene Creed, and no other. The like may be observed in the edict of the Emperor Basiliscus, mentioned by Evagrius^f,

^b Conc. Constantinop. sub. Menna, act. v. (tom. v. Conc. p. 165. A 5.) Τὸ ἅγιον σύμβολον τῆς πίστεως . . . εἰς ὃ καὶ ἐβαπτίσθημεν καὶ βαπτίζομεν. —Vid. eadem verba, p. 172. It. p. 180. C. Σύμβολον τῶν τῆς (318) ἁγίων πατέρων, εἰς ὃ βαπτίζομεθα.

^c Ibid. p. 189. C. et p. 200. B.

^d Conc. Ephes. act. vi. (Labbe, vol. iii. p. 689. A.) "Ὁρισεν ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος, ἑτέραν πίστιν μηδενὶ ἐξεῖναι προσφέρειν, ἢ γοῦν συγγράφειν, ἢ συντιθέναι παρὰ τὴν ὀρισθεῖσαν παρὰ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων τῶν ἐν τῇ Νικαίων συνελθόντων σὺν ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι τοὺς δὲ τολμῶντας ἢ συντιθέναι πίστιν ἑτέραν, ἢ γοῦν προκομίζειν, ἢ προσφέρειν τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν ἐπιστρέφειν εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν τῆς ἀληθείας, ἢ ἐξ Ἑλληνισμοῦ, ἢ ἐξ Ἰουδαϊσμοῦ, ἢ ἐξ αἵρέσεως οἰασθησάμενοι τούτους, εἰ μὲν εἴεν ἐπίσκοποι ἢ κληρικοὶ, ἀλλοτρίους εἶναι τοὺς ἐπισκόπους τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς, καὶ τοὺς κληρικοὺς τοῦ κλήρου· εἰ δὲ λαϊκοὶ εἴεν, ἀναθεματίζεσθαι.

^e Conc. Chalced. act. ii. (tom. iv. p. 342. A 7.) Αὕτη ἡ ἀληθινὴ πίστις· αὕτη ἡ ἁγία πίστις· αὕτη αἰωνία πίστις· εἰς ταύτην ἐβαπτίσθημεν· εἰς ταύτην βαπτίζομεν.

^f Evagr. lib. iii. c. iv. (Cantab. p. 336.) Θεσπίζομεν τὴν κρηπίδα καὶ βεβαίωσιν τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης εὐζωίας, τουτέστι τὸ σύμβολον τῶν τῆς ἁγίων πατέρων τῶν ἐν Νικαίᾳ πάλαι μετὰ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐκκλησιασθέντων, εἰς ὃ ἡμεῖς τε καὶ πάντες οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν πιστεύσαντες ἐβαπτίσθημεν, μόνον πολιτεύεσθαι, καὶ κρατεῖν ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἁγιωτάταις τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίαις

who, speaking of the Nicene Creed, calls it “the creed in which both he and all his ancestors were baptized.” And it is remarked by Epiphanius^g, of the two creeds which he recites, “that they were the creeds which every catechumen repeated at his baptism; which were nothing but the Nicene Creed, with the addition of such articles as the Church supplied to make it a complete summary of the faith.” So that nothing can be more evident than that the Nicene Creed was the creed then generally made use of, in all the Eastern Churches, for the instruction of catechumens at their baptism.

But as yet it was not made a part of the common liturgy of the Church, to be repeated daily in divine service. St. Ambrose^h, indeed, speaks of it as used in private devotion; and gives directions to the holy virgins so to use it in their morning retirements, and upon other proper occasions. And Habertusⁱ thinks it was also required of bishops at their ordination; which is not improbable, because they were obliged to make a profession of their faith. But all this did not yet make it a part of the daily liturgy of the Church. For it is agreed among learned men both of the Romish and Protestant communion, that the Creed was not used to be repeated in the daily service, till about the middle of the fifth century, in the Greek Church; and not till some time after in the Latin

τὸν ὀρθόδοξον λαόν.—Ibid. c. vii. Εἰς ἣν (πίστιν) καὶ ἐβαπτίσθημεν καὶ πιστεύομεν.

^g Epiphan. Anchorat. num. cxx. (vol. ii. p. 122. B.) Μὴ διαλείπητε, οἱ πιστοὶ καὶ ὀρθόδοξοι, ταύτην τὴν ἀγίαν πίστιν τῆς Καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας, ὡς παρέλαβεν ἡ ἀγία καὶ μόνη παρθένος τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγίων ἀποστόλων τοῦ Κυρίου φυλάττειν· καὶ οὕτως ἕκαστον τῶν κατηχουμένων τῶν μελλόντων τῷ ἀγίῳ λουτρῷ προσιέναι οὐ μόνον ἀπαγγέλλειν ὀφείλετε τὸ πιστεύειν τοῖς ἑαυτῶν υἱοῖς ἐν Κυρίῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ διδάσκειν ῥητῶς, ὡς πάντων ἡ αὐτὴ μητὴρ ὑμῶν τε καὶ ἡμῶν, τὸ λέγειν, Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα Θεόν, κ. τ. λ.

^h Ambros. de Virgin. lib. iii. (Bened. fol. vol. ii. p. 179.) Symbolum quoque specialiter debemus, tamquam nostri signaculum cordis, antelucanis horis quotidie recensere: Quo etiam, quum horremus aliquid, animo recurrendum est.

ⁱ Habert. Archieratic. p. 499. Professionem fidei ac symboli pronuntiationem non solum in baptismo, sed etiam in aliis mysteriis; in ordinatione etiam, præsertim pontificia, seu potius ad illam fieri, ut æquissimum, sic solemnem semper in ecclesia Latina fuisse arbitror.

Church. So Valesius^k, Cardinal Bona^l, Schelstrate^m, Pagiⁿ, Christianus Lupus^o, L'Estrange^p, and Vossius^q. Theodorus Lector^r observes, that Peter Fullo, who was bishop of Antioch about the year 471, was the first that ordered the creed to be repeated in that Church ἐν πάσῃ συνάξει, 'in every Church

^k Vales. Not. in Theod. Lect. lib. ii. (Aug. T. p. 525. E 4.) Quum Petrus Fullo instituisse dicitur, ut in quavis synaxi symbolum recitaretur, de missarum solemnibus id intelligendum est: in quibus etiam nunc symbolum fidei recitatur. . . . Sane ritus isti, qui a Fullone primum instituti esse dicuntur, non illico ab omnibus ecclesiis usurpati sunt, sed progressu temporis paulatim inoleverunt.

^l Bona, Rer. Liturgic. lib. ii. c. viii. n. ii. (Antverp. 1677. p. 537.) Quis omnium primus illud (symbolum) liturgiæ inseruerit, aut cantari præceperit, incertum est. Radulfus Tungrensis (Prop. xxiii.) a Marco Papa, Sylvestri successore, sancitum fuisse ait, ut symbolum Nicænum in Missa diceretur. At Innocentus III. (lib. ii. de Mysteriorum Missæ, c. xlix.) et alii passim scribunt S. Damasum id recitari jussisse ad exemplum Græcorum. In hoc autem conveniunt omnes, quod publice cantari cœperit in ecclesiis Orientalibus adversus pravos hæreticorum opiniones, a quibus postea ad Occidentales laudabilis usus transfusus est. Verum Græci, vivente Damaso, hunc ritum nondum admiserant: ait enim Theod. Lect. (lib. ii. Collectaneorum) Timotheum patriarcham, an. 510, Constantinopoli instituisse, ut symbolum fidei per singulas synaxes diceretur, quum antea semel tantum in anno diceretur in magno die Parasceves, quum episcopus catechumenos instruebat. Eandem symboli recitationem in omni conventu Petro Gnapheo tribuit Nicephorus Callistus, lib. xv. c. xxviii. Sed hic fortassis in Antiochena, ille in Constantinopolitana ecclesia, hunc morem induxerunt; quem postea Hispani primi inter Latinos receperunt, etc.

^m Schelstrat. Concil. Antiochen. c. vi. p. 210. Verissimum est, quod Cardinalis Bona animadvertit, recitationem symboli post evangelium esse aliquid recentius liturgiæ additum, etc.

ⁿ Pagi, Critic. in Baron. an. 325, n. xxv. (Lucae, vol. iv. p. 118.) Ex iisdem rationibus aliæ ecclesiæ citius, aliæ serius, cœperunt symbolum publice in Missarum solemnibus dicere aut cantare. E Latinis prima id æmulata est Hispaniarum ecclesia, ex consilio Richaredis regis, novellos suos Gothos in fide Romana firmare cupiens, ut legitur in tertia synodo Toletana; in qua statuitur 'ut per omnes ecclesias Hispaniæ et Galliciæ, secundum formam ecclesiarum Orientalium, Concilii Constantinopolitani symbolum recitetur,' etc. Imitatæ id postmodum sunt quædam sub Carolo Magno Gallicanæ ecclesiæ, aliæ tamen, ac ipsa Capella Regia, imitari non sunt ausæ; ideoque a Leone III. Pontifice veniam impetrarunt.

^o Lup. Scholia in Conc. tom. i. c. iv. p. 13.

^p L'Estrange's Alliance of Divine Offices, c. iii. p. 79; c. vi. p. 170.

^q Voss. de Symbolis, sect. xvii.—xx. pp. 64—66.

^r Theod. Lect. Hist. lib. ii. (p. 525.) Πέτρον φησὶ τὸν κναφέα ἐπινοῆσαι . . ἐν πάσῃ συνάξει τὸ σύμβολον λέγεσθαι.

assembly.' And the same author reports^s, that Timotheus, bishop of Constantinople (an. 511), was the first that brought in this custom into that Church, which he did in hatred to his predecessor Macedonius, and with an intent to represent him as disaffected to the Nicene Creed; which before that time was used to be rehearsed in the church only once a-year on the Παρασκευή, or 'great day of preparation before the Pass-over,' now called Maundy Thursday, when the bishop was wont to catechise such as were to be baptized at Easter. From the Oriental Churches the custom was brought into the West; first in Spain and Gallicia, at the petition of King Reccaredus, by the order of the third Council^t of Toledo, about the year 589, when those Churches being newly recovered from the inundation of the Arian heresy, this practice was then thought a proper antidote to preserve them from relapsing into their ancient error. Lupus and Pagi say, it was not brought into the French Churches till the time of Charles the Great; and then Pope Leo the Third advised them to lay it aside again, because it was not yet the custom of the Roman Church. They concluded yet further, that in the time of Pope John the Eighth (an. 870), it was not yet the practice of the Roman Church. But at last, in the days of Benedict the Eighth (an. 1014), as is collected from Berno Augiensis, the custom was admitted into the Roman Church, for this reason, to give it in the words of Lupus, "Since the Roman Church could not bring over the French and Spanish Churches to her own way, she resolved at last to comply with their custom, that there might be no disagreement among them: and so the Nicene Creed came to be universally read throughout the whole Church."

^s Ibid. (Aug. T. p. 522.) Τιμόθεος τὸ τῶν τριακοσίων δέκα καὶ ὀκτὼ πατέρων τῆς πίστεως σύμβολον, καθ' ἑκάστην σύναξιν λέγεσθαι παρεσκεύασεν, ἐπὶ διαβολῇ δῆθεν Μακεδονίου, ὥς αὐτοῦ μὴ δεχομένου τὸ σύμβολον, ἅπαξ τοῦ ἔτους λεγόμενον πρότερον ἐν τῇ ἀγίᾳ παρασκευῇ τοῦ θείου πάθους, τῷ καιρῷ τῶν γινομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου κατηχήσεων.

^t Conc. Tolet. III. c. ii. Petitione Reccaredi regis constituit synodus, ut per omnes ecclesias Hispaniæ et Galliciæ, secundum formam Orientalium ecclesiarum, Concilii Constantinopolitani symbolum fidei recitetur: et priusquam Dominica dicatur Oratio, voce clara populo prædicetur, etc.

SECT. XVIII.—*Of the Athanasian Creed.*

There is but one creed more, which I need to stand to give any account of, and that is the creed which is commonly received under the name of the Athanasian Creed. Baronius^u is of opinion that it was composed by Athanasius when he was at Rome, and offered to Pope Julius as a confession of his faith. Which circumstance is not at all likely; for Julius never questioned the faith of Athanasius. However, a great many learned men have so far embraced the opinion of Baronius, as to believe this creed to be of Athanasius's composing; as Cardinal Bona^x, and Petavius^y, and Bellarmine^z, and Rivet^a, with many others of both communions. Scultetus leaves the matter in doubt. But the best and latest critics, who have examined the thing most exactly, make no question but that it is to be ascribed to a Latin author, Vigilius Tapsensis, an African bishop, who lived in the latter end of the fifth century, in the time of the Vandalic Arian persecution. The learned Vossius^b and Quesnel^c have written particular dissertations upon this subject. Their arguments are, 1.

^u Baron. ad ann. 340, n. xi. (Lucæ, p. 343.) Hic (Athanasius) quum Romæ esset, illud quoque insigne fidei suæ reliquis Occidentalibus monumentum, nempe symbolum, quod hactenus, Athanasii nomine, in ecclesia Catholica publice recitatur.

^x Bona de Psalm. c. xvi. sect. xviii. (p. 864, Antverp. 1677.) Hic (Athanasius) teste Baronio, quum esset Romæ anno quarto Julii summi pontificis, symbolum scripsit, suæ fidei memorabile documentum, quod Latino idiomate coram Pontifice recitavit.

^y Petav. Not. in Epiphan. Hæres. lxxii. (vol. ii. p. 305.) Quin etiam Athanasii symbolum, quum sit quædam fidei expositio ab eo edita, qui τὸ ὁμοούσιον acerrime propugnaret, ejusdem vocabuli mentionem omisit.

^z Bellarmin. de Scriptor. Eccles. p. 81. (p. 62, edit. Colon. 1584.) Præter libros, qui in his quatuor tomis continentur, exstat seorsim vita Sancti Antonii, et symbolum, quod incipit, 'Quicumque vult salvus esse;' quæ Sancti Athanasii opera esse vera et germana, non dubitamus.

^a Rivet. Critic. Sac. lib. iii. c. iv. (p. 240, Genev. 1626, 8vo.) (tom. ii. opp. p. 1103. A. Roterodam. 1552, fol.) Symbolum 'Quicumque vult salvus esse,' in multis codicibus MSS. non repertum est inter Athanasii opera: in uno legitur; sed auctoris nomine suppresso. Invenitur in fragmentis Hilarii historicis. Est tamen orthodoxum, et in ecclesia magnæ auctoritatis. Athanasii esse, mihi persuasum est.

^b Voss. de Symb. Dissertat. ii. pp. 37—57.

^c Quesnell. Dissertat. de Variis Fidei Symbolis, in antiquo Codice Romano.

Because this creed is wanting in almost all the manuscripts of Athanasius's works. 2. Because the style and contexture of it does not bespeak a Greek, but a Latin author. 3. Because neither Cyril of Alexandria, nor the Council of Ephesus, nor Pope Leo, nor the Council of Chalcedon, have ever so much as mentioned it in all that they say against the Nestorian or Eutychian heresies. 4. Because this Vigilius Tapsensis is known to have published several others of his writings under the borrowed name of Athanasius, with which this creed is commonly joined. These reasons have persuaded such men as Bishop Pearson^d, Archbishop Ussher^e, L'Estrange^f, Dr. Cave^g, Schelstrate^h, Pagiⁱ, and Du Pin, critics of the best

^d Pearson. in Symbol. Artic. viii. As it is confessed to be written first in Latin, so it is most probable that it was composed by some members of the Latin Church, by that expression in it: 'Spiritus Sanctus a Patre et Filio non factus, nec creatus, nec genitus, sed procedens.'

^e Usser. de Symb. Rom. p. i. in Præfatione ad Vossium: Ad ea, quæ de Athanasiano symbolo erudite (ut soles) commentatus es, nihil quod adjiciam habeo, etc.

^f L'Estrange's Alliance of Divine Offices, c. iv. p. 99.

^g Cav. Hist. Litt. (Basil. 1741. vol. i. p. 196.) Symbolum Athanasii genuinum Athanasii opus non esse, satis indicat, quod nec ipse Athanasius, nec sequentium sæculorum scriptor aliquis ante Theodulphum Aurelianensem (libro de Spiritu Sancto, p. 72), ejus meminerit, nec in ecclesiis ante annum millesimum obtinuerit, neque ubique inclarescere cœperit, donec a Gregorii IX. legatis, circa an. 1233, in disputatione Constantinopoli habita sub Athanasii nomine, testimonii loco, prolatum fuerit.

^h Schelstrat. Conc. Antioch. Dissert. iii. c. ii. p. 109. Hue usque Petavius de quatuor fidei professionibus, quorum ultima symbolum Athanasii vulgo dicitur, quod licet ab aliquibus recentiori auctori vindicandum credatur, et a Vigilio Tapsensi aliove Latino patre editum, negari tamen non potest, quin fidei confessio Ursacii et Valentis edita fuerit paucis post Concilium Antiochenum annis, etc.

ⁱ Pagi, Critic. in Baron. an. 340, n. vi. (Lucæ, vol. iv. p. 343.) Joannes Vossius lib. de tribus Symbolis, dissert. ii., Quesnellus dissert. de variis fidei libellis in antiquo Romanæ ecclesiæ codice contentis, Usserius alique tam ex protestantibus, quam ex Catholicis, symbolum, quod vulgo dicitur S. Athanasii et quod incipit, 'Quicumque vult salvus esse,' Sancto Athanasio abjudicant, quia in antiquis et probatæ fidei codicibus MSS. pæne omnibus operum S. Athanasii hoc symbolum desideratur, et quia stylus, sermonisque contextus nequaquam Græci hominis est, sed Latini. Quod si Divus Athanasius Latine scripsisset, vix fieri potuisset, ut ipsi Græcismus aliquis non excideret, quum non nisi imperfecte linguam Latinam scire potuerit. Præterea, si symbolum istud Athanasii fuisset, illud laudassent Cyrillus Alexandrinus, Ephesina synodus, S. Leo,

rank, to come in to this opinion, that this creed was not composed by Athanasius, but by a later and a Latin writer. Dr. Cave thinks the first that mentions it under the name of Athanasius, is Theodulphus Aurelianensis, who lived about the year 724, in the reign of Charles the Great. But in this he is a little mistaken: for the Council of Autun, which was held above a hundred years before (an. 670), not only mentioned it under that name, but ordered every presbyter, deacon, subdeacon, &c. to read it together with the Apostles' Creed ^k, or be liable to the bishop's censure for his omission. Which implies, that it was then esteemed the genuine work of Athanasius; and, as such, had for some time been received in the Church. But whoever was the author of it, there never was any question made of its orthodoxy, except by the Samosatensians and Arians in these later ages of the Church. Only, as Bishop Ussher and others have observed, the modern Greeks now use it with some additions and alterations. For, whereas it is said in the Latin copies, "that the Holy Ghost proceedeth from the Father and the Son," the Greeks now read it, "from

et Concilium Chalcedonense, dum contra Nestorianam et Eutychianam hæresin loquuntur. His adde Latinorum contra Græcos silentium post schisma Photianum, usque ad Gregorii IX. tempora, de processione Spiritus Sancti disputantium. Si enim tunc pro certo creditum fuisset, istud symbolum esse Athanasii, illo usi fuissent contra Græcos schismaticos Occidentales: quod non leve pondus habuisset ob summam S. Athanasii in utraque ecclesia auctoritatem. Et tamen primi, quos hoc argumentum adhibuisse legimus, sunt apocrisarii Gregorii IX., postquam hæc controversia durasset annis prope quingentis. Denique scriptores omnes, ante septimum ecclesiæ seculum, ante Augustodunensem in Gallia synodum, sub S. Leodegario episcopo habitam anno 670, de hoc symbolo Athanasiano silent. In eo vero Concilio hic canon legitur: 'Si quis presbyter,' etc. See note (k).—Du Pin. vol. ii. p. 35, edit. Lond. 1692, fol. (p. 71, edit. Colon. 1692, 4to.) Symbolum, quod Athanasii nomen præfert, diu sine controversia germanum Athanasii opus creditum est. Jam tamen inter omnes convenit, illud ejus non esse, sed cujusdam auctoris, qui diu post illum vixit. Quis is esse possit, non liquet: nonnulli id cuidam Francisco tribuunt; alii, ut Pater Quesnellus, contendunt, illud esse Vigilii Thapsitani, qui sub finem quinti ecclesiæ seculi vivebat. Quidquid sit, certum est, illud compositum fuisse a tempore Concilii Chalcedonensis, quia adeo expresse rejicit Nestorianorum et Eutychianorum errores, ut clare pateat, contra duas hæreses illud confectum fuisse.

^k Conc. Augustodun. can. ult. (Labbe, vol. vi. p. 536.) Si quis presbyter, diaconus, subdiaconus, vel clericus, symbolum, quod inspirante Sancto Spiritu apostoli tradiderunt, et fidem Sancti Athanasii præsulis irreprehensibiliter non recensuerit, ab episcopo condemnetur.

the Father," or the Father only ; as Paræus¹ has remarked in his exposition of this creed. And in the Greek copy lately brought out of the East, and published by Bishop Ussher, there is a long interpolation by way of addition, and explication of those words, " He was man of the substance of his mother, perfect God and perfect man, of a reasonable soul and human flesh subsisting." With some other additions of lesser note, which the curious reader may find marked out in the fore-mentioned tract^m of that learned author.

To all the creeds that have been related in this chapter, I think it not improper to add the short account which Eusebius gives of the first preaching of St. Thaddeus to King Abgarus and the people of Edessa, which I had from the information of my learned and judicious friend, Mr. Lowth, to whose useful conversation I owe many other curious remarks and observations, that lie scattered throughout the Antiquities of the Church. This is not, indeed, properly a creed, but a summary of his first sermon, or the heads of his first catechetical institution to the people :—" Concerning the coming of Jesus into the world, after what manner it was ; and, concerning his mission, for what reason he was sent by the Father ; concerning his power, and the mysteries which he spake in the world, and by what power he did these ; then of his new way of preaching ; of his meanness and abject estate, and the humility of his outward appearance as a man ; after what manner he humbled himself, and submitted to death, and made a diminutiveⁿ appearance in his Divine

¹ Paræus, Not. in Symbol. Athan. ad calcem Ursin. Catech. p. 124.

^m Usser. de Symbolis, pp. 28, 29.

ⁿ Euseb. lib. i. c. xiii. (Cambr. p. 41.) Σπερὼ ἐν αὐτοῖς τὸν λόγον τῆς ζωῆς, περὶ τε τῆς ἐλεύσεως τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, καθὼς ἐγένετο, καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀποστολῆς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἕνεκα τίνος ἀπεστάλη ὑπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς· καὶ περὶ τῆς δυνάμεως τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ, καὶ μυστηρίων, ὧν ἐλάλησεν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ· καὶ ποία δυνάμει ταῦτα ἐποίει· καὶ περὶ τῆς καινῆς αὐτοῦ κηρύξεως· καὶ περὶ τῆς σμικρότητος καὶ εὐτελείας, καὶ περὶ τῆς ταπεινώσεως τοῦ φαινομένου ἕξωθεν ἀνθρώπου· καὶ πῶς ἐταπείνωσεν ἑαυτὸν, καὶ ἀπέθανε, καὶ ἐσμίκρυνεν αὐτοῦ τὴν θεότητα· ὅσα τε ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ἔπαθεν, καὶ πῶς ἐσταυρώθη, καὶ κατέβη εἰς τὸν ᾗδην, καὶ διέσχισε φραγμὸν τὸν ἐξ αἰῶνος μὴ σχισθέντα, καὶ ἀνέστη, καὶ συνήγειρε νεκροὺς τοὺς ἀπ' αἰώνων κεκοιμημένους· καὶ πῶς κατέβη μόνος, ἀνέβη δὲ μετὰ πολλοῦ ὄχλου πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα αὐτοῦ· καὶ πῶς κάθηται ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Θεοῦ Πατρὸς μετὰ δόξης ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς· καὶ πῶς

nature ; what things he suffered of the Jews ; and how he was crucified, and descended into hell, and brake down the partition that had been kept up in former ages ; how he arose from the dead, and raised with himself those that slept in preceding generations ; how he descended (from heaven) alone, but ascended with a mighty company to his Father ; how he sits at the right hand of God the Father, and shall come again, with glory and power, to judge both the quick and the dead." Here are two things very remarkable in this ancient account of the first principles of Christian doctrine, viz. the divinity of our Saviour, and the descent into hell, both which are here expressed in terms : for which reason I thought it might deserve a place among the creeds of the Church. Eusebius says, " he had the account in the Syriac tongue, as it was preserved in the archives of the Church of Edessa, signed in the year 340 ;" which (according to the computation of time then used by the Syrians of Edessa, reckoned from the first year that Seleucus began to reign in Asia) falls in with the same year that Christ suffered and arose from the dead, as Valesius^o, and Pagi^p after him, have rightly computed in their observations upon this passage of Eusebius.

ἐλεύσεσθαι μέλλει πάλιν, μετὰ δόξης καὶ δυνάμεως, κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς. It is worth our observation to compare the Apostle's expression (Phil. ii. 7), *ἐαυτὸν ἐκένωσε*, 'he made himself of no reputation,' or 'he emptied himself,' with this expression of Thaddeus: *ἐσμίκρυνεν αὐτοῦ τὴν θεότητα*, 'he lessened, or made a diminutive show and appearance of his Godhead.' For these places mutually explain one another, and are a solid proof that the divinity of Christ, in the apostolical age, was one of the principal articles of the Christian faith.

^o Vales. in Euseb. lib. i. c. xiii. (Aug. T. 1747. p. 39.) Ait Eusebius Actorum illorum, quæ in archivis Edessæ reppererat, hujusmodi fuisse subscriptionem : *ἐπράχθη ταῦτα τεσσαρακοστῷ καὶ τριακοσιοστῷ ἔτει.* Id est: 'Acta sunt hæc anno quadragesimo ac trecentesimo.' Annus hic trecentesimus et quadragesimus juxta Edessenos, cadit in annum primum Olympiadis 202. Etenim Edessenii annos suos numerabant ab Olympiadis 117 anno primo, quo Seleucus regnare orsus est in Asia, ut scribit Eusebius in Chronico : a quo tempore usque ad initium Olympiadis secundæ ac ducentesimæ anni sunt trecenti ac quadraginta. Porro initium Olympiadis secundæ ac ducentesimæ incidit in annum decimum quintum Tiberii Caesaris, qui duobus Geminis coss. est insignitus. Quo quidem anno et passionem et adscensionem Domini contigisse, plerique veterum crediderunt. Inter quos est Tertullianus, Augustinus, atque Victorius.

^p Pagi, Critic. in Baron. an. 41, n. iii. tot.

CHAPTER V.

OF THE ORIGINAL, NATURE, AND REASONS OF THE ANCIENT DISCIPLINE, IN CONCEALING THE SACRED MYSTERIES OF THE CHURCH FROM THE CATECHUMENS.

SECT. I.—*The Errors and Pretences of the Romanists upon this Point.*

THAT which makes this inquiry a little more necessary, is the several vain pretences of the Romanists concerning the original and reasons of this discipline. Bellarmine and others urge it as a mighty argument for transubstantiation in particular, as if the concealing of the mystery of the eucharist from the catechumens was an indication of the belief of the Church concerning the real presence of Christ's body and blood, which they were so studiously careful to hide from the knowledge of the catechumens. But this is abundantly refuted by a more accurate observation of Albaspinæus, a learned bishop of the same communion, who, in his book of the ancient polity of the Church^a, relating to the eucharist, as I find him cited by others^b, rejects this as an incompetent proof of the Romish doctrine of the real presence. For he rightly observes, "that the ancients concealed not only the mystery of

^a Albaspin. Police de l'Ancienne Eglise, lib. i. c. ii. p. 47. (p. 198. C, ad calcem Optati, Paris. 1679.) Tout le monde allegue cette discipline pour preuve du corps de nostre Seigneur, et pour confondre nos adversaires : mais jamais ils n'ont pris garde que ces anciens pères de l'église apportoit beaucoup de soin et de diligence à cacher les autres sacraments aux catechumènes et aux estrangers ; voir mesme que leur crainte et leur religion alloit jusques là, que de leur refuser non seulement intelligence, mais aussi la seule prononciation de l'oraison dominicale et du symbole des apostres. Quant aux cérémonies de l'église, de quelque qualité qu'elles fussent, toute connoissance leur en estoit interdite ; comme aussi des oraisons qu'ils faisoient pour quelque chose que ce pût estre. Et encore cette police passoit plus outre : car les catechumènes ne voyoient jamais les exorcismes, ny les impositions des mains qu'on faisoit sur les pénitens du troisième degré ; et toutefois ils estoient estrangers comme les catechumènes, et ces exorcismes n'estoient pas choses auxquelles il y eut quelque secret ou quelque mystère qui pût tomber dans le mépris après avoir esté découvert.— See also pp. 199—201.

^b Albertin. de Eucharist. lib. ii. p. 703.

the eucharist, but also the sacrament of baptism, from the catechumens; yea, and almost all other their sacred rites and ceremonies, which in a large sense are called sacraments, as the oil of chrism, or confirmation, and the ordination of priests, which were as studiously concealed from the knowledge or inspection of the uninitiated, as the elements of the holy eucharist were." So that the bare concealing that mystery from the catechumens could no more be an argument of transubstantiation in the bread and wine in the eucharist, than it was in the waters of baptism, or any other ceremony where the same silence and caution was used.

The learned Schelstrate, with a subtle invention, has made a more general use of this ancient practice, to palliate and excuse all the novel doctrines and practices of his own Church. He wrote a book, which he entitled *Disciplina Arcani*, a book highly magnified by Pagi and others of his own communion^c, as stopping the mouths of the Protestants, when they ask the Romanists, "Why no footsteps of their modern doctrines and practices appear in the earliest writers of the Church?" The answer is ready upon all occasions, from this *Disciplina Arcani*, that it was because these doctrines and practices were kept secret, and only handed down by tradition; not committed to writing, lest they should come to the knowledge of the uninitiated Jews and Gentiles, and the catechumens of the Church. This is the reason, he tells us, why there is no account of the seven sacraments, nor of the worship of saints or images, in the first writers of the Church. The things were really believed and practised from the days of the apostles, as he will have it; but kept secret as the hidden mysteries of religion, which were not to be divulged to any but such as were initiated and prepared to know them.

This is an artifice that would justify as many errors and vanities as any Church could be guilty of: it is but working a

^c Pagi, Critic. in Baron. an. 118, n. iv. † Aliquot sæculis 'disciplinam arcani,' seu occultationem quorundam mysteriorum religionis Catholicæ viginisse, et ex ea disciplina complures Patrum sententias, quas Protestantes contra Catholicos adducunt, exponi posse docte demonstrat Schelstratus, in dissertatione singulari de 'Disciplina Arcani.'—Ibid. n. ix. Quæ omnia ex Schelstratio in egregia dissertatione de 'Disciplina Arcani' excerpta sunt.

little with this admirable instrument and tool, called *Disciplina Arcani*, and then all the seeming contradictions between the ancient doctrines and practices of the Church universal, and the novel corruptions of the modern Church of Rome, will presently vanish and disappear. So that we need not wonder why men, whose interest it serves so much, should magnify this as a noble invention; when yet, in truth, it is only a veil and a mist cast before the reader's eyes, which may be easily dispelled, by giving a true account of that ancient piece of discipline and practice, first in its original, and then in the nature, use, and reasons of it.

SECT. II.—*This Discipline not strictly observed in the very first Ages of the Church.*

As to its original, the learned Albaspinæus has rightly observed, that, in the apostolical age, and some time after, they were not so very strict in this discipline of concealing their sacred mysteries from the knowledge of the catechumens, for he thus argues against the antiquity of the book called the Apostolical Constitutions:—"The last words," says he^d, "which forbid the publication of those eight books, do plainly show that they were not written in the first age: for the Christians of the first age did never make any scruple of publishing their mysteries, as appears from the writings of Justin Martyr." Mr. Aubertine observes^e the same out of Athenagoras and Tatian; and Daillé^f joins in opinion with

^d Albaspin. Observat. lib. c. xiii. p. 38, Paris, 1631, fol. (p. 89, edit. Paris. 1623, 4to.) Postrema verba, quibus cavetur, ne octo libri Constitutionum Apostolicarum publicentur, aperte indicant, eas primis sæculis factas non esse, quum primi sæculi Christiani sua lubentes mysteria, ut vel ex Justino constat, enuntiarent.

^e Albertin. de Eucharist. lib. ii. p. 709. Incertissimum est, utrum Justini temporibus jam de more fuisset, sacramentalia signa haud initiatis occultare. Nec enim, vel ipse, vel Tatianus ejus discipulus, vel Athenagoras, vel Theophilus, vel Irenæus, hujusce occultationis ullibi, quod equidem sciam, meminerunt.

^f Dall. de Scriptis Ignatii, lib. i. c. xxii. p. 142. Nullæ usquam in horum sæculorum, ac ne in tertii quidem veris certisque auctoribus, quum verba de sacramentis faciunt, hujusmodi reperiuntur aposiopeses, sive reticentiæ; quod ego quidem meminerim. Hi et baptismi aquam, et lotionem, et oleum, postquam in usu esse cœpit, et unctionem, et eucharistiæ panem, ac vinum, esum et potum

Albaspinaeus, and cites his authority with approbation; and Basnage is^g so far from thinking that the apostles concealed their mysteries from the catechumens, that he rather supposes they administered the sacraments in their presence. Upon which supposition the whole fabric, which Schelstrate builds upon the *Disciplina Arcani*, is ruined at once; for then it is certain, the apostles had no such fear or caution upon them, lest the catechumens should come to the knowledge of the Christian rites or doctrines, as is pretended. And, indeed, any one that looks into the writings of the apostles, may perceive, with half an eye, that they were far enough from concealing their opinion about the worship of angels, saints, and images, for they expressly write against it; and when they speak of the mysteries of baptism and the eucharist, they do it with the greatest freedom, without any fear or apprehension of giving offence to the catechumens.

liberrime, quoties fert occasio, sine ullis ambagibus efferunt, neque quicquam auditoribus vel lectoribus suis de iis rebus divinandum relinquunt; ut ex Justinī in Apologia locis videre est, in quibus utrumque sacramentum totum apud homines non modo non initiatos, sed etiam profanos et Gentiles, Augustos scilicet et senatores Romanos planissime exposuit. Neque Tertullianus aliter baptismum in libro, qui totus hujus tituli est, explicavit; nullo dissimulato, aut obscuris vocibus adumbrato hujus sacramenti ritu. Sed neque vel in Irenæo, Clemente Alexandrino, Origene, aliisque Græcis, vel in Cypriano, et Latinis anno Domini 260 anterioribus, ullum uspiam deprehenditur illius arcani vestigium. Unde certo ac necessario concludimus, totam hanc illius arcani, quarto adulto, et toto quinto sæculo, solennem et notissimam disciplinam primis et apostolorum proximis sæculis nondum apud nostros fuisse cognitam; quam scilicet, si jam tum obtinuisset, plane est incredibile vel violaturos fuisse Justinum et Tertullianum, homines religiosissimos, vel ceteros eorumdem temporum scriptores, qui satis multi sunt, penitus tacituros, indictamque prætermisuros fuisse. Albaspinaeus Aurelianensis non ita pridem episcopus, antiquitatis ecclesiasticæ solertissimus indagator, assentitur, scribens ‘primi sæculi Christianos sua lubentes mysteria, ut vel ex Justino constat, enuntiasse.’ Atque hinc ille probat Constitutiones, quæ vulgo dicuntur ‘Apostolicæ, primis sæculis factas non esse,’ quia scilicet ‘postremis harum verbis cautum est, ne octo earum libri publicentur.’ Ergo, inquam, qui hoc sacramentorum arcanum tam diligenter et aliis præcipit et ipse servat hierarchiæ scriptor, non modo non Areopagitici, id est, Apostolici, sed ne tertii quidem sæculi homo fuit; vel hoc uno indicio satis prodit, se vel quarto exeunte, vel quinto sæculo vixisse; quo maxime illa vixit sacramentalis arcani religio.

^g Basnag. Exercitat. in Baron. p. 419. Alta de mysteriis silentia non agebant apostoli, nec catechumenos arcebant a sacramentorum conspectu.

SECT. III.—*But introduced about the time of Tertullian, for other Reasons than what the Romanists pretend.*

Nay, and when this discipline was first introduced into the Christian Church, it was very evident it was done for different reasons than those which the Romanists pretend. The first beginning of it seems to have been about the time of Tertullian; for he is the first writer who makes any mention of it. He says^h, “There was a secrecy and silence observed in all mysteries;” and he blames the heretics of his own times for not regarding somewhat of this discipline. “They made no distinction,” he saysⁱ, “between believers and catechumens: they all met together, they all heard together, they all prayed together; and if heathens chanced to come in upon them, they gave that which was holy to dogs, and cast their pearls, such as they were, before swine.” Here it is plain, the Church now made several distinctions between catechumens and believers, which heretics did not. The place of the catechumens was now in a separate part of the church; they heard sermons, but not all that believers were allowed to hear: they had prayers for themselves, but were not admitted to hear the prayers of the faithful, which were peculiar to the celebration of the eucharist, from which catechumens were excluded. But all this was, and might be done, without favouring in the least the vain pretences of the modern Arcanists. For in all this there was no design to conceal such mysteries as the worship of saints, and angels, and images, from the knowledge of the catechumens; but, on the contrary, Tertullian speaks openly of these kinds of worship, and with indignation condemns them as superstitious practices, belonging only to heathens or heretics, and not to the mysteries of the Church.

^h Tertul. Apolog. c. vii. Omnibus mysteriis silentii fides adhibetur.

ⁱ Tertull. de Præscript. Hæretic. c. xli. (Oberth. p. 477.) Quis catechumenus, quis fidelis, incertum est: pariter [adeunt] audiunt, pariter orant: etiam ethnici, si supervenerint, sanctum canibus et porcis margaritas, licet non veras, jactabunt.

SECT. IV.—*This proved from a particular Account of the Things which they concealed from the Catechumens; which were, first, The Manner of administering Baptism.*

And in the following ages, no writer that mentions this discipline, among all those that give us a more particular account of what things were concealed from the knowledge or inspection of the catechumens, ever so much as intimates that the worship of saints and images was in the number of the mysteries of the Church, which they concealed from them. But the mysteries which they were so careful, in some measure, to hide from them, were,—1. The manner of administering baptism. 2. The unction of chrism, or confirmation. 3. The ordination of priests. 4. The manner of celebrating the eucharist. 5. The liturgy, or Divine service of the Church. 6. And for some time the mystery of the Trinity, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer, till they became greater proficient, and were ready for baptism. In the first place, that they were careful to conceal from them the manner of administering baptism, appears from this, that the catechumens were never so much as suffered to enter^k or look into the baptistery, or place where baptism was administered, according to the order of the first Council of Orange. St. Basil, therefore^l, says, "Baptism, the eucharist, and the oil of chrism, were things that the uninitiated were not allowed to look upon." And St. Austin^m putting the question, "What things were kept secret, and not made public in the Church?" answers, "The sacrament of baptism, and the sacrament of the eucharist; for even pagans may see our good works, but the sacraments are kept hidden from them." And as they did not admit catechumens to see baptism administered, so neither did they ordinarily discourse of it before them in plain terms, but in a mystical way; or else

^k Conc. Arausican. I. can. xix. (Labbe, vol. iii. p. 1450.) Ad baptisterium catechumeni numquam admittendi.

^l Basil. de Spirit. Sanct. c. xxvii. (Bened. fol. vol. iii. p. 55. B 7.) "Α οὐδὲ ἐποπτεύειν ἔξεστι τοῖς ἀμυήτοις.

^m Aug. Comment. in Psalm. ciii. concio i. (Bened. vol. iv. p. 1140. D 3.) Quid est, quod occultum est, et non publicum in Ecclesia? Sacramentum baptismi, sacramentum Eucharistiæ. Opera enim nostra bona vident et Pagani; sacramenta vero occultantur illis.

wholly excluded them from such discourses as incompetent hearers. “We do not speak openly,” says St. Cyrilⁿ, “of the sacraments before the catechumens, but deliver many things covertly, that the faithful, who know them, may understand us; and they who know them not, may receive no harm.” So Theodoret^o, “We discourse of mysteries obscurely because of the unbaptized; but when they are gone, we speak plainly before the initiated.” In like manner, Nazianzen^p, speaking of baptism, “You have heard,” says he, “so much of the mystery as we are allowed to speak publicly in the ears of all; and the rest you shall hear privately, which you must retain secret within yourself, and keep under the seal of baptism.” A great many other passages may be read in Chrysostom^q, Theodoret^r, Cyril of Alexandria^s, the author under the name of Dionysius the Areopagite^t, and the Apostolical Canons^u, with many others to the same purpose. From all which we learn, that though the ancients acquainted the catechumens with the doctrine of baptism, so far as to make them understand the spiritual nature and design of it, yet they never admitted them to the sight of the outward ceremony, nor so

ⁿ Cyril. Catech. vi. n. xvi. (Bened. p. 106. C 4.) Οὐδὲ τῶν μυστηρίων ἐπὶ κατηχουμένων λευκῶς λαλοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ πολλάκις λέγομεν ἐπικεκαλυμμένως, ἵνα οἱ εἰδότες πιστοὶ νοήσωσι, καὶ οἱ μὴ εἰδότες μὴ βλαβῶσι.

^o Theod. Quæst. xv. in Numer. (Sirmond. 8vo. vol. i. p. 149.) Ἀσήμεως διὰ τοὺς ἀμυήτους περὶ τῶν θείων διαλεγόμεθα μυστηρίων, τούτων δὲ χωριζομένων σαφῶς τοὺς μεμνημένους διδάσκουμεν.

^p Nazianz. Orat. xl. de Bapt. (tom. i. p. 672. A 3.) Ἐχεις τοῦ μυστηρίου τὰ ἔκφορα, καὶ ταῖς τῶν πολλῶν ἀκοαῖς οὐκ ἀπόρρητα· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα εἰσω μαθήσῃ, τῆς τριάδος χαριζομένης, ἃ καὶ κρύψεις παρὰ σεαυτῷ σφραγίδι κρατούμενα.

^q Chrysostom. Hom. xlv. in Acta, (Bened. vol. ix. p. 349. E 10.) Ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν, τὰ δὲ τῶν μυστηρίων μόνον, ὥς μηδὲ τοῖς ἀμυήτοις συγχωρεῖν παρεῖναι.

^r Theodoret. Hæret. Fabul. lib. v. c. xviii. (Sirmond. 8vo. vol. iv. p. 442.) Ἀλλὰ μυστικωτέρων δεῖ λόγων ἐνταῦθα.

^s Cyril. Alexandr. adv. Julian. lib. vii. (Paris. 1638. vol. vi. p. 247, at bottom.) Ἵνα τοίνυν μὴ εἰς τὰς τῶν ἀμυήτων ἀκοὰς ἐκφέρων τὰ κεκρυμμένα προσκρούσαιμι λέγοντι τῷ Χριστῷ . . . τῶν βαθυτέρων ἀφέμενος.

^t Dionys. Eccles. Hierarch. c. ii. (Venet. vol. i. p. 167.) Ἐξῆς τὰ θεῖα τῆς θεογενεσίας ἐποπτεύσωμεν σύμβολα. Καί τοι μηδεὶς ἀτέλεστος ἐπὶ τὴν θεὰν ἰέτω.

^u Canon. Apost. c. lxxxv. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 46. A 6.) Αἱ διαταγαὶ . . . ἃς οὐ δεῖ [χρὴ] δημοσιεύειν ἐπὶ πάντων, διὰ τὰ ἐν αὐταῖς μυστικά.

much as to hear any plain discourse about the manner of its administration, till they were fitted and prepared for the actual reception of it.

SECT. V.—*Secondly, The manner of administering the Holy Unction or Confirmation.*

And they observed the same discipline in reference to the holy unction, or chrism, which the Latins call ‘imposition of hands,’ or ‘confirmation.’ St. Basil^x, speaking of the oil which was used to be consecrated and used in this ceremony, says, “It was one of those things which the uninitiated were not allowed to look upon.” And Pope Innocent the First, writing to another bishop about confirmation, and the form of words used in the administration of it, says, “He could^y not repeat the words, lest he should seem to disclose the mystery, rather than answer the question proposed.”

SECT. VI.—*Thirdly, The Ordination of Priests.*

A third thing which they concealed from the catechumens, was the ordination of priests. The Council of Laodicea^z has a canon to this purpose, that “ordinations shall not be performed in the presence of the hearers,” that is, the catechumens. And Chrysostom, speaking of this office, and the solemn prayers used at the consecration, delivers himself in an obscure and covert way, because of the catechumens. “He that ordains,” says he, “requires the prayers of the Church^a, and they then join their suffrage and echo forth those words which the initiated know. For we may not speak them openly before the uninitiated catechumens.”

^x Basil. de Spirit. Sanct. c. xxvii. Vid. sub lit. anteced. (l).

^y Innocent. Epist. i. ad Decentium Eugubin. c. iii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1246. D 2.) Verba dicere non possum, ne magis prodere videar, quam ad consultationem respondere.

^z Conc. Laodic. can. v. (tom. i. p. 1498.) Μη δειν τας χειροτονίας επι παρουσία ακρωμένων γίνεσθαι.

^a Chrysost. Hom. xviii. in 2 Cor. (Bened. vol. x. p. 569. A 10.) ‘Ο μέλλων χειροτονεῖν, καὶ τὰς ἐκείνων εὐχὰς καλεῖ τότε, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπιψηφίζονται, καὶ ἐπιβοῶσιν ἅπερ ἴσασιν οἱ μεμνημένοι· οὐ γὰρ δὴ θέμις ἐπὶ τῶν ἀμνήτων ἐκκαλύπτειν ἅπαντα.

SECT. VII.—*Fourthly, The Liturgy or public Prayers of the Church, such as the Prayers for the Energumens, Penitents, and the Faithful.*

A fourth thing which they concealed from the catechumens, was the public liturgy, or solemn prayers of the Church. For one rank of the catechumens, the *audientes*, or ‘hearers,’ were only permitted to stay and hear the sermon, but not any prayers of the Church. Another sort, called ‘kneelers,’ or prostrators, had the prayers of the Church particularly for themselves, but no others. And the *competentes* stayed only to hear the prayers offered up for themselves and the energumens, and then were dismissed. They might not stay to hear so much as the prayers for the penitents, much less the prayers for the Church militant, or any others preceding the communion. But, before all these, the usual word of command was given by the deacons, or sacred heralds of the Church, *ne quis audientium*, or, *ite, missa est*, ‘catechumens, depart.’ From whence it is easy to collect further, that the solemn office of the absolution of penitents was never performed in the presence of the catechumens; for the time of absolution was not till all others were dismissed, except the penitents themselves who were to be absolved; which was immediately before their going to the altar to begin the communion service; as seems to be clear from these words of Optatus, where he speaks of it as the common custom, both in the Church and among the Donatists^b, to give imposition of hands for absolution immediately before their going to say the Lord’s Prayer at the altar. All these things, therefore, were kept secret from the catechumens. For they were never suffered to be hearers or spectators of any part of them.

SECT. VIII.—*Fifthly, The Manner of celebrating the Eucharist.*

But as the eucharist was the highest mystery in the Chris-

^b Optat. cont. Parmen. lib. ii. (p. 44, Paris. 1702.) Inter vicina momenta dum manus imponitis et delicta donatis, mox ad altare conversi, Dominicam Orationem prætermittere non potestis. Vid. Constitut. Apostol. lib. viii. cc. vi. —viii. tot.

tian service, so they were the most careful to conceal the manner of its celebration from the catechumens. And in this, they made a difference between one sort of penitents and the catechumens. For the highest class of penitents, called *consistentes*, or ‘co-standers,’ were allowed to be present at the communion prayers, and see the oblation offered and received by the faithful, though they might not partake with them. But catechumens of all ranks were wholly excluded from all this. They were always dismissed before these prayers began; and the doors of the Church were locked and guarded by proper officers, to the intent that no uninitiated person should rush in upon them. “We shut the doors,” says Chrysostom^c, “when we celebrate the holy mysteries, and drive away all uninitiated persons.” This was one of the secrets of the Church, as we heard St. Austin before speak of it^d: “one of the things which a catechumen might not look upon,” according to St. Basil^e. Therefore, the author of the Apostolical Constitutions^f makes it a part of the deacon’s office, not only to command their absence, but also keep the doors that none might come in during the time of the oblation. Epiphanius^g and St. Jerome^h bring it as a charge against the Marcionites, that they despised this discipline, and admitted catechumens, indiscriminately with the faithful, to all their mysteries. And Palladiusⁱ forms a like charge against the enemies of Chrysos-

^c Chrysostom. Hom. xxiii. in Matth. (Bened. vol. vii. p. 288. C 7.) Τὰ μυστήρια διὰ τοῦτο τὰς θύρας κλείσαντες ἐπιτελοῦμεν, καὶ τοὺς ἀμυήτους εἴργομεν.

^d Aug. in Psalm. ciii. Vid. supra, sect. iv. lit. (m).

^e Basil. de Spirit. Sanct. c. xxvii. Vid. ibid. lit. (l).

^f Constitut. Apostol. lib. ii. c. lvii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 298.) Φυλαττέσθωσαν αἱ θύραι, μή τις ἄπιστος εἰσέλθοι, ἢ ἀμύητος. — Ibid. lib. viii. c. xi. (p. 471. E 5.) Οἱ διάκονοι ἱστάσθωσαν εἰς τὰς τῶν ἀνδρῶν θύρας, καὶ οἱ ὑποδιάκονοι εἰς τὰς τῶν γυναικῶν ὅπως μή τις ἐξέλθοι, μήτε ἀνοιχθῇ ἡ θύρα, κἂν πιστός τις ᾖ, κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἀναφορᾶς.

^g Epiphan. Hæres. xlii. num. iii. (Colon. vol. i. p. 304. B.) Μυστήρια δὲ δῆθεν παρ’ αὐτῷ ἐπιτελεῖται, τῶν κατηχουμένων ὁρώντων.

^h Hieron. Comment. in Gal. vi. (Bened. 1706. vol. iv. p. 311.) (tom. vi. p. 156. D, edit. Paris. 1643.) *Communicet*] Marcion hunc locum ita interpretatus est, ut putaret fideles et catechumenos simul orare debere.

ⁱ Pallad. Vit. Chrysostom. c. ix. Not. Non invenio heic, quæ huc referri possint, nisi quæ proxime subjicio, quæ tamen non dicunt, vidisse non initiatos ea, quæ oculis eorum subjici nefas fuerit. Ἐχων Θράκας ξιφήρεις νεοστρατεύτους,

tom; that “in the tumult they raised against him, they gave occasion to the uninitiated to break into the Church, and see those things which it was not lawful for them to set their eyes upon.” Nay, so strict was the Church then in the observation of this discipline, that Athanasius convicted the Meletians of false witness against him, when they pretended to prove, by the testimony of some catechumens, that Macarius, one of his presbyters, had overturned the communion-table in the time of the oblation. He argued that this could not be so; because^k if the catechumens were present, there could then be no oblation.

Nor did they only exclude catechumens from the sight of these mysteries, but also from all discourses which treated plainly about them. They made a distinction between moral and mysterious subjects, and admitted the catechumens to the one, but not to the other; as I have had occasion formerly to show^l from the testimonies of Theodoret^m, St. Austinⁿ, and St. Ambrose^o: to which we may here add that of St. Cyril of

κατὰ τὸν Ἡσαῦ, τετρακοσίους, ἀναιδεῖς περισσῶς, ἐπεπήδησεν αἰφνίδιον κατὰ τὴν νύκτα, σὺν τοῖς ἐπιδεικνύουσι κληρικοῖς καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἰταμῶς, ὥς ἅτε λύκος, σιδήρῳ στίλβοντι διασχίσας τοὺς ὄχλους, χωρήσας δ' ἔνδον τῶν μακαρίων ὑδάτων ἐπὶ κωλύσει τῶν μνουμένων τὴν ἀνάστασιν τοῦ Σωτῆρος· καὶ τῷ μὲν διακόνῳ θρασέως ἐντιναχθεὶς, τὰ σύμβολα ἐκχείει· τοὺς δὲ πρεσβυτέρους ἤδη που καὶ ἡλικιώτας, ῥοπάλοις κατὰ κρανίου παίσας, αἵματι κινῶ τὴν κολυμβήθραν. *Grischor.*] —The same complaint is made by Chrysostom himself in his first epistle to Pope Innocent. (Bened. vol. iii. p. 519. A 6.) Ἄλλ' ἐνθα τὰ ἅγια ἀπέκειντο, εἰσελθόντες οἱ στρατιῶται, ὧν ἔνιοι, καθ' ὡς ἔγνωμεν, ἀμύητοι ἦσαν, πάντα τε ἑώρων τὰ ἔνδον.

^k Athan. Apol. ii. Colon. 1686. tom. i. p. 747. D 3. (p. 148. A. B, edit. Paris. 1698.) Πῶς οἷόν τε ἦν προσφορὰν προκεῖσθαι, ἔνδον ὄντων τῶν κατηχομένων; εἰ γὰρ ἔνδον ἦσαν οἱ κατηχούμενοι, οὐπω ἦν ὁ καιρὸς τῆς προσφορᾶς.

^l Book i. chap. iv. sect. viii.

^m Theodoret. Quæst. xv. in Numer. (Sirmond. 8vo. vol. i. p. 230.) Ἀσήμως διὰ τοὺς ἀμυήτους περὶ τῶν θείων διαλεγόμεθα μυστηρίων· τούτων δὲ χωριζομένων, σαφῶς τοὺς μεμνημένους διδάσκομεν.

ⁿ Aug. Serm. i. ad Neophyt. (Bened. vol. vi. app. p. 288. D.) Dimissis jam catechumenis, vos tantum ad audiendum retinuimus: quia præter illa, quæ omnes Christianos convenit in commune servare, specialiter de cælestibus mysteriis loquuturi sumus, quæ audire non possunt, nisi qui ea, donante jam Domino, perceperunt. Tanto ergo majore reverentia debetis audire quæ dicimus, quanto majore ista sunt quæ solis baptizatis et fidelibus auditoribus committuntur; quam illa quæ etiam catechumeni audire consueverunt.

^o Ambros. de his qui ministeriis initiantur, c. i. De moralibus quotidianum

Jerusalem : “ You were once,” says he, “ a catechumen, and then we^p did not discourse of mysteries to you ; and now that you have attained, by experience, to the height of those things which we teach, you will easily perceive that catechumens are not worthy to be hearers of such things.” And that of Gaudentius, bishop of Brixia, who, in his sermon^q to the *neophytes*, or ‘ persons newly baptized,’ tells them, he would now open to them those mysteries, which could not be explained in the presence of the catechumens. Sometimes, indeed, they spake of the eucharist, before the catechumens, in their popular discourses ; but then they did it in such obscure and figurative terms as were understood only by communicants, and not by the catechumens. According to that of St. Chrysostom^r, “ I would speak plainly, but I dare not, because of the unbaptized. For they make our expositions to be more difficult, they compel us to speak obscurely : or else we must reveal what is not to be revealed unto them.” Upon this account, Epiphanius^s, speaking of the words of institution before the catechumens, would not say, “ This bread is my body, this wine is my blood ;” but *hoc meum est hoc et hoc*, “ This is my that and that,” to let the initiated know his meaning, and not the catechumens. And hence it was they so often used that phrase, *ἴσασιν οἱ μεμνημένοι, et nōrunt fideles*,

sermonem habuimus, quem vel patriarcharum gesta, vel proverbiorum legerentur praecepta : ut, his informati atque instituti, adsuesceretis majorum ingredi vias, eorumque iter carpere, ac divinis obedire mandatis, quo revocati per baptismum ejus vitæ usum teneritis, quæ ablutos deceret. Nunc de mysteriis dicere admonet, atque ipsam sacramentorum rationem edere : quam ante baptismum si putassemus insinuandam nondum initiatis, prodidisse potius quam edidisse aestimaremur.

^p Cyril. Catech. Præfat. n. vii. (Paris, 1640. p. 6. D.) Ἦς ποτὲ καὶ σὺ κατηχούμενος, οὐ διηγησάμην σοι τὰ προκείμενα· ὅταν τῇ πείρᾳ λάβῃς τὸ ὕψωμα τῶν διδασκομένων, τότε ἂν γνώσῃ ὅτι ἀνάξιοι οἱ κατηχούμενοι τῆς ἀκοῆς.

^q Gaudent. Serm. ii. ad Neophytos. (Bibl. Max. Patr. vol. v. p. 946. G.) Ea solum aperienda neophytis, quæ præsens catechumenis explanari non possunt.

^r Chrysostom. Hom. xl. in 1 Cor. (Bened. vol. x. p. 379. A 8.) Βούλομαι σαφῶς τοῦτο εἰπεῖν, οὐ τολμῶ δὲ διὰ τοὺς ἀμνήτους· οὗτοι γὰρ δυσκολωτέραν ἡμῖν ποιοῦσι τὴν ἐξήγησιν, ἀναγκάζοντες ἢ μὴ λέγειν σαφῶς, ἢ εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐκφέρειν τὰ ἀπόρρητα.

^s Epiphan. Anchorat. n. lvii. (Colon. vol. ii. p. 60.) Εὐχαριστήσας εἶπε, Τοῦτό μου ἔστι τόδε.

‘the initiated know what we say ;’ which phrase Casaubon^t has observed to occur no less than fifty times in the writings of St. Chrysostom. Casaubon makes another good observation upon this matter, which the learned Albertinus^u takes from him, and strenuously defends, “That whereas there are three things in the eucharist—1. The symbols, or sacred elements of bread and wine ; 2. The things signified by them ; and, 3. The rites of celebration ;” that which the ancients laboured chiefly to conceal from the catechumens, was not the things signified, but only the symbols or outward signs, and the rites and manner of celebration. For they made no scruple to call the eucharist by the name of Christ’s body and blood before the catechumens, at the same time that they would not call it bread and wine, or speak particularly of the form and manner of administering it, as Albertinus proves out of Theodoret and many others ; which shows that the reason of concealing the mystery from the catechumens was not the belief of transubstantiation, as the Romanists pretend : for then they would have chosen rather to conceal the names of Christ’s body and blood, than the names of the outward symbols, and the mystical rites of celebration : the latter of which they studiously concealed, but not the former. He that would see more of this, may consult the elaborate discourse of that most acute and learned writer, where he answers all the objections of Coffetellus against the present assertion.

SECT. IX.—*Sixthly, The Mystery of the Trinity, the Creed, and the Lord’s Prayer, from the first Sort of Catechumens.*

The last sort of things which they for some time concealed from the more imperfect catechumens, were the sublimer doctrines of Christianity, such as the mystery of the Trinity, and hypostatic union, together with the Creed itself and the Lord’s Prayer, which the catechumens did not learn till imme-

^t Casaub. Exercit. xvi. in Baron. p. 490. Quis ita hospes in patrum lectione, cui sit ignota formula, in mentione sacramentorum potissimum usu trita, ἴσασιν οἱ μεμνημένοι, ‘norunt initiati quod dicitur :’ quæ formula in unius Chrysostomi homiliis aut aliis scriptis, minimum quinquaginta locis potest observari.

^u Albertin. de Euchar. lib. ii. p. 708.

diately before their baptism. For so Theodoret^x tells us, that they did not teach this prayer to the uninitiated, but to the baptized or immediate candidates of baptism. For no one that was not baptized, could presume to say, "Our Father which art in heaven;" not having yet received the gift of adoption. But he that was made partaker of baptism, might call God his Father, as being adopted among the sons of grace. St. Chrysostom^y speaks after the same manner: "This prayer belongs only to the faithful, as both the rule of the Church and the beginning of the prayer itself teach. For an unbaptized person cannot yet call God his 'Father.'" This prayer was then peculiar to the communion-service, and never used in the church, but only at the altar, where none of the catechumens could be present, but only the faithful. Whence it was called εὐχὴ πιστῶν, 'the prayer of the faithful.' And one petition in it was thought to refer more particularly to the eucharist, "Give us this day our daily bread," ἄρτον ἐπιούσιον, 'our super-substantial,' or 'super-celestial bread,' as many of the ancients render it. For these reasons, they never taught the Lord's Prayer to any of the catechumens, but the highest rank of them, the *competentes*, a few days before their baptism; as we learn from those words of St. Austin^z, "Now learn the Lord's Prayer, which ye must repeat eight days hence, when ye are to be baptized." So they received it only on Saturday before Palm Sunday, in order to repeat it on Saturday before Easter, which was the day of their baptism.

They observed the same discipline in reference to the Creed, which they taught to the catechumens at the same time only as they did the Lord's Prayer, a little before their baptism.

^x Theodoret. Hæret. Fabul. lib. v. c. xxviii. (Sirmond. 8vo. vol. iv. p. 479.) Ταύτην τὴν προσευχὴν οὐ τοὺς ἀμύητους, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μυσταγωγουμένους διδάσκουμεν.

^y Chrysostom. Hom. xx. al. xix. in Matth. (Bened. vol. vii. p. 252. C 2.) "Ὅτι πιστοῖς αὕτη ἡ προσευχὴ προσήκει, καὶ οἱ νόμοι τῆς ἐκκλησίας διδάσκουσι, καὶ τὸ προοίμιον τῆς εὐχῆς· ὁ γὰρ ἀμύητος οὐκ ἂν δύναίτο πατέρα καλεῖν τὸν Θεόν. — Ibid. Hom. ii. in 2 Cor. (vol. x. p. 435. C 4.) Οὐδέπω εὐχὴν ἔχουσι τὴν νενομισμένην καὶ εἰσενεχθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, οὐδέπω παρρησίαν κέκτηνται, ἀλλ' ἐτέρων δέονται τῶν μυσταγωγηθέντων.

^z Augustin. Hom. xlii. tom. x. p. 195. (p. 526. D, edit. Basil. 1569.)

This they did not always commit to writing, but kept it, as St. Jerome^a words it, “in tables of the heart,” and delivered it by word of mouth, that it might not come to the knowledge of the uninitiated and unbelievers. Which is the reason that Sozomen^b gives, why he did not insert the words of the Nicene Creed into his history, because probably many uninitiated persons might read his book, who ought not to read or hear the Creed. They were as careful not to communicate to new beginners the profound mysteries of the Trinity and Incarnation, till they had first prepared them by proper preceding instructions for the reception of them. Therefore, as St. Jerome observes^c, “it was the custom of the Church to put off this part of the instruction of catechumens to the last, and not acquaint them with these doctrines till about forty days before they were baptized; though the catechetical instruction had continued, perhaps, for two or three years before.”

This was the whole of that discipline we read so much of among the ancients, of concealing the sacred mysteries from the catechumens. Among all which we have never the least intimation given, that the practice of image worship, or the adoration of saints and angels, or the doctrine of seven sacraments, were the mysteries they intended to conceal from them. For, in those days, there were no such mysteries in the Christian Church: and, therefore, the late invention of Schelstrate is a mere fiction and sophism, to cover the nakedness of the present Roman Church. And the pretence of Bona^d,

^a Hieron. Epist. lxi. ad Pammach. c. ix. (Bened. vol. iv. pt. ii. p. 323.) *In symbolo fidei et spei nostræ, quod ab apostolis traditum, non scribitur in charta et atramento, sed in tabulis cordis carnalibus, etc.*

^b Sozom. lib. i. c. xx. (Aug. T. p. 36. C 11.) *Ἰνα δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸν ἐξῆς χρόνον βέβαιον καὶ ὁῦλον τοῖς ἐσομένοις ὑπάρχῃ τὸ σύμβολον τῆς τότε συναρυσίας πίστεως, ἀναγκαῖον ᾤθηεν εἰς ἀπόδειξιν τῆς ἀληθείας, αὐτὴν τὴν περὶ τούτων γραφὴν παραθέσθαι εὐσεβῶν δὲ καὶ φίλων καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπιστημόνων, οἷα δὲ μύσταις καὶ μυσταγωγοῖς μόνοις δέοντα λέγειν καὶ ἀκούειν ὑφηγουμένων, ἐπήνεσα τὴν βουλήν· οὐ γὰρ ἀπεικὸς καὶ τῶν ἀμνητῶν τινὰς τῇδε τῇ βίβλῳ ἐντυχεῖν ὥς ἐνὶ δὲ τῶν ἀπορρήτων ἃ χρῆσιωπᾶν ἀποκρυψάμενον ὥς μὴ πάμπαν ἀγνοεῖν τὰ δόξαντα τῇ συνόδῳ.*

^c Hieron. Epist. lxi. ad Pammach. c. iv. (Bened. 1706. vol. iv. pt. ii. p. 313.) *Consuetudo apud nos istiusmodi est, ut his, qui baptizandi sunt, per quadraginta dies publice tradamus sanctam et adorandam Trinitatem.*

^d Bona, *Rer. Liturgiæ*, lib. i. c. xvi. n. ii. (Antwerp. 1677. p. 393.) *Ex hac*

concerning the prohibition of images in churches, made by the Council of Eliberis, that it was only to conceal the secrets of religion from the knowledge of the heathen, is an absurd supposition, which neither Albaspinæus nor Petavius could digest : as I have showed more fully in another place^e, where I speak of the ornaments of the ancient churches.

SECT. X.—*Reasons for concealing these Things from the Catechumens. First, That the Plainness and Simplicity of them might not be contemned.*

As to those things which they really concealed from the catechumens, the true reasons were, first, that the plainness and simplicity of the Christian rites might not be contemned by them, or give any occasion of scandal or offence to them, before they were thoroughly instructed about the nature of the mysteries. For both Jews and Gentiles, out of whom Christian converts were made catechumens, were apt to deride the nakedness and simplicity of the Christian religion, as void of those pompous ceremonies and sacrifices, with which those other religions abounded. The Christian religion prescribed but one washing in water, and one oblation of bread and wine, instead of that multitude of bloody sacrifices, which the other religions commanded. Therefore, lest the plainness of these few ceremonies should offend the prejudiced minds of cate-

disciplina emanasse puto canonem xxxvii. Concilii Illiberitani, quem Baronius supposititium suspicatur : alii vero multum se torquent, ut congruam ejus atque orthodoxam interpretationem inveniant. Verba canonis hæc sunt : ‘ Placuit picturas in ecclesia esse non debere, ne quod colitur et adoratur, in parietibus depingatur.’ Quibus verbis frustra abutuntur sectarii, ut hujus Concilii auctoritate sacrarum imaginum usum et cultum convellant. Alia enim fuit illorum patrum mens, quæ ex more illius sæculi, sollicite caventis, ‘ ne religionis arcana infidelibus proderentur,’ æstimanda est. Vetuerunt ergo, ‘ ne id quod colitur et adoratur, in parietibus pingeretur ;’ id vero quod pingendum non erat, obscure explicarunt illis verbis, ‘ quod colitur et adoratur,’ ut soli fideles intelligerent, eo canone prohiberi imagines Dei et Christi Salvatoris, ne a gentilibus irruentibus sæpe in ecclesias contumelia adficerentur, et irriderentur Christiani, ac si hominem colerent tamquam Deum : neve catechumeni Deum, quem incircumscrip- tum, immensum, et materiæ expertem prædicari audiebant, humana figura pictum videntes, aliquid alienum ab ejus majestate conciperent.

^e Book viii. chap. viii. sect. vi.

chumens, before they were well instructed about them, the Christian teachers usually adorned these mysteries with great and magnificent titles, such as would convey noble ideas to the minds of men concerning their spiritual effects, but concealing their other names, lest the simplicity of the things should offend them. When they speak of the eucharist, they never mentioned bread and wine, but “the sacrifice of the body and blood of Christ;” and styled baptism, “illumination and life, the sacrament of faith, and the remission of sins;” saying little, in the meantime, of the outward element of water. This was one plain reason why they denied catechumens the sight of their sacraments, and always spake in mystical terms before them. “We shut the doors,” says Chrysostom^f, “when we celebrate our mysteries, and keep off all uninitiated persons from them; not because we acknowledge any imperfection in the things themselves, but because many are weakly affected toward them.” And so St. Cyril^g, in the place mentioned above, “We speak not openly of our mysteries before the catechumens, but say many things mystically and obscurely; that they who know them, may understand us; and they who know them not, may receive no harm.” In like manner, the Synod of Alexandria^h, charging the Meletians for publishing the mystery of the eucharist before the catechumens, and, what was worse, before the heathens, contrary to those rules of Scripture, “It is good to conceal the secrets of a king;” and, “Give not that which is holy unto dogs, neither cast ye your pearls before swine;”—they add, “that it is not lawful to bring mysteries upon the open stage before the uninitiated, lest the heathen, through their ignorance, should deride them; or the catechumens, by their curiosity, should be offended.” Therefore there was an ancient rule in the Church, that “if

^f Chrysostom. Hom. xxiii. in Matth. (Bened. vol. vii. p. 288. C 7.) Τὰ μυστήρια διὰ τοῦτο τὰς θύρας κλείσαντες ἐπιτελοῦμεν, καὶ τοὺς ἀμυήτους εἴργομεν· οὐκ ἐπειδὴ ἀσθένειαν κατέγνωμεν τῶν τελουμένων, ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴ ἀτελέστερον οἱ πολλοὶ πρὸς αὐτὰ ἔτι διάκεινται.

^g Cyril. Catech. vi. n. xvi. See page 385, note (n).

^h Apud Athan. Apol. ii. (Colon. 1686. vol. i. p. 731.) (p. 133. B, edit. Paris. 1698.) Οὐ χρή τὰ μυστήρια ἀμυήτοις τραγωδεῖν, ἵνα μὴ Ἕλληνες μὲν ἀγνοοῦντες γελῶσι, κατηχούμενοι δὲ περίεργοι γενόμενοι, σκανδαλίζονται.

any uninitiated person had, by any mistake, been admitted to partake of the eucharist, he should be immediately instructed and baptized, that he might not go forth a contemner or despiser," as the author of the Apostolical Constitutionsⁱ words it. And the fourth Council of Toledo gives a like reason^k, "why such Jews as had been baptized by force, should continue in the Christian profession, lest the name of God should be blasphemed; and the faith which they had received should be reputed vile and contemptible," though they made a severe decree against obliging any Jews to be baptized by force or compulsion for the future.

SECT. XI.—*Secondly, To conciliate a Reverence for them.*

Another reason assigned for this discipline of silence, was to conciliate a reverence in the minds of men for the mysteries which they kept so concealed from them: for, as St. Basil observes^l, "the veneration of mysteries is preserved by silence: and as things that are trite and obvious are easily contemned; so those that are uncommon and reserved are naturally adapted to beget in men an esteem and veneration;" and, therefore, he thinks, the apostles and fathers of the Church, who made laws about these matters, prescribed secrecy and silence to preserve the dignity of the mysteries. St. Austin^m gives the same reason for this practice when he says, "It was the honour that was due to the mysteries, which made him pass them over in silence, and not explain them."

ⁱ Constitut. Apostol. lib. vii. c. xxv. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 428.) Εἴ τις κατὰ ἄγνοιαν μεταλάβοι, τοῦτον τάχιον στοιχειώσαντες μνήσατε, ὥπως μὴ καταφρονητῆς ἐξέλθοι.

^k Conc. Tolet. IV. c. lvii. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 1719.) De Judæis hoc præcepit sancta synodus, nemini deinceps ad credendum vim inferre. . . . Qui autem jam pridem ad Christianitatem venire coacti sunt, . . . oportet ut fidem etiam, quam vi vel necessitate susceperunt, tenere cogantur, ne nomen divinum blasphemetur, et fides quam susceperunt, vilis ac contemtibilis habeatur.

^l Basil. de Spirit. Sanct. c. xxvii. (Bened. fol. vol. iii. p. 55. D 6.) Καλῶς ἐκεῖνο δεδιδαγμένοι, τῶν μυστηρίων τὰ σεμνὰ σιωπῇ διασώζεσθαι.

^m Aug. Serm. i. inter xl. edit. a Sirmondo, tom. x. Non mirari debetis, fratres carissimi, quod inter ipsa mysteria de mysteriis nihil diximus, quod non statim ea quæ tradidimus, interpretati sumus. Adhibuimus enim tam sanctis rebus atque divinis honorem silentii.

SECT. XII.—*Thirdly, To make the Catechumens more desirous to know them.*

St. Austin adds to this a third reason, which is, that the mysteries of baptism and the eucharist were, therefore, chiefly concealed from the catechumens, to excite their curiosity, and inflame their zeal, and make them more earnest and solicitous in hastening to partake of them, that they might come to an experimental knowledge of them. “Though the sacraments,” says he, “are not disclosed”ⁿ to the catechumens, it is not always because they cannot bear them; but that they may so much the more ardently desire them, by how much they are the more honourably hidden from them.” And again: “The Jews acknowledge not the priesthood^o according to the order of Melchisedeck. I speak to the faithful. If the catechumens understand it not, let them cast away their slowness, and hasten to the knowledge of it. They that do not yet eat of this^p banquet, let them hasten upon invitation. The feast of Easter is at hand. Give in your name to baptism. If the festival does not excite you, let curiosity draw you, that you may know that which is said, ‘He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him.’”

These were the reasons which engaged the ancients to conceal their mysteries from the catechumens, which, we plainly see, have no relation to such doctrines as that of transubstantiation, or the number of seven sacraments, or such superstitious practices as the worship of images, or saints and

ⁿ Ibid. Tract. xcvi. in Joan. (Bened. vol. iii. pt. ii. p. 735. B.) Si non [catechumenis] fidelium sacramenta produntur, non ideo fit quod ea ferre non possunt, sed ut ab eis tanto ardentius concupiscantur, quanto eis honorabilius occultantur.

^o Aug. Hom. in Psalm. cix. (Bened. vol. iv. p. 1241. D.) Judæi non agnoscunt sacerdotium secundum ordinem Melchisedeck. Fidelibus loquor. Si quid non intelligunt Catechumeni, auferant pigritiam, festinent ad notitiam.

^p Id. de Verbis Domini, Hom. xlvi. (Bened. vol. v. p. 645. F 6.) Qui nondum manducant, ad tales epulas invitati festinent. Ecce pascha est: da nomen ad baptismum. Si non te excitat festivitas, ducat ipsa curiositas, ut scias, quid dictum sit, ‘Qui manducat carnem meam, et bibit sanguinem meum, manet in me, et ego in eo.’

angels; which are mere novelties, and the modern inventions of the Romish Church.

I have now gone through all things relating to the discipline of the catechumens in their preparation for baptism. We are next to take a view of baptism itself; and inquire into the manner how the Church administered it, and what rites and customs were observed in the celebration of it.

BOOK XI.

OF THE RITES AND CUSTOMS OBSERVED IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF BAPTISM IN THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE SEVERAL NAMES AND APPELLATIONS OF BAPTISM IN THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH.

SECT. I.—*The Names of Baptism most commonly taken from the spiritual Effects of it.*

THERE are a great many questions relating to the doctrine of baptism, which I intend not to make any part of the subject of this book, because they may be found in any didactical and polemical writers upon this head, and especially in Vossius's elaborate discourse *de Baptismo*; where he accurately canvasses all questions of this nature, and learnedly determines them from the doctrine of the ancients. Here the reader may find a satisfactory account of all questions relating to the mystical signification and spiritual effects of baptism; such as are,—
1. Regeneration. 2. Adoption. 3. Reception into the covenant of grace. In which also is contained remission of sins, renovation of the spirit, and eternal life; which are the noble effects conferred on all those who rightly receive it. Here, also, he determines the questions, How comes it to pass, that though sins are forgiven in baptism, yet concupiscence, the fuel or incentive of sin, remains still in the regenerate? And whence it is, that, after baptism, we are still afflicted with diseases, and that as well infants as adult persons? How it comes to pass, that the magistrate has power to punish those sins which are committed before baptism, even after they are purged away and forgiven in baptism? With many other

questions of the like nature, which are not necessary to come into this discourse. I shall also omit the question about the indelible character of baptism, which is pretended to be impressed upon the soul, and the questions about the administrator of baptism, and lay baptism, and heretical baptism, because I have lately considered these distinctly and fully in a first and second part of the Scholastical History of Lay Baptism. What remains, therefore, to be considered in this place, is only such other matters in the practice of the ancient Church, relating to the administration of baptism, as have not yet been spoken to. And here, first of all, it will be proper to say something of the ancient names of baptism; some of which were taken from the internal and spiritual effects of it; others, from the nature and substance of the action; others, from the conditions required in the receivers; others, from the external circumstances and rites observed in the administration.

SECT. II.—*Hence Baptism called Indulgentia, ‘Indulgence,’ or ‘Absolution.’*

From one of its noble effects it was sometimes styled *indulgentia*, ‘indulgence,’ or ‘absolution and remission of sins.’ Thus, in the African Council, under Cyprian^a, Privatianus à Suffetula terms it the ‘divine indulgence.’ And in the Roman Council, mentioned by Cotelierius^b, it is said, “that at the Easter-festival, remission of sins [meaning baptism] may be administered by either presbyter or deacon, in the presence of the bishop, in the parish churches.” But foras-much as absolution, or remission of sins, may not always necessarily accompany baptism, through some default in the

^a Conc. Carth. ap. Cyprian. n. xix. (Oxon. 1682. p. 234.) (p. 161, edit. Fell. Amstelod. 1700.) Qui hæreticos potestatem baptizandi habere dicit, dicat prius, quis hæresin condiderit. Si enim hæresis a Deo est, habere et ‘indulgentiam divinam potest.’ Si vero a Deo non est, quomodo gratiam Dei habere aut conferre alicui potest?

^b Conc. Roman. can. vii. Cotelier. (vol. i. p. 282.) Not. in Constitut. Apostol. lib. iii. c. ix. Paschæ tempore, presbyter et diaconus per parochias dare remissionem peccatorum [hoc est, baptismum] et ministerium implere consueverunt, etiam præsentem episcopo.

administrator or the receiver, though the baptism be otherwise a true baptism; therefore St. Austin, in disputing with the Donatists, chooses to call it^c the ‘sacrament of grace,’ and the ‘sacrament of absolution,’ rather than ‘grace’ or ‘absolution’ itself; because wicked men may receive the sacrament of baptism, but they cannot receive the grace of baptism, which is ‘absolution,’ or ‘remission of sins:’ for God grants that to none but those that turn to him with a sincere faith and true repentance. Whenever, therefore, the ancients call baptism by the name of ‘absolution,’ or ‘indulgence,’ they are to be understood with this limitation, that it is so only to those who are worthy receivers of it. And, hence, we may observe, that the true ancient proper notion of an absolution or indulgence, is God’s pardoning sin by the ministerial application of his sacraments, which are the seals of his covenant, granting remission of sins; whence baptism, entering men into that covenant of grace, was dignified with the name of ‘the sacrament of absolution’ and ‘indulgence.’

SECT. III.—*And Παλιγγενεσία, ‘Regeneration,’ and Χρίσμα, ‘the Unction.’*

Another noble effect of baptism was Regeneration, or a new birth from the death of sin to the life of righteousness; for every Christian was supposed to be born again by the waters of baptism, according to that of Tertullian^d: “We, fishes, are born in water, conformable to the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, ἰχθύς:” which, as I have observed^e in another place, was an acrostic, or technical name, made up of the initial letters of our Saviour’s several titles in Greek, Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, Θεοῦ Υἱός, Σωτήρ, which, put together, make up the name ἸΧΘΥΣ, which signifies a *fish*; and is alluded to not only by

^c Aug. de Bapt. lib. v. c. xxi, (Bened. vol. ix. p. 155. G.) Sacramentum gratiæ dat Deus etiam per malos; ipsam vero gratiam non nisi per se ipsum vel per sanctos suos. . . . Baptismus vero, quod est sacramentum remissionis peccatorum, quia nulli dubium est habere etiam homicidas posse, etc.

^d Tertull. de Bapt. c. i. (Oberthür, vol. ii. p. 40.) Nos, pisciculi, secundum ἰχθὺν nostrum Jesum Christum, in aqua nascimur.

^e Book i. chap. ii. sect. ii.

Tertullian, but by Prosper^f and Optatus^g. Hence baptism had the name of *παλιγγενεσία ψυχῆς*^h, in Cyril's Catechism, 'the regeneration of the soul;' and *ὑδὼρ ζωῆς*, 'the water of life,' in Justin Martyrⁱ; and *fons divinus* in Cassiodore^k, 'the divine fountain,' whence comes our English name *font*, with many other titles of the same importance. And because this new birth was wrought by the power and influence of the Spirit, therefore it was called the 'spiritual birth,' whereby those that were born carnally to the world before, were now born spiritually to God. And so as Optatus words it^l, "God was hereby made Father of men, and the holy Church their mother:" for, till men were baptized, they were not perfect members of Christ's body, the Church, nor properly adopted into God's family, and consequently had as yet no right to call God their Father, or the Church their mother. And because the Divine operations of the Holy Spirit in sanctifying grace are sometimes, in Scripture, called the 'unction,' or 'anointing of the Spirit,' therefore baptism had also the name of 'chrism,' or 'unction,' from this noble effect attending it.

^f Prosp. de Prædict. et Promissis, part. iii. c. xxxix. (Bassani, vol. ii. p. 116.) Qui tributum pro se et pro Petro, et cæcato lumen reddidit Paulo, satians ex se ipso in littore discipulos, et toti se offerens mundo *ἰχθύον*. Namque Latine piscem sacris litteris, majores nostri hoc interpretati sunt, ex Sibyllinis versibus colligentes, quod est 'Jesus Christus, Filius Dei, Salvator,' piscis in sua Passione decoctus, cujus ex interioribus remediis quotidie illuminamur et pasчимur.

^g Optat. lib. iii. p. 62. (p. 61.) Hic est 'piscis,' qui in baptismo per invocationem fontalibus undis inseritur, ut quæ aqua fuerat, a pisce etiam 'piscina' vocitetur. Cujus piscis nomen, secundum appellationem Græcam, in uno nomine per singulas litteras, turbam sanctorum nominum continet *ἰχθύς*, quod est Latine 'Jesus Christus, Filius Dei, Salvator.'

^h Cyril. Catech. Præfat. n. x. (Paris. 1640. p. viii. B 3.) Μέγα τὸ προκείμενον βάπτισμα· αἰχμαλώτοις λύτρον· ἁμαρτημάτων ἄφεσις· θάνατος ἁμαρτίας· παλιγγενεσία ψυχῆς, κ. τ. λ.

ⁱ Justin. Dialog. (Bened. p. 114. C 4.) Διὰ τοῦ λουτροῦ τῆς μετανοίας καὶ τῆς γνώσεως τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὃ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀνομίας τῶν λαῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ γέγονεν, ὡς Ἡσαίας βοᾷ, ἡμεῖς ἐπιστεύσαμεν, καὶ γνωρίζομεν ὅτι τοῦτ' ἐκεῖνο, ὃ προηγόρευε τὸ βάπτισμα, τὸ μόνον καθαρίσαι τοὺς μετανοήσαντας δυνάμενον, τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ ὑδὼρ τῆς ζωῆς.

^k Cassiodor. in Cantic. c. vii.

^l Optat. lib. ii. (p. 38, Paris. 1703.) Dum Trinitas cum fide concordat, qui natus fuerat sæculo, renascitur spiritaliter Deo. Sic fit hominum pater Deus, sancta sic fit mater ecclesia.

Gregory Nazianzen takes notice of this among many other titles of honour: "We call it," says he, "the Gift^m, and Grace, and Baptism, and Unction, and Illumination, and Garment of Immortality, and Laver of Regeneration, and Seal or Character, and whatever else is precious or honourable." And, in explaining these terms, he particularly notes, that it had the name of 'unction,' because it was a sacred and a royal thing, as those things usually were, that were anointed: whence every man was, in some sense, made a king and a priest to God by Christ in his baptism. Upon which account St. Jeromeⁿ styles baptism *sacerdotium laici*, 'the layman's priesthood,' in contradistinction to the 'clerical priesthood,' which was only conferred by ordination.

SECT. IV.—*And Φωτισμός, 'Illumination.'*

Another effect of baptism was the enlightening men's understandings with Divine knowledge. Hence baptism had the name of *φωτισμός*, 'illumination,' as it frequently occurs in Chrysostom^o, Nazianzen^p, Dionysius the Areopagite^q, the Council of Laodicea^r, and many others. The reason of which name seems to be partly from the preceding instruction of the catechumens in their preparation for baptism, according

^m Naz. Orat. xl. de Bapt. 1630. (vol. i. p. 638. D 6.) Δῶρον καλοῦμεν, χάρισμα, βάπτισμα, χρίσμα, φῶτισμα, ἀφθαρσίας ἔνδυμα, λουτρὸν παλιγγενεσίας, σφραγίδα, πᾶν ὅτι τίμιον.

ⁿ Hieronym. Dialog. advers. Lucifer. c. ii. (Bened. vol. iv. pt. ii. p. 290.) Deponat sacerdotium laici, id est, baptismum. Scriptum est enim, 'Regnum quoque nos et sacerdotes Deo et Patri suo fecit.' Et iterum, 'Gentem sanctam, regale sacerdotium.'

^o Chrysostom. Hom. xiii. in Hebr. (vol. xii. p. 135. D 4.) Πολλοὺς οἶδα τοῦτο παθόντας ἐγὼ, οἱ προσδοκίᾳ μὲν τοῦ φωτίσματος πολλὰ ἡμάρτανον· πρὸς τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς τελευτῆς ἀπῆλθον κενοί· ὁ γὰρ Θεὸς διὰ τοῦτο τὸ βάπτισμα ἔδωκεν, ἵνα λύσῃ τὰς ἀμαρτίας, οὐχ ἵνα ἀυξήσῃ.

^p Naz. Orat. xl. de Bapt. p. 638. Vid. sub lit. antec. (m).

^q Dionys. Hierarch. Eccles. c. iii. (Venet. vol. i. p. 187.) Τὴν ἱερὰν τῆς θεογενεσίας τελετὴν, ἐπειδὴ πρώτου φωτὸς μεταδίδωσι καὶ πασῶν ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ τῶν θείων φωταγωγιῶν, ἐκ τοῦ τελουμένου τὴν ἀληθῆ τοῦ φωτίσματος ἐπωνυμίαν ὑμνοῦμεν.

^r Conc. Laodic. c. xlvii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1505.) "Ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς ἐν νόσῳ παραλαμβάνοντας τὸ φῶτισμα, καὶ εἴτα ἀναστάντας, ἐκμανθάνειν τὴν πίστιν, καὶ γινώσκειν, ὅτι θείας δωρεᾶς κατηξιώθησαν.

to that of Justin Martyr^s, “ This laver is called ‘ illumination,’ because the minds of those who learn these things, are enlightened.” Then, again, because it was the entrance on an enlightened state, and the introduction to divine knowledge, which grew, by degrees, to greater perfection. For Justin’s words may be understood of the knowledge consequent to baptism. And so the reason is given by Clemens Alexandrinus^t, and the author under the name of Dionysius^u, because it confers the first light, and is the introduction to all other divine illuminating mysteries: therefore, from the effect, it was dignified with the name of ‘ illumination.’ Perhaps, it might be so called in regard also that the baptized were now admitted to all the mysterious parts and recondite knowledge of religion, which, by the discipline of the Church, were kept secret from them, whilst they were catechumens. And, perhaps, some regard might be had to the plentiful effusion of the Spirit in the gift of tongues, knowledge, and prophecy; which, in the apostolical age, was immediately conferred at baptism, by the imposition of the hands of the apostles.

SECT. V.—*And Salus, ‘ Salvation.’*

Another effect of baptism was eternal salvation, as it was the ordinary means, not of obtaining remission of sins, but of bringing men, by the grace and blood of Christ, to the glory of the kingdom of heaven. Whence, as St. Austin^x observes, it was very common among the Punic or African Christians to call baptism by the name of *salus*, ‘ salvation,’ as they did the sacrament of the body of Christ by the name of ‘ life;’ because these two sacraments were reputed necessary

^s Justin. Apol. i. (Bened. p. 80. C 3.) Καλεῖται δὲ τοῦτο τὸ λουτρὸν φωτισμὸς, ὡς φωτιζομένων τὴν διάνοιαν τῶν ταῦτα μανθανόντων.

^t Clem. Alex. Prædagog. lib. i. c. vi. (Oberthür, vol. iv. p. 232.) Καλεῖται δὲ πολλαχῶς τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο χάρισμα, καὶ φῶτισμα, καὶ τέλειον, καὶ λουτρὸν. . . . φῶτισμα δὲ, δι’ οὗ τὸ ἅγιον ἐκεῖνο φῶς τὸ σωτήριον ἐποπτεύεται, τοῦτο ἐστὶν δι’ οὗ τὸ θεῖον ὁξυωποῦμεν.

^u Dionys. Eccles. Hierarch. c. iii. p. 283. Vid. sub lit. (q).

^x August. de Pecc. Merit. lib. i. c. xxiv. (Bened. vol. x. p. 19.) Optime Punicī Christiani baptismum nihil aliud quam salutem, ipsum et sacramentum corporis Christi nihil aliud quam vitam, vocant.

to the obtaining of salvation, or eternal life. And, upon this account, Gregory Nazianzen, introducing a person pleading for liberty to delay his baptism, makes him speak after this manner: “ I stay only for my father, or mother, or brother, or wife, or children, or friends, or some near relations, and then I will be saved”—τηνικαῦτα σωθήσομαι^γ: the meaning of which must needs be, that then he would be baptized, in order to obtain salvation. Such honourable titles and appellations did the ancients give to this sacrament of baptism, taken from the noble effects which it was supposed to confer on all those who were worthy partakers of it.

SECT. VI.—*From the Nature and Substance of it, it was called* *Mysterium, Sacramentum, and Σφραγίς.*

Next, from the nature and substance of it, it had the names of *mysterium*, *sacramentum*, and *σφραγίς*. The two first of which are so common, and so well known to every reader, that I need not here spend time to explain them. Only, I shall note, that the terms, ‘mystery’ and ‘sacrament’ are sometimes taken in a larger sense, to signify any sacred ceremony, or any part of religion that had any thing of spiritual or mystical signification in it; of which there will be a more proper place to discourse, when we come to treat of confirmation. The name *σφραγίς*, and *signaculum*, ‘the seal of the Lord,’ is a little more uncommon, as applied to baptism; and, therefore, has occasioned some errors among learned men, who often mistake it either for the sign of the cross, or the consignation and unction that was used in confirmation. Thus, in that famous discourse of Clemens Alexandrinus, entitled, *Quis Dives Salvetur*, part of which is recorded in Eusebius^z, and the whole published by Combefis^a, it is said, that the bishop, to whose

^γ Nazianz. Orat. xl. de Bapt. p. 655. B 7. Ἀπελθὼν ἐπανάηκε, καὶ αὐριον βαπτισθήσομαι· παρέστω μοι μήτηρ, παρέστω μοι πατήρ, ἀδελφοί, γυνή, τέκνα, φίλοι, πᾶν ὅ,τι μοι τίμιον, καὶ τηνικαῦτα σωθήσομαι.

^z Euseb. lib. iii. c. xxiii. Vid. sub seq. lit. (a).

^a Combefis. Auctar. Noviss. p. 185. B. Ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἀναλαβὼν οἴκαδε τὸν παραδοθέντα νεανίσκον, ἔγρεφε, συνεῖχεν, ἔθαλπε, τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον ἐφώτισε· καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ὑψήκε τῆς πλείονος ἐπιμελείας καὶ παραφυλακῆς, ὥς τὸ τέλειον αὐτῷ φυλακτήριον ἐπιστήσας, τὴν σφραγίδα τοῦ Κυρίου.

care St. John had committed a certain young convert, first instructed or catechised him, and then gave him the perfect phylactery, or preservative, against sin, namely, 'the seal of the Lord,' τὴν σφραγίδα τοῦ Κυρίου. Now, by 'the seal of the Lord,' Christopherson, and Bellarmine, and others from him, understand confirmation. Mr. Seller^b, and some others, will have it to be the sign of the cross; but Valesius^c and Daillé^d more truly expound it of baptism; which was called 'the seal of the Lord,' because, in the very nature of it, there is con-

^b Seller, Life of Justin Mart. p. 102.

^c Vales. Not. in Euseb. lib. iii. c. xxiii. (Aug. T. p. 100.) Veteres Christiani baptismum vocabant σφραγίδα, ut præter ceteros docet Gregorius Nazianzenus. Causam cur baptismum vocarent σφραγίδα, idem Gregorius subjungit, quod scilicet baptismus sit conservatio, et nota dominii. Male ergo Christophersonus hunc Eusebii locum de sacramento confirmationis interpretatus est, etc.

^d Dallæus de Confirmat. lib. ii. c. i. (Genev. 1659. p. 110.) 'Aperte (inquit Bellarminus) loquitur Clemens de sacramento Confirmationis.' Fateor, inquam, si verum, ac vere a Domino institutum, Confirmationis sacramentum intelligis; baptismum nimirum, quod verbo ἐφώτισε Græcis in ea re familiari, expressit: sin de tuo chrismate capis (ut certe capis) nihil de ea Clemens; nedum ut aperte de eo loquutus sit. 'At (inquit) id, de quo loquitur, et quo velut perfecta custodia munitum adolescentem narrat, id τὴν σφραγίδα τοῦ Κυρίου, 'Domini sigillum,' vel 'signaculum' vocat.' Fateor; sed eo nomine Christi baptismum, quem ab adolescente susceptum dixerat, intelligi aio; tuam chrismationem, de qua verbum nullum fecerat, intelligi nego. Nimirum bonus ille presbyter, adolescente semel tincto atque initiato, putavit, non esse posthac sibi diligentius in eo custodiendo laborandum; quod in hoc sanctissimo, quo Domino Christo consecratus, et ab eo consignatus erat, mysterio satis ipsi præsidii ad omnem hostium vim amoliendam datum esse existimaret. Sic intellexit Ruffinus; 'Post hæc (inquit) velut confidens gratiæ, qua fuerat communitus, paullo indulgentius juvenem habere cœpit.' Cuinam gratiæ confidebat? 'Qua (inquit) fuerat communitus.' Fuisse autem communitum non chrismate (quod heic nullum apparet) sed baptismo dixerat. Quin immo ut id significaret Ruffinus, non baptismum, sed baptismi gratiam dixerat; 'Ad ultimum (inquit) baptismi gratiam tradit;' ut quod addit continenter, 'Post hæc jam velut confidens gratiæ,' non de alia, quam de baptismi gratia, possit intelligi. Et sane baptismus Domini σφραγίς, 'sigillum,' vel 'signaculum' multo rectius, quam chrisma dicitur. Illum enim a Domino institutum ad oves suas obsignandas patet ex omnibus evangeliiis; de hoc nihil tale uspiam legitur. Baptismo vero signaculi sive sigilli nomen convenire, et Paulus satis docet, et vetus ecclesia loquitur. Paulus quidem, qui cum circumcisionem, qua Mosaicæ legi vetus initiabatur populus, σφραγίδα τῆς δικαιοσύνης τῆς πίστεως, 'signaculum justitiæ fidei' vocat; quanto magis id nominis dandum putaverit baptismo; quo dominico evangelio initiatur novus populus? Ecclesia vetus, hanc Pauli auctoritatem et nomenclaturam sequuta, baptismum signaculum vocat, etc.

tained a covenant made between God and man ; and baptism being the seal of this covenant, it was, with the greatest propriety of speech, styled ‘ the seal of the Lord.’ In this sense, the ancient author of the Acts of Paul and Thecla uses the name *σφραγίς* for ‘ baptism.’ “ Give me,” says Thecla to St. Paul, “ the seal of Christ^e, and no temptation shall touch me.” And Hermas Pastor, in like manner, speaking of some that were baptized and gone to heaven, uses the same dialect : “ They that are now dead, were sealed^f with the seal of the Son of God, and are entered into the kingdom of God. For before a man receives the name of the Son of God, he is consigned over to death ; but when he receives that seal, he is freed from death, and consigned over to life. Now, that seal is water ; into which men descend bound over to death, but rise out of it marked out, or sealed unto life. This seal, therefore, was preached unto them, and they made use of it, that they might enter into the kingdom of God.” In all this passage there is no express mention made of baptism, but it is called the ‘ seal and name of Christ ;’ because it sets the mark and name of Christians on us, and distinguishes us from Jews and Gentiles ; and shows that we belong to the dominion and possession of Christ. Hence Tertullian frequently calls it *signaculum fidei*^g, ‘ the signature of our faith ;’ and says, “ We are distinguished from Jews by this signature^h in our bodies, because their signature was circumcision, but ours baptism.” In like manner, Gregory Nazianzen, accounting for the reason of this name, says, “ It was called the ‘ seal of

^e Acta Theclæ, ap. Grab. Spicileg. (tom. i. p. 106.) Δός μοι τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ σφραγίδα, καὶ οὐχ ὑψεται μου πειρασμός.

^f Herm. Past. lib. iii. Simil. ix. n. xvi. (Coteler. vol. i. p. 117.) Illi defuncti sigillo Filii Dei signati sunt, et intraverunt in regnum Dei. Antequam enim accipiat homo nomen Filii Dei, morti destinatus est : at ubi accipit illud sigillum, liberatur a morte, et traditur vitæ. Illud autem sigillum aqua est, in quam descendunt homines morti obligati ; adscendunt vero vitæ adsignati. Et illis igitur prædicatum est illud sigillum, et usi sunt eo, ut intrarent in regnum Dei.

^g Tertul. de Spectac. c. iv. (p. 12.) Ad principalem auctoritatem convertar, ipsius signaculi [nostri] nomen.—It. c. xxiv. (p. 28.) Hoc erit pompa diaboli, adversus quam in signaculo fidei ejeramus.

^h Tertul. Apol. c. xxi. (Oberthür, vol. i. p. 93.) Neque de ipso signaculo corporis, neque de consortio nominis, cum Judæis agimus.

the Lord,' because it was an indication to whose dominionⁱ we belong; and because it was the consignation of us to eternal life." In which respect, Constantine, at the hour of death, desiring the benefit of baptism from the bishops that were about him, is said by Eusebius^k to ask it in these words, "Now is the time for me to enjoy the 'seal of immortality;' now is the time for me to obtain the 'seal of salvation.'" Whence it was also called the 'seal of the Spirit,' because every worthy receiver was supposed, together with the outward element, to receive the earnest of the Spirit in baptism; according to that of St. Chrysostom: "As a mark is set upon^l soldiers, so the Spirit is put upon true believers; and as the Jews had circumcision for their character, so we have the earnest of the Spirit." And this distinction between the internal and external seal of baptism was necessary to be made; because many men received the external seal of baptism, or the outward form of it, who, by their own default, could not receive the internal seal of the Spirit. Thus the author of the Apostolical Constitutions^m observes, "that even Simon Magus himself received the seal of the Lord," meaning the outward form of baptism; but neither he nor any other author ever said that he received the internal seal, or grace of the Holy Spirit. In like manner, Optatusⁿ tells the Donatists, "that both they and the Catholics were sealed with one and

ⁱ Naz. Orat. xl. de Bapt. p. 639. (1630. vol. i. p. 639. A 3.) Σφραγίδα δὲ ὡς συντήρησιν καὶ τῆς δεσποτείας σημείωσιν.

^k Euseb. de Vita Const. lib. iv. c. lxii. (Aug. T. p. 599.) Ὡρα καὶ ἡμᾶς ἀπολαῦσαι τῆς ἀθανατοποιουῦ σφραγίδος ὥρα τοῦ Σωτηρίου σφραγίσματος μετασχεῖν.

^l Chrysost. Hom. iii. in 2 Cor. (Bened. vol. x. p. 454.) Καθάπερ στρατιώταις σφραγίς, οὕτω καὶ τοῖς πιστοῖς τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐπιτίθεται καὶ λειποτακτῆσης, κατάδηλος γίνῃ πᾶσιν· Ἰουδαῖοι μὲν γὰρ εἶχον σφραγίδα τὴν περιτομήν, ἡμεῖς τὲ τὸν ἀρραβῶνα τοῦ Πνεύματος.

^m Constit. Apost. lib. ii. c. xiv. Σίμων ὁ μάγος τὴν ἐν Κυρίῳ σφραγίδα ἔλαβε. — Aug. de Bapt. lib. vi. c. xii. (Bened. vol. ix. p. 168. F 9.) Aliud est, Omnis qui intrabit in regnum cælorum, prius renascitur ex aqua et Spiritu: quia nisi renatus fuerit ex aqua et Spiritu, non intrabit in regnum cælorum; quod Dominus dixit et verum est: aliud autem, Omnis qui nascitur ex aqua et Spiritu, intrabit in regnum cælorum: quod utique falsum est. Nam et Simon ille Magus natus erat ex aqua et Spiritu, et tamen non intravit in regnum cælorum.

ⁿ Optat. lib. iii. (Paris. 1702. p. 66.) Pares credimus et uno sigillo signati sumus: nec aliter baptizati quam vos.

the same seal ;” which he explains to be the outward form of baptism, in which they both agreed, and were both alike baptized. But both Optatus and St. Austin, and all other ancient writers are agreed, that heretical and schismatical baptism, such as was that of the Donatists, could not confer the internal seal, or sanctifying graces of the Holy Spirit ; because these were only conferred by the ministry of the holy Catholic Church ; of which I have given a more ample account in another place^o.” So that, in this respect, it was always thought necessary to distinguish between the internal and external seal of baptism ; because, though they are commonly joined together, as in all true believers, yet they are sometimes separated, as in such hypocritical or unworthy receivers as Simon Magus, and others of the like complexion.

SECT. VII.—*And Character Dominicus, ‘the Mark, or Character, of the Lord.’*

St. Austin commonly uses the name *character regius*, and *character Dominicus*, ‘the royal mark, or character,’ and ‘the character of the Lord.’ By which he does not mean any internal quality, or spiritual power, distinct from baptism, imprinted on the soul, as the modern schoolmen now love to word it ; but only the external form of baptism, which is common to all receivers, both good and bad, who are duly baptized in the name of the Holy Trinity. They are so far signed by the mark or character of the Lord, as thereby to be distinguished from unbaptized Jews and Gentiles, who never made any formal profession of Christianity, nor ever received so much as the external character or indication of it. And this character is allowed by St. Austin to be so far indelible also, as that an apostatizing Christian, though he turn Jew or Pagan in profession, can never need a second baptism, but only repentance and absolution, to reinstate him in all the privileges of the Christian Church : of which, because I have spoken largely in a former book, I need say no more in this place^p.

^o Scholast. Hist. of Lay Baptism, part i. chap. i. sect. xxi.

^p Ibid. part ii. chap. vi.

SECT. VIII.—*Why called the Sacrament of Faith and Repentance.*

Another sort of names given to baptism, were taken from the conditions required of all those that received it, which were the profession of a true faith and a sincere repentance. Upon which account, baptism is sometimes called ‘the sacrament of faith,’ and ‘the sacrament of repentance.’ St. Austin uses this name to explain how^a children may be said to have faith, though they are not capable of making any formal profession by themselves. As the sacrament of the body of Christ is in some sort the body of Christ; and the sacrament of the blood of Christ is the blood of Christ; so the sacrament of faith is faith. And, upon this account, when the answer is made, “that an infant believes, who has not yet the habit of faith,” the meaning is, that he has faith, because of the sacrament of faith; and that he turns to God because of the sacrament of conversion. Fulgentius uses the same terms in speaking of the necessity of baptism: “Firmly believe, and doubt not^r, that, excepting such as are baptized in their own blood, for the name of Christ, no man shall have eternal life, who is not here first turned from his sins by repentance and faith; and set at liberty by the sacrament of faith and repentance; that is, by baptism.” Whence, we may observe, what the ancients mean, when they speak of penance and absolution, or remission of sins, as a sacrament. For they themselves explain their own meaning to be baptism, which is a sacrament requiring repentance as a condition, and granting absolution as an effect and privilege to all worthy receivers.

^a Aug. Epist. xxiii. ad Bonifac. (Bened. vol. ii. p. 267. C.) Sicut, secundum quemdam modum, sacramentum corporis Christi corpus Christi est, et sacramentum sanguinis Christi sanguis Christi est, ita sacramentum fidei fides est. Ac per hoc, quum respondetur parvulus credere, qui fidei nondum habet adfectum, respondetur fidem habere propter fidei sacramentum, et convertere se ad Deum propter conversionis sacramentum, etc.

^r Fulgent. de Fide ad Petrum, c. xxx. (Bibl. Max. Patr. vol. ix. p. 82.) Firmissime tene, et nullatenus dubites, exceptis illis, qui pro nomine Christi suo sanguine baptizantur, nullum hominem accepturum vitam æternam, qui non hic a malis suis fuerit per pœnitentiam fidemque conversus, et per sacramentum fidei et pœnitentiæ, id est, per baptismum liberatus.

SECT. IX.—*The Notation of the Names, Baptism, Tinction, Laver, &c. That they do not universally denote Immersion.*

Lastly, from the ceremonies used in the act of administration it took the peculiar names of ‘baptism,’ ‘tinction,’ and ‘laver of regeneration;’ which properly denote either an immersion in water, or such a washing or sprinkling as was used among the Jews in some cases, and among Christians when they had occasion to baptize sick persons upon a death-bed; for then baptism was administered by sprinkling only, and not by dipping, or immersion; as we shall see, when we come to speak more particularly of clinic baptism. So that it must be noted, that baptism, in the ancient style of the Church, does not absolutely and necessarily import dipping, or immersion, though that was the more usual ceremony, practised, heretofore, as well upon infants as adult persons; but an exception was made for the time of sickness, and such other cases of necessity as could not admit of a total immersion. In which cases, the substance of baptism was still supposed to be preserved, though some minuter circumstances were less regarded.

SECT. X.—*Of some other names given to Baptism.*

Besides these names, which were taken from things that more immediately related to the administration of baptism, there were some others alluding to circumcision, and others respecting the great author and institutor of it, our Saviour Christ; and others taken from the more remote and distant effects of it, which, because we shall have no further occasion to speak of them, it will not be improper just to mention in this place. Because baptism succeeds in the room of circumcision, and is the seal of the Christian covenant, as that was the seal of the covenant made with Abraham; therefore, it is, by way of analogy, sometimes styled ‘the great circumcision.’ As when Epiphanius, comparing them both together, says, “The carnal circumcision^s served for a time, till

^s Epiphan. Hæres. viii. al. xxviii. Cerinth. n. iv. (Colon. vol. ii. p. 112.) Διήρηκεσε δὲ ἡ περιτομή χρόνῳ ὑπηρετήσασα, ἕως ἡ μείζων περιτομή παρεγένετο,

the great circumcision came, that is, baptism; which circumcises us from our sins, and seals us in the name of God." So, in regard that baptism had Christ for its author, and not man, it was anciently known by the name of δῶρον, and χάρισμα Κυρίου, 'the gift of the Lord.' As in the ancient acts of Paul and Thecla, when Thecla desired the seal of the Lord, Paul bids her wait with patience, and she shall receive δωρεὰν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, 'the gift of Christ,' which, as the learned editor observes^t, is but another way of denoting baptism. Sometimes it was simply called δῶρον, without any other addition, by way of eminence, because it was both a gratuitous and a singular gift of Christ. "We call it the gift," says Gregory Nazianzen^u, "because it is given to those who offer nothing for it." And St. Basil, δέον ἐπιτρέχειν τῷ δώρῳ, "We ought to run to the gift^x," meaning baptism. And Casaubon has also further observed^y, that because the Spirit was likewise given in baptism, therefore the Holy Ghost had sometimes the name of *Munus*, 'the Gift.' And the eucharist, also, or the sacramental oblation of the body and blood of Christ, both before and after consecration, commonly went by this name, δῶρα and μυστικὰ δῶρα: of which there are various instances collected out of the ancient rituals by that learned writer, which are not proper to be inserted in this place. Baptism had also the name of ἐφόδιον, or *viaticum*, as well as the eucharist, which denotes, properly, 'the preparation of all things necessary for a journey.' In which respect, both the sacraments were called *viatica*, because they were equally

τουτέστι τὸ λουτρὸν τῆς παλιγγενεσίας. — Justin. Mart. Dial. cum Tryph. (Bened. p. 139. A 6.) Ἡμεῖς, οἱ διὰ τούτου (Χριστοῦ) προσχωρήσαντες τῷ Θεῷ, οὐ ταύτην τὴν κατὰ σάρκα παρελάβομεν περιτομήν, ἀλλὰ πνευματικὴν, ἣν Ἐνώχ καὶ οἱ ὅμοιοι ἐφύλαξαν· ἡμεῖς δὲ, διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος αὐτήν, ἐπειδὴν ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἐγεγόνημεν, διὰ τὸ ἔλεος τὸ παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐλάβομεν.

^t Grab. Spicileg. Patr. tom. i. p. 106. Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Παῦλος τῇ Θέκλᾳ· Μακροθύμησον, καὶ λήψῃ τὴν δωρεὰν τοῦ Χριστοῦ. — Ibid. in h. l. p. 333. Hac voce sacramentum baptismi denotatur.

^u Nazianz. Orat. xl. p. 638. D. Δῶρον καλοῦμεν, ὥς καὶ μηδὲν προσενεγκοῦσι διδόμενον.

^x Basil. Hom. xiii. de Bapt. p. 411. E.

^y Casaubon. Exercitat. xvi. in Baron. n. li. p. 508. Quin etiam ipse Spiritus Sanctus, unicus tanti mysterii effector, appellatur donum et munus κυρίως.

esteemed men's necessary provision and proper armour; both to sustain and conduct them safe on their way in their passage through this world to eternal life. St. Basil, exhorting men of all ages and conditions to receive baptism, makes his address to them in these words^z,—"Art thou a young man? then secure thy youth by the bridle of baptism. Art thou past the flower of thy age? then beware thou lose not thy *viaticum*, thy 'phylactery,' which should keep and preserve thee in thy way to eternal life." In allusion to which name, Gregory Nazianzen^a, speaking of the minister's act in baptizing, terms it, ἐφοδιάζειν, 'giving to men their *viaticum*,' or 'provision for their journey,' to another world. In reference to its making men complete members of Christ's body, the Church, it had the name of τελείωσις and τελετή, 'the consecration and consummation;' because it gave men the perfection of Christians, and a right to partake of the τὸ τέλειον, which was 'the eucharist,' or the 'Lord's supper.' It had the name of μύησις and μυσταγωγία, 'the initiation,' because it was the admittance of men to all the sacred rites and mysteries of the Christian religion. And as the eucharist, from its representing the death of Christ, by the outward elements of bread and wine, was called the 'sacred symbols,' so baptism sometimes had the same name, as we find in Isidore of Pelusium, and the author of the dispute with Arius, in the Council of Nice, under the name of Athanasius. "Though the priest be an ill liver^b," says Isidore, "the person initiated receives no harm by the symbols of salvation, but only the priest himself." And the other^c thus argues for the divinity

^z Basil. Hom. xiii. de Bapt. (Bened. fol. vol. ii. p. 117. C 3.) Νέος εἶ; ἀσφάλισαι τὴν νεότητα τῷ τοῦ βαπτίσματος χαλινῷ· παρέδραμεν ἢ ἀκμή; μὴ ζημιωθῇς τὰ ἐφόδια, μὴ ἀπολέσῃς τὸ φυλακτήριον.

^a Nazianz. Orat. xl. (1630. vol. i. p. 644. B 10.) "Ἐως οὐ μάχη βαπτιστοῦ καὶ χρηματιστοῦ, τοῦ μὲν ὅπως ἐφοδιάσῃ φιλονεικοῦντος, τοῦ δὲ ὅπως γραφῇ κληρονόμος.

^b Isidor. Pelus. lib. ii. ep. xxxvii. (Paris. 1638. p. 137. C 7.) 'Ο τελούμενος οὐδὲν παραβλάπτεται εἰς τὰ σωτηριώδη σύμβολα, εἰ ὁ ἱερεὺς μὴ εὖ βιοῦς εἴη, ἀλλὰ αὐτὸς πάντως (χρὴ γὰρ διαβεβαιώσασθαι) ἀπολαύσει τῶν θείων ἐκείνων καὶ λόγου κρειττόνων εὐεργεσιῶν.

^c Athanas. Disput. cont. Arium in Cone. Nic. (Colon. 1686. vol. i. p. 141. C 9.) (tom. ii. p. 225. C.) Εἰ οὖν οὐκ ἔστι τῆς τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ

of the Holy Ghost : “ If the Holy Spirit be not of the substance of the Father and the Son, why then did the Son of God join him together with them in the symbol of sanctification, when he said to his disciples, ‘ Go, teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost ? ’ ” In both which places, it is plain, the symbols of sanctification and salvation can mean no other than baptism. And hence it appears that the same honourable titles were given to the waters of baptism, as to the elements of bread and wine in the Lord’s supper ; and whatever change was supposed to be wrought in the one by the invocation of the Holy Spirit, was equally ascribed to the other also, and as noble effects derived from the font as the Lord’s table ; whilst the death of Christ was equally represented, and the benefits of it alike communicated to all worthy receivers in baptism and the Lord’s supper. For which reason, I have been a little the more curious in examining and explaining the several titles of honour which the ancients gave to baptism ; that, under these eminent characters, we might see what apprehensions and ideas the Church of Christ always had of this venerable mystery, which some now, by way of contempt, call ‘ water-baptism,’ as if the Spirit had no concern in it ; whose doctrines may easily be perceived not to proceed from the general sense of the ancient Catholic Church, but from particular sects and heresies broken off from it : of which it will not be amiss to give a short account in the following chapter.

οὐσίας τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, τίνος ἕνεκεν συνηρίθμησεν αὐτὸ ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν τῷ συμβόλῳ τοῦ ἁγιασμοῦ ; φησὶ γὰρ ὁ Κύριος πρὸς τοὺς μαθητάς, Πορευθέντες, μαθητεύσατε, κ. τ. λ.

CHAPTER II.

OF THE MATTER OF BAPTISM, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF SUCH HERETICS AS REJECTED OR CORRUPTED BAPTISM BY WATER.

SECT. I.—*Baptism wholly rejected by the Heretics called Ascodrutæ, and Marcosians, and Valentinians, and Quintillians.*

THOUGH the Church always maintained an honourable opinion of baptism, as a divine and heavenly institution, yet there wanted not sects and heresies, who, in the earliest ages, spake very diminutively and contemptibly of it, and either in whole or in part, upon various reasons, rejected or corrupted it. The Ascodrutæ, who were a sort of Gnostics, placed all religion in knowledge; and, under pretence of spiritual worship, would admit of no external or corporeal symbols whatsoever. They asserted, as Theodoret^a describes them, “that divine mysteries, being the images of invisible things, were not to be performed by visible things, nor incorporeal things by sensible and corporeal things: therefore, they never baptized any that were of their sect, nor celebrated any part of the mystery of baptism among them; for they said, The knowledge of all things was their redemption.” Irenæus^b and Epiphanius observe the same thing to be practised, upon the same principle of spiritual redemption by knowledge alone, among some of those who were called Marcosian heretics; whilst others of them, who retained a sort of baptism, invented strange forms of their own to corrupt it, of which I shall give an account in the following chapter, sect. viii. Irenæus^c gives a like account

^a Theodoret. Hæret. Fabul. lib. i. c. x. (Sirmond. 8vo. vol. iv. p. 302.) Οὗτοι δὲ φασι, μὴ χρῆναι τὰ θεῖα μυστήρια, ἀοράτων ὄντα σύμβολα, δι’ ὁρωμένων ἐπιτελεῖσθαι πραγμάτων, καὶ τὰ ἀσώματα δι’ αἰσθητῶν καὶ σωματικῶν . . . διὰ τοῦτο, οὔτε βαπτίζουσι τοὺς προσίοντας, οὐδὲ ἐπιτελεῖται παρ’ αὐτοῖς τοῦ βαπτίσματος τὸ μυστήριον· λύτρωσιν γὰρ καλοῦσι, τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἐπίγνωσιν.

^b Iren. lib. i. c. xviii. n. i. ii. tot. pp. 88. 91.

^c Ibid. lib. iii. c. ii.

of the Valentinians, some of whom wholly rejected baptism, and others corrupted it with strange forms of their own inventing; as the Marcosians did, who seem to have been branches of the same heresy, under different leaders. Tertullian^d brings a like charge against one Quintilla, a woman-preacher, at Carthage, a little before his time, who set up to decry water-baptism as useless, pleading, that "faith alone was sufficient to save men, as it did Abraham, who pleased God without any other sacrament but the sacrament of faith." Against this heresy, Tertullian wrote his Book of Baptism, to establish the necessity of it from our Saviour's institution, and to answer the little sophisms, whereby the libertines of this new sect pretended to destroy it.

SECT. II.—*And by the Archontici.*

The Archontici rejected baptism for another reason, as Epiphanius^e and Theodoret^f inform us. They had entertained a very monstrous and blasphemous opinion, that the world was not created by the Supreme God of all things, but by certain powers, whom they called ἀρχοντες, 'rulers;' whence they themselves had the denomination of 'Archontici.' These rulers, seven or eight in number, they imagined to be in so many several orbs of the heavens, one above another, with orders of angels and ministries under them; and to the chief of these they gave the name of 'Sabaoth.' Now, they also pretended, that baptism was only administered in the name of 'Sabaoth,' and not in the name of the Supreme God; and, therefore, they rejected both it and the eucharist as foreign institutions, given by Sabaoth, the god of the Jews, and the giver of the law, whom they blasphemously distinguished from the Supreme God.

^d Tertul. de Bapt. c. i. (Oberth. vol. ii. p. 40.) Nuper conversata istic quædam de Caiana hæresi vipera venenatissima doctrina sua plerosque rapuit, in primis baptismum destruens, etc.—It. c. xiii. (p. 51.) Adeo dicunt, baptismus non est necessarius, quibus fides satis est: nam et Abraham nullius aquæ nisi fidei sacramento Deo placuit.

^e Epiphan. Hæres. xi. de Archonticis, n. ii. tot.

^f Theod. Hæret. Fabul. lib. i. c. xi. tot.

SECT. III.—*And by the Seleucians and Hermians.*

The Seleucians and Hermians refused the use of baptism by water, as St. Austin^g describes them; and the ground of their refusal was a pretence, that baptism by water was not the baptism instituted by Christ, because St. John Baptist, comparing his own baptism with the baptism of Christ, says, “I baptize you with water, but he that cometh after me, shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire^h.” They thought the souls of men consisted of fire and spirit, and therefore a baptism by fire was more suitable to their nature; but what kind of baptism that was, none of the ancients have told us, unless, perhaps, we may conjecture from what Clemens Alexandrinusⁱ tells us out of Heracleon, of some who, when they had baptized men in water, also made a mark upon their ears with fire: so joining water baptism, and, as they imagined, baptism by fire, together; though this was far enough from the fiery baptism St. John speaks of, which some of the ancients understand of the ordinary operations of the Spirit, which consumes our sins; and others, of that extraordinary effusion of the Spirit, in the form of fiery tongues, upon the apostles at the day of Pentecost; and others, of the fire of the last judgment: a particular account of which interpretations the reader that is curious may find in Suicerus upon this^k subject. I only note further, out of the anonymous writer about Heretical Baptism published by Rigaltius and Bishop Fell, at the end of St. Cyprian, that there were a sort of heretics who pretended that baptism by water alone was of itself imperfect, because St. John had said, ‘We were to be

^g Aug. de Hæres. c. lix. (Bened. vol. viii. p. 20. D 7.) Seleuciani et Hermiani baptismum in aqua non recipiunt.

^h Philastr. de Hæres. n. viii. (Bibl. Patr. vol. vii. p. 489.) Seleucus et Hermius hæretici, animas hominum de igne et spiritu esse existimantes, isto baptismo non utuntur, propter verbum hoc, quod dixit Joannes Baptista, Ipse vos baptizabit in Spiritu et igne.

ⁱ Clem. Alexandr. Electa ex Scriptur. ap. Combefis. Auctar. Noviss. part. i. p. 202. *Ενιοι δὲ, ὡς φησιν Ἡρακλέων, περὶ τὰ ὦτα τῶν σφραγιζομένων κατεσημύναντο. — Irenæus (lib. i. c. xxiv.) (Venet. 1734. vol. i. p. 104) has something like this, of the Carpocratians:—Alii ex ipsis signant, cauteriantes suos discipulos in posterioribus partibus exstantiæ dextræ auris.

^k Suicer. Thes. Eccles. tom. i. pp. 629, 630.

baptized with the Holy Ghost and with fire.' Therefore they boasted¹, that theirs was the only complete and perfect baptism, and all others curtailed, and given only by halves; because, when they went down into the water to baptize, either by some curious art in philosophy, like that of Anaxilaus, or by some magical art, they made fire to appear upon the surface of the water, and this they called 'baptism by fire;' which they confirmed from an apocryphal writing of their own inventing, called 'The Preaching of Peter or Paul,' wherein it was said, that when Christ was baptized, fire so appeared upon the water. The censure which this author passes upon this kind of baptism, is, that it is adulterate, pernicious, and wholly evacuating the true baptism of Christ.

SECT. IV.—*And by the Manichees and Paulicians.*

Another sect which rejected water-baptism, were the Manichees who, among many other prodigious errors, maintained, that baptizing in water was of no efficacy to salvation, and therefore they despised it, and never baptized^m any that entered into their society; as St. Austin, and the author of the *Prædestinatus*ⁿ, published by Sirmondus, inform us. But whether they admitted any other kind of baptism, or upon what ground they rejected this, we are not told: only we may, probably, conjecture, that it was upon that general vile princi-

¹ Anonym. de Baptismo Hæreticor. ad calcem Cypriani. (Oxon. 1682. p. 30.) (p. 27. B, edit. Amstelod. 1700.) Tentant nonnulli iterum, tractare se solos integrum atque perfectum, non sicuti nos, mutilatum et decurtatum, baptismum tradere. Quod taliter dicantur adsignare, ut quam mox in aquam descenderunt statim super aquam ignis appareat. Quod si aliquo lusu perpetrari potest, sicut adfirmantur plerique hujusmodi lusus Anaxilai esse, sive naturale quid est, quo pacto possit hoc contingere, sive illi putant hoc se conspiciere, sive maligni opus et magicum virus ignem potest in aqua exprimere; illi tamen fallaciam et stropham prædicant perfectum baptismum esse, quod fideles homines, si coacti fuerunt accipere, utique non dubitabitur eos id quod habuerant, amisisse.

^m Aug. de Hæres. c. xlvi. (Bened. vol. viii. p. 17. C.) Baptismum in aqua nihil cuiquam perhibent salutis adferre: nec quemquam eorum quos decipiunt, baptizandum putant.

ⁿ Prædestinatorum Hæres. c. xlvi. apud Sirmond. p. 486, edit. Paris. 1696. Baptismum in aqua nihil cuiquam perhibent salutis adferre: nec quemquam eorum, quos decipiunt, baptizandos putant.

ple of theirs, that material things were the work of an evil god, and therefore to be abhorred as polluted and profane. One branch of this heresy were afterwards called Paulicians, from one Paulus and Johannes, the first founders of it. Euthymius, out of Photius, gives a large account of them, where he tells us ^o, that though they really rejected and despised baptism, yet they pretended to receive it; but that was only with a deceitful equivocation: for they maintained that the word of the gospel was baptism, because our Lord said, "I am the living water." The learned Vossius ^p is of opinion, that those words, *Ego sum aqua viva*, 'I am the living water,' was the form which these Paulicians used in baptism instead of the form of the Church; but he plainly mistakes Euthymius, who does not say that they used this as a form of words in their baptism: for they had no baptism at all, nor, consequently, any form of words for baptizing. But their opinion was, that believing in Christ, or the word or the truth of the gospel, was all the baptism that was required of men, and that because Christ had said, "I am the living water." Yet sometimes, as Euthymius relates in the same place ^q, they would bring their children to the presbyters of the Church, to be baptized after the Catholic way; because they had an opinion, that both baptism and the cross were of some advantage to the body for the cure of diseases, but of no other efficacy, benefit, or virtue, to purge the soul. And such an opinion possessed the minds of many others, who had no further regard for baptism, but only as it was of use to free the body of some distemper or uncleanness. St. Austin ^r put the question once or twice con-

^o Euthym. Panoplia, part. ii. tit. xxi. p. 48. Quum baptismum aspernentur, illum tamen se fingunt suscipere: nam evangelii verba baptismum existimant, quoniam Dominus, Ego sum, inquit, aqua viva.

^p Voss. de Bapt. Disput. i. thes. ii. p. 28. Præter istos (Seleucianos et Hermianos) etiam aquæ usum refugerunt Pauliciani: quippe qui in sacramentis aversarentur res materiales, solaque pronuntiatione verborum sacramentum perficerent. Quemadmodum nec verba dicebant, quæ ecclesia usurpat: sed ista, 'Ego sum aqua viva.'—Auctor Euthymius Panopliæ, part. ii. tit. xxi.

^q Euthym. Panoplia, part. ii. tit. xxi. p. 48. Liberos etiam suos, ab ecclesiæ presbyteris salutari baptismo volunt aliquando lustrari; existimant enim, crucem et baptismum corpori prodesse. Hanc tamen vim ad animæ purgationem pervenire non putant, nec ullam aliam adferre utilitatem.

^r Aug. Epist. xxiii. ad Bonifac. (Bened. vol. ii. p. 265. F 3.) Nec illud te

cerning some such persons, who desired to be baptized with no other view but this: and Matthew Blastares^s mentions a famous case of the Agarenes, who compelled the Christian clergy that were under their dominion, to baptize their children before they would circumcise them, because they conceived this would contribute toward the prevention of those distempers and noisomenesses, which are occasioned by circumcision. Upon this case, a question was made in the Council of Constantinople, under Lucas Chrysoberges, “Whether such persons, when they came over to the Christian faith, were to be rebaptized, or only anointed with chrism?” And it was resolved, that they ought, without controversy, to be rebaptized, since the baptism with which they were washed, was not received with any pious intent, but only as an amulet, or a charm. These instances make the account, which Euthymius gives of the Paulicians, seem very probable; that though they had no regard for baptism as a Christian sacrament, yet they might sometimes make use of it, as the Saracens did, as an enchantment, or a sort of magical spell: which appears to be the only use they ever made of it, and that not in their own assemblies (where they had no sacraments at all, neither baptism nor the eucharist), but fraudulently receiving it in the Church, at the hands of the Christian Catholic priests. The reader may observe, by the way, that these Paulicians were not the followers of Paulus Samosatensis, bishop of Antioch, who are commonly called Paulianists and Samosatenians

moveat, quod quidam non ea fide ad baptismum percipiendum parvulos ferunt, ut gratia spiritali ad vitam regenerentur æternam; sed quod eos putant hoc remedio temporalem retinere vel recipere sanitatem.

^s Blastar. Syntagm. Canon. lit. B. c. iii. ap. Bevereg. Pand. tom. ii. p. 42. D. Ἔθος ἐστὶ τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν τοῖς πλείστοις, μὴ πρότερον τὰ σφέτερα περιτέμνειν βρέφη, πρὶν ἂν οἱ ὑποτελεῖς ὄντες αὐτοῖς τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἱερεῖς, καὶ ἄκοντες ἀναγκασθῶσι βαπτίσαι· ἐζητήθη τοίνυν τὰ περὶ τούτου ἐν τῇ κατὰ τὴν βασιλεύουσαν συνόδῳ, Λουκᾷ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὸν πατριαρχικὸν ἰθύνοντος θρόνον, εἰ δεῖ τοὺς τοιούτους τῇ ἀληθινῇ τῶν Χριστιανῶν πίστει προσερχομένους, ἀναβαπτίζειν, ἢ μόνον χρίειν τῷ μύρῳ· καὶ ἐψηφίσθη, τούτους ἀναντιρρήτως αὐθις βαπτίζειν, ὥπερ γὰρ ἐλούσαντο βάπτισμα, οὐ κατὰ σκοπὸν εὐσεβῆ, ἀλλ’ ὥς φαρμακεία ἢ ἐπασιδία τινὶ τούτῳ ἐχρήσαντο· ἐφ’ ᾧ μὴ νοσώδης ἢ δυσώδης ἢ κρᾶσις τῶν σωμάτων τοῖς περιτμηθησομένοις γενήσεται. — Vid. Balsamon in Photii Nomocanon. tit. xiii. de Laicis, c. ii. et Baron. an. 1148, p. 358, tom. xii. It. an. 1145, p. 314.

(though Balsamon confounds them together) ; but they had their denomination from another Paulus Samosatensis, and one Johannes, who revived and enlarged the heresy of the Manichees, as appears plainly from Euthymius. And Justellus^t and Vossius^u have observed the same out of Cedrenus, Theophanes, Matthew Blastares, Nicephorus, and other modern Greeks, with which it would be needless in this place to trouble the reader.

SECT. V.—*What Opinion the Messalians or Euchites had of Baptism.*

Some add to the forementioned sects, who rejected baptism, the heresy of the Messalians or Euchites, who were called from the Greek word εὐχή, prayer, and Messalians, from the Syriac word *Metsalach*, which is much of the same signification, because they resolved all religion into prayer. But it does not appear that they wholly rejected the sacrament of baptism: for then the Church would have ordered them, upon their return, to have been baptized, as Jews or Pagans; which she never did, but only obliged them to anathematize their errors, in order to be admitted to communion; as may be collected from the decree of the General Council of Ephesus^x, made with relation to such of the clergy or laity as

^t Justell. Not. in can. xix. Codicis Eccles. Universæ, p. 74. B. post med. Fuit et alius Paulus Samosatenus, Manichæorum hæreseos instaurator, a quo Pauliciani, quos Balsamo perperam confundit cum Paulinianistis. Cedrenus recte, Παυλινιανοὶ καὶ Μανιχαῖοι μετωνομάσθησαν ἀντὶ Μανιχαίων Παυλικιανοὶ ἀπὸ Παύλου τινὸς Σαμοσατέως, υἱοῦ γυναικὸς Μανιχαίας, Καλλινίκης τοῦνομα. —Idem tradit Matthæus Blastares in Synopsi, ubi aperte Paulinianistas a Paulicianis distinguit.—Historia Miscella in Nicephoro, lib. xxiv. ‘Manichæorum vero, qui nunc Pauliciani dicuntur, amicus erat.’—Paulicianorum hæresim in Thracia propagatam fuisse sub Constantino Copronymo, Theophanes auctor est, eamque a Michaële imperatore damnatam testatur eadem Historia Miscella in ejus vita: ‘Divino sane zelo imperator piissimus motus contra Manichæos, qui nunc Pauliciani dicuntur, capitale animadversionem promulgavit.’ Sed et Montanistæ baptizari jubentur, c. cxii.

^u Voss. de Baptism. Disput. xx. p. 241. Ab hoc Paulo Samosateno Paulianistæ vocabantur: uti ab altero Paulo Samosateno Pauliciani, qui Manichæi erant: etsi Balsamo confundat. Sed diversos esse, constat ex Cedreno, Matthæo Blastare in Synopsi, Historia Miscella in Nicephoro et Michaële imperatore, etc.

^x Conc. Ephes. act. vii. (Labbe, vol. iii. p. 809. B 12.) Placuit . . . ut omnes,

returned from them. But their error was in denying the principal part of the spiritual efficacy of baptism; they said, indeed, "It granted remission of sins that were past, but added no strength or ability from the Spirit to withstand sin for the future." This we learn from Theodoret, who, comparing the doctrine of the Catholic Church and that of the Messalians upon this point together, delivers himself^y to this purpose:—"Baptism," says he, "is not like a razor only, as the Messalian enthusiasts call it, which takes away sins that are past, though it has this effect among many others; for if this were the only work of baptism, for what reason should we baptize infants, who have never yet tasted of sin? for the sacrament does not only promise this effect, but greater and more perfect things than that. It is the earnest of future good, the type of the resurrection to come hereafter, the communication of our Lord's passion, the participation of our Lord's resurrection, the garment of salvation, the clothing of joy, and the robe of light, or rather light itself." So that we must now allow Theodoret to be his own interpreter, when he seems to give a more harsh account of these Messalians in another place, describing them as men who taught that no manner^z of advantage accrued from divine baptism to those who received it; but that it was only fervent prayer that expelled the indwelling devil out of men's minds. For this

qui per universam provinciam hæretici Messaliani vel Enthusiastæ sunt; vel de ejus hæreseos morbo suspecti, sive clerici, sive laici sint, convenientur; et si quidem anathematizaverint, juxta ea quæ in prædicta synodo pronunciata sunt; si clerici fuerint, maneat clerici; si laici, ad communionem admittantur.

^y Theodoret. *Fabul. Hæretic. lib. v. c. xviii.* (Sirmond. 8vo. vol. iv. p. 441.) Οὐ γὰρ, ὡς οἱ φρενοβλαβεῖς Μεσσαλιανοὶ νομίζουσι, ξυρὸν μόνον μιμεῖται τὸ βάπτισμα, τὰς προγεγενημένας ἀφαιρούμενον ἀμαρτίας· τοῦτο γὰρ ἐκ περισσείας χαρίζεται· εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο μόνον ἔργον ἦν τοῦ βαπτίσματος, ἀνθ' ὅτου τὰ βρέφη βαπτίζομεν, οὐδέπω τῆς ἀμαρτίας γευσάμενα; οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῦτο μόνον ἐπαγγέλλεται τὸ μυστήριον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων μείζω, καὶ τελειώτερα· ἀρράβων γὰρ ἐστὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἀγαθῶν, καὶ τῆς ἐσομένης ἀναστάσεως τύπος, καὶ κοινωνία τῶν δεσποτικῶν παθημάτων, καὶ μετουσία τῆς δεσποτικῆς ἀναστάσεως, καὶ ἱμάτιον σωτηρίου, καὶ χιτῶν εὐφροσύνης, καὶ στολὴ φωτοειδής, μᾶλλον δὲ αὐτὸ φῶς.

^z Theodoret. *Hæret. Fab. lib. iv. c. xi.* (Sirmond. 8vo. vol. iv. p. 366.) Μεσσαλιανοὶ . . . τὸ μὲν βάπτισμα φασὶ, μηδὲν ὄνειν τοὺς προσιόντας . . . ἢ δὲ ἐνδελεχῆς προσευχῇ, καὶ τὴν ῥίζαν τῆς ἀμαρτίας πρόρριζον ἀνασπᾶ, καὶ τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς συγκληρωθέντα πονηρὸν δαίμονα τῆς ψυχῆς ἐξελαύνει.

is to be understood with the forementioned exception, "that they allowed baptism so far to be useful, as to wash away all former sins, but not to grant any further perfection." And so Harmenopulus^a represents their doctrine as teaching, "that neither baptism nor participation of the eucharist could give a man the perfection of a Christian, but only such prayer as they pretended to." In like manner, Euthymius^b describes them as maintaining, that baptism did not eradicate sin. They did not deny that it purged away former sins; but they would not allow any efficacy of the Spirit to be joined with it, to resist or overcome sin for the future. Against which doctrine Euthymius thus argues: "Our Lord Jesus Christ said, 'Except a man be born of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.' Now the Holy Ghost is a divine fire; for he descended in the form of fiery tongues upon the disciples: and the forerunner of Christ spake of this to the multitude, when he testified of the excellency of Christ, 'He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire.' As, therefore, material fire, when it catches a wood, burns all things upon the surface of the earth, dries up the roots, and

^a Harmenop. de Sectis, c. xviii. Bibl. Patr. Gr.-Lat. tom. i. p. 536. Οἱ Μα-
σαλιανοὶ, τὰ τῶν Μανιχαίων νοσοῦντες, προσεξεῦρον καὶ ἄλλ' ἅττα μιαιώ-
τερα· τὸν γὰρ νοῦν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπὸ τῶν δαιμόνων κατέχεσθαι λέγουσι·
τὴν ἀνθρωπίαν φύσιν, τῶν δαιμόνων εἶναι κοινωνικὴν· τὸ βάπτισμα, μὴ
τελειοῦν τὸν ἄνθρωπον, μηδὲ τὴν μετάληψιν· ἀλλὰ μόνην τὴν παρ' αὐτοῖς
εὐχὴν.

^b Euthym. Panopl. part. ii. tit. xxii. p. 55. (Bibl. Max. Patr. vol. xix. p. 218.
B 16.) Negant divinum baptismum posse radices evellere peccatorum. Sed
Dominus noster Jesus Christus ait: 'Nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et Spiritu
Sancto, non intrabit in regnum Dei.' Itaque quum ignis divinus sit Spiritus
Sanctus, nam et in specie ignearum linguarum super discipulos descendit, de
quo et præcursor dicebat turbis, Christi testificans excellentiam, 'Ille vos bap-
tizabit in Spiritu Sancto et igne,' quemadmodum ignis sensibus expositus, si sil-
vam corripit, omnia comburit, quæ sunt super faciem terræ, et radices exsiccet,
et locum a sordibus expurgat, sic et Spiritus Sanctus, ac multo etiam magis.
Ignis enim est, consumens nequitiam eorum qui baptizantur. Has enim arbi-
tror ab istis radices peccatorum existimari. Quod si et aqua purgat omnino
corpora hominum, quis dubitet, quin Spiritus Sanctus multo magis, sine ulla
comparatione, cicatrices, et maculas, et sordes animarum, expurget ac deleat?
Neque solum expurget et deleat, verum etiam illustret; nec illustret modo, sed
munera largiatur, ut docent apostoli, imprimisque Paulus in distributionibus
gratiarum Spiritus Sancti, quibus afficiuntur illi qui baptizantur.

purges the place from filth, so the Holy Spirit does, and much more. For it is a fire, consuming the iniquity of those who are baptized. And it not only purges and obliterates the spots, and scars, and filth of the soul, but also illuminates and endows it with many gifts; as the apostles, and especially St. Paul, teach us, where they speak of the distribution of the graces of the Holy Spirit, which are conferred on those who are baptized." From this account of the Messalians, it appears that they were neither Anabaptists nor Quakers. They neither rejected the baptism of adult persons nor infants. For the true state of the controversy between them and the Church, was not about the use of the outward element of water in baptism, but about the internal and spiritual effects of it; which the Messalians confined to remission of sins, but the Church extended to many other noble benefits, which were the gifts and graces of the Holy Spirit. Upon which account, the Church never rebaptized the Messalians, that we read of, as she did the Manichees and such other heretics, who rejected the use of water, which was the outward element which Christ had appointed. If this was either neglected, or any other element used instead of it, the baptism was esteemed not only irregular, but null; as wanting one necessary and essential part, which could not be supplied but by a new baptism. And, therefore, when a certain Jew had been baptized in sand, for want of water in the wilderness, Dionysius, bishop of Ascalon, ordered him to be rebaptized; as Johannes Moschus^c tells the story. And this was done, not because he was baptized by a layman in extreme necessity, but, as Archbishop Whitgift^d, after the Centuriators^e, has observed, because the baptism

^c Mosch. Prat. Spirit. c. clxxvi. (tom. ii. Bibl. Patr. Gr.-Lat. pp. 1132, 1133.)

^d Whitgift's Defence, tract. ix. p. 519.

^e Centuriat. Magdeb. centur. ii. c. vi. p. 82. Quum Judæus quispiam, eo tempore, quo Romæ imperium Marcus Aurelius Antoninus tenuit, in arido forte et deserto loco cum Christianis iter faceret, et psalmos una cum iis caneret; evenit, ut morbo repentino et gravi Judæus eo in itinere corriperetur: adeo ut de salute sua, cum ipse, tum hi, quorum comes erat, desperarent. Multis igitur precibus sollicitat ille Christianos, ne se ita in extremis constitutum relinquerent; sed sacrum lavacrum sibi conferrent. Illi vero cum hoc ei se facere posse negarent, quia et sacerdote et aqua destituerentur, sine quibus baptismus fieri non posset; magis Judæus et impensius obsecrare, et adjuratione eos, ne hoc

wanted water. Such was the Church's opinion of the necessity of water-baptism, that where it might be had, she never thought fit to dispense with the neglect or contempt of it. And, therefore, she urged the necessity of it against those ancient heretics who despised it, even whilst she judged favourably of such catechumens as died without baptism, not through contempt, but unavoidable necessity : of which I have given a particular account in the last Book, chap. ii. sect. xx. &c.

Indeed, there is one exception against this in some collections of the canon law. For there we have a decree under the name of Pope Siricius^f, which says, "That if an infant is baptized in wine, instead of water, in case of necessity, it is no crime, and the baptism shall stand good." But, as Antonius Augustinus and Baluzius have observed, this was no decree of Siricius, but of Stephen the Second, about the middle of the eighth century. So that it cannot be pleaded as a competent authority to show what was the ancient practice of the Church. Antonius Augustinus is very positive that the Primitive Church had never any such custom. And it seems pretty evident, from that saying of St. Ambrose^g, "That if we take away water, the sacrament of baptism cannot stand." But, among the moderns, Beza^h, and the schoolmen, Franciscus Tolet and

sibi negarent, adigere. Ad quod illi, detractis homini vestibibus, arena eum pro aqua ter conspersere ; addentes, 'Baptizare se eum in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti.' Quam rem continuo miraculum consecutum est : ut nimirum is, qui, propter affectionem gravem et periculosam, pedibus pridem insistere non posset, nunc restitutus reliquum, quod superesset itineris, firmus et validus cum illis conficeret. Quum igitur ad locum suum rediissent, episcopus Alexandriae, ab illis consultus de sententia ecclesiae, respondit, Baptizatum esse Judæum, si modo aqua denuo perfunderetur.

^f Antonius Augustinus cites it out of a Spanish collection of canons, and Baluzius from one in France, under the name of Siricius : 'Presbyter qui in vino baptizat proxima necessitate, ut æger non periclitetur, pro tali re nulla ei culpa adscribatur. Si vero aqua aderat, et necessitas talis non urgebat, hic communionem privetur. Infans vero ille, si in sancta Trinitate baptizatus est, in eo baptismo permaneat.' Vid. Anton. August. de Emendat. Gratiani, p. 200, and Baluz. Not. in Anton. p. 431.

^g Ambros. de iis qui initiantur, c. iv.

^h Beza, Epist. ii. ad Thomam Tilium. (p. 196, vol. iii. Tractat. Theologic. Genevæ, 1582, fol.) Desit etiam aqua, et tamen baptismus alicujus differri cum

Gregory de Valentia, determine otherwise : against whose resolution I am not concerned to dispute, but only to declare what I take to have been the more current and received opinion of the primitive writers of the Church.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE ANCIENT FORM OF BAPTISM, AND OF SUCH HERETICS
AS ALTERED OR CORRUPTED IT.

SECT. I.—*The usual Form of Baptizing in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.*

NEXT to the matter of baptism, it will be proper to consider the form of words, in which it was anciently administered. And this was generally such a form of words as made express mention of every person of the blessed Trinity, according as our Saviour did at the first institution, when he commanded his disciples to baptize in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. This the ancient author of the *Recognitions*^a means, when he says, “Men were baptized under the appellation of the ‘triple Mystery.’” And, again^b, “By invoking the name of the blessed Trinity.” Tertullian^c refers this to the institution of Christ: “The law of baptizing was imposed, and the form prescribed, ‘Go, teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.’” In another place^d, he says, “Christ appointed

œdificatione non possit nec debeat, ego certe quovis alio liquore non minus rite quam aqua baptizarim.

^a Clem. Rom. *Recognit.* lib. vi. c. ix. (Coteler. vol. i. p. 551.) Est in aquis istis misericordiæ vis quædam ; quæ ex initio ferebatur super eas, et agnoscit eos, qui baptizantur ‘sub appellatione triplicis sacramenti,’ et eripit eos de suppliciis futuris ; quasi donum quoddam, offerens animas per baptismum consecratas.

^b Id. lib. iii. c. lxvii. Baptizabitur unusquisque vestrum in aquis perennibus, ‘nomine Trinæ beatitudinis invocato super se.’

^c Tertull. de Bapt. c. xiii. (Oberthür, vol. ii. p. 52.) Lex tingendi imposita est, et forma præscripta, ‘Ite,’ inquit, ‘docete nationes, tingentes eas in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti.’

^d Id. cont. Praxeam, c. xxvi.

baptism to be administered, not in the name of one, but three, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Therefore, we are dipped not once, but thrice, unto every Person, at the mention of each name." Cyprian derives this practice^e, likewise, from the institution, saying, "The Lord, after his resurrection, taught his disciples after what manner they should baptize, when he said, 'Go, teach all nations,' &c. where he delivered the doctrine of the Trinity, unto which mystery or sacrament the nations were to be baptized." And he argues further^f, against such heretics as baptized only in the name of Jesus Christ, from the same principle,—that Christ commanded the nations to be baptized, not into one person, but a complete and united Trinity. Hence, Optatus^g calls baptism "the laver which Christ commanded to be celebrated in the name of the Trinity, and that holy water which flowed from the fountain of those three names." And to mention no more authorities (which are innumerable), St. Austin^h observes, "that this was not only the general practice of the Catholic Church, but of most heresies also. For one might more easily find heretics that did not baptize at all, than such as retained baptism without using those evangelical words of which the Creed consists; and without which, baptism cannot be consecrated."

^e Cypr. Epist. lxxiii. ad Jubaian. (Oxon. 1682. p. 200.) (p. 307, edit. Fell. Amstelod.) Dominus, post resurrectionem, discipulos suos mittens, quemadmodum baptizare deberent, instituit et docuit, dicens: 'Data est mihi omnis potestas in cœlo et in terra. Ite, et docete gentes omnes, baptizantes eas in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti.' Insinuat Trinitatem, cujus sacramento baptizarentur.

^f Ibid. p. 206. (p. 311.) Quomodo quidam dicunt, foris extra ecclesiam immo et contra ecclesiam, modo in nomine Jesu Christi ubicumque et quomodocumque Gentilem baptizatum, remissionem peccatorum consequi posse: quando ipse Christus gentes baptizari jubeat in plena et adunata Trinitate.

^g Optat. lib. v. (Paris. 1702. p. 82.) Christi vox est, 'Qui semel lotus est, non habet iterum necessitatem lavandi, quia est mundus totus:' et de eo lavacro pronuntiavit, quod de Trinitate celebrandum esse mandaverat: non de Judæorum aut hæreticorum, qui dum lavant, sordidant; sed de aqua sancta, quæ de trium nominum fontibus inundat.

^h Aug. de Bapt. lib. vi. c. xxv. (Bened. vol. ix. p. 176. D 9.) Quis nesciat non esse baptismum Christi, si verba Evangelica quibus symbolum constat, illic defuerint? Sed facilius inveniuntur hæretici qui omnino non baptizent, quam qui non illis verbis baptizent.

SECT. II.—*This Form of Words generally thought necessary to be used in Baptism.*

And hence it appears that St. Austin, and those other writers, thought this precise form of words necessary to be used in the administration of baptism, by virtue of the original appointment and institution. And this may be further evidenced to have been the general sense of the ancients, some one or two only excepted. The Apostolical Canonsⁱ order every bishop and presbyter that shall presume to baptize any other way, than according to the command of the Lord, “in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,” to be deposed. And Athanasius^k speaks of such baptism as null; that is, any otherwise delivered. “He that takes away one person from the Trinity, and is baptized only in the name of the Father, or only in the name of the Son, or only in the name of the Father and Son, without the Spirit, receives nothing, but remains void and uninitiated. For in the Trinity alone, initiation is given.” He says, in another place^l, “That baptism, which is, as it were, the compendium of our whole faith, is not given in the name of the Word, but of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.” Didymus of Alexandria^m, treads in the steps of

ⁱ Canon. Apostol. c. xlix. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 36.) Εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος, ἢ πρεσβύτερος, κατὰ τὴν Κυρίου διάταξιν μὴ βαπτίσῃ εἰς Πατέρα, καὶ Υἱὸν, καὶ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα . . . καθαιρείσθω.

^k Athan. Epist. ad Serapion. (Colon. 1686. vol. i. p. 204. A 8.) (p. 678. C, edit. Paris. 1698.) Ὁ ὑφαιρούμενός τι τῆς Τριάδος, καὶ ἐν μόνῳ τῷ τοῦ Πατρὸς ὀνόματι βαπτίζομενος, ἢ ἐν μόνῳ τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Υἱοῦ, ἢ χωρὶς τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐν Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ, οὐδὲν λαμβάνει· ἀλλὰ κενὸς καὶ ἀτελής, αὐτός τε καὶ ὁ δοκῶν διδόναι διαμένει ἐν τῇ Τριάδι γὰρ ἡ τελείωσις ἐστίν.

^l Id. Orat. v. cont. Arian. p. 555. (Colon. 1686. vol. i. p. 355. C 3.) Τὸ ἅγιον βάπτισμα, ἐν ᾧ πάσης πίστεως ἡμῶν ἡ σύστασις ὁρμεῖ, οὐκ εἰς Λόγον, ἀλλ’ εἰς Πατέρα, καὶ Υἱὸν, καὶ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα δίδοται.

^m Didymus de Spirit. Sanct. lib. ii. (Bened. Vallars. 1735. vol. ii. p. 130.) Non arbitror quemquam tam vecordem atque insanum futurum, ut perfectum baptismum putet id quod datur in nomine Patris, et Filii, sine adsumptione Spiritus Sancti: aut rursus, in nomine Patris et Spiritus Sancti, Filii vocabulo prætermisso: aut certe in nomine Filii et Spiritus Sancti, non præposito vocabulo Patris. Licet enim quis posset esse saxeus, ut ita dicam, cordis, et penitus mentis alienæ, qui ita baptizare conetur, ut unum de præceptis nominibus prætermittat, videlicet contrarius legislator Christi; tamen sine perfectione baptizabit: immo penitus a peccatis liberare non poterit, quos a se baptizatos existimaverit.

Athanasius : “ I cannot suppose any one,” says he, “ so mad and void of understanding, as to think that to be perfect baptism, which is given in the name of the Father and Son, without the assumption of the Holy Spirit ; or in the name of the Father and Holy Ghost, omitting the name of the Son ; or in the name of the Son and Holy Ghost, without first mentioning the name of the Father. For though any man should be of such a stony heart, as I may say, or so much beside himself, as to leave out one of the appointed names in baptism, setting up himself a lawgiver in opposition to Christ, his baptism will be imperfect, and altogether insufficient to grant remission of sins to those whom he esteems baptized by him.” Idacius Clarusⁿ asserts the same, arguing thus against Varimadus, the Arian, for the divinity of the Holy Ghost : “ If the Holy Ghost be not equal to the Father and Son in the substance of the Deity, why then is that sacrament of baptism imperfect which is given without him ?” St. Basil^o, has a whole chapter to the same purpose. The very title of it is, “ Against those who asserted that it was sufficient to give baptism only in the name of the Lord.” And whereas they urged, that in several passages of Scripture baptism was said to be given only in the name of Christ, he answers, “ that in all those places, though the name of Christ was only mentioned, yet the whole Trinity was understood.” Which he confirms from the like expressions concerning the Holy Ghost (1 Cor. xii. 13), “ By one Spirit we are all baptized into one body ;” and (Acts i. 5), “ Ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost not many days hence :” where the apostles seem only to make mention of the Holy Ghost in baptism. “ But,” says he, “ no one may from hence conclude, that that baptism is perfect, wherein the Holy Ghost alone is named. For the tradition ought to re-

ⁿ Idacius, lib. iii. cont. Varimadum. (Bibl. Max. Patr. vol. iv. p. 745. D 16.) Si Spiritus Sanctus Deitatis substantia Patri et Filio non coæquatur, cur in sacramento sacri baptismatis nihil absque illo completur ?

^o Basil. de Spirit. Sanct. (tom. ii. p. 316, edit. 1637.) ‘ΑΛΛ’ οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο τέλειον ἂν τις εἶπῃ βάπτισμα, ὃ μόνον τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐπεκλήθη· χρή γὰρ ἀπαράβατον μένειν τὴν ἐν τῇ ζωοποιῷ χάριτι δεδομένην παράδοσιν . . . ὥς γὰρ πιστεύομεν εἰς Πατέρα, καὶ Υἱὸν, καὶ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, οὕτω καὶ βαπτίζομεθα εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος.

main inviolable, which was given by the quickening grace." He means the form of baptizing given by the command of Christ (Mat. xxviii). Upon which he concludes, "that as we believe in the Father, and in the Son, and in the Holy Ghost, so we are baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." Therefore, both Vossius^p and Petavius^q are greatly mistaken to allege St. Basil as one of those who asserted, "that baptism in the name of Christ alone was allowable," when he so plainly and directly writes against it. Many other testimonies might here be inserted out of Theodoret^r, Gregory Nazianzen^s, and Nyssen^t, Theophylact^u, and others; but I shall only add, further, the decree

^p Voss. de Bapt. disput. ii. thes. v. p. 51. Secutus hac parte (Ambrosius), ut facere solet, Basilium; cujus ista verba *περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος: ἡ τοῦ Χριστοῦ προσηγορία τοῦ παντός ἐστὶν ὁμολογία· δηλοῖ γὰρ τὸν τε χρίοντα Θεόν, καὶ χρισθέντα Υἱόν, καὶ τὸ χρίσμα τὸ Πνεῦμα.*

^q Petav. de Trinit. lib. ii. c. xiv. n. vi. In ea esse Basilii sententia videtur, baptismum in solo Spiritus Sancti nomine tributum, perinde ac Christi solius, ratum ac validum fuisse.

^r Theodoret. Epist. cxlvi. ad Joan. Œcon. (Sirmond. 8vo. vol. iv. p. 1269.) *Διὰ τοι τοῦτο τοῦ Κυρίου προστεταχότος βαπτίζειν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, ὁ τρισμακάριος Πέτρος τοῖς τὸ κήρυγμα δεδεγμένοις, ἐρομένοις τί χρὴ ποιῆσαι, Πιστεύσατε, ἔφη, καὶ βαπτισθήτω ἕκαστος ὑμῶν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· ὡς ταυτησὶ τῆς προσηγορίας πᾶσαν ἐχούσης τοῦ θείου κηρύγματος τὴν δύναμιν.*

^s Nazianz. Orat. xxix. (Paris. 1630. vol. i. p. 431. A.) *Ἐπιδημεῖ τοῖς περὶ Κορνήλιον πρὸ τοῦ βαπτίσματος ἄλλοις, μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα διὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ὥστε ἀμφοτέρωθεν, ἔκ τε ὧν ἐπιφοιτᾷ δεσποτικῶς, ἀλλ' οὐ δουλικῶς, καὶ ἐξ ὧν ἐπιζητεῖται πρὸς τὴν τελείωσιν, τὴν θεότητα μαρτυρεῖσθαι τοῦ Πνεύματος.*

^t Nyssen. de Bapt. Christi. (Paris. 1638. vol. iii. p. 372. C 4.) *Καταλιπὼν δὲ ἐμοὶ συμπλέκεσθαι, ἀντίστηθι ταῖς τοῦ Κυρίου φωναῖς, εἰ δύνασαι, αἱ τὴν ἐπὶ κλησιν τοῦ βαπτίσματος τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐνομοθέτησαν· τί δὲ φησι τὸ τοῦ δεσπότη παραγγέλμα; Βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος.*

^u Theophyl. in Luc. xxiv. (Venet. 1754. vol. i. p. 497.) *Πῶς δὲ τὸ βάπτισμα νοήσομεν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ μόνον γίνεσθαι, καὶ ταῦτα ἄλλαχού διδασκόμενοι εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, τελεῖν τοῦτο; πρῶτον μὲν οὖν τοῦτό φαμεν, ὅτι ὅταν λέγωμεν τὸ βάπτισμα ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ γίνεσθαι, οὐ τοῦτο λέγομεν, ὅτι δεῖ ἐπὶ μόνῳ τῷ Χριστοῦ ὀνόματι τοῦτο τελεῖν, ἀλλ' ὅτι τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ βάπτισμα, ὃ Χριστὸς ἐβαπτίσατο, τουτέστι πνευματικὸν οὐκ Ἰουδαϊκόν, κ. τ. λ.*
—Fulgent. de Incarnat. c. xi. p. 298, n. xxi. (Bibl. Max. Patr. vol. ix. p. 203.

of Pope Vigilius, which shows both the practice of the Church, and the severity of her censures against any one that should pretend to transgress this settled rule of baptizing. “If any bishop or presbyter,” says he, “baptize not according^x to the command of the Lord, ‘in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost,’ but in one person of the Trinity, or in two, or in three Fathers, or in three Sons, or in three Comforters, let him be cast out of the Church of God.”

SECT. III.—*Whether Baptism in the Name of Christ alone was ever allowed in the Church?*

Indeed, among all the writings of the ancients, I have never yet met with any but two that plainly and directly allow or approve of any form of baptism save that which was appointed by Christ at the institution. Gennadius mentions one Ursinus, an African monk, who, he says, wrote a book (which is now lost), wherein he asserted, against such as were for rebaptizing all heretics, “that it was not lawful to rebaptize those who were baptized either simply^y in the name of Christ, or in

E 11.) Omnis qui in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, sacramento sanctæ regenerationis abluitur, non nisi in Christi morte ac nomine baptizatur, ut evidenter appareat, illi nos consepultos esse per baptismum in morte, in cujus uno cum Patris et Spiritus Sancti constat nomine baptizatos.—Cyril. Alex. Dialog. vii. de Trinit. tom. v. p. 633. A 9. Οὐχ ὧδε μυσταγωγεῖν τοῖς ἁγίοις ἀποστόλοις κεκέλευκεν ὁ Σωτήρ; Πορευθέντες γάρ, φησι, μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίζοντες εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος· τοιγάρτοι καὶ ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος τῶν πεπιστευκότων ἤρετό τινας, εἰ Πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἐλάβετε πιστεύσαντες; ἀποφησάντων δὲ τοῦτο ἐκείνων, καὶ ἀναφανδὸν εἰρηκότων, Ἄλλ’ οὐδὲ εἰ Πνεῦμα ἅγιόν ἐστιν, ἡκούσαμεν, ἐπετίμα λέγων, Εἰς τί οὖν ἐβαπτίσθητε; οὐκ ἐν καλῷ γενέσθαι τὴν πίστιν εἰδὼς, οὔτε μὴν ἀρτίως ἔχειν δύνασθαι ποτέ, εἰ μὴ πράττοιτο τελείως, εἰς Θεὸν Πατέρα, καὶ τὸν Υἱόν, καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα ἅγιον, τὴν ὁμολογίαν ἐκφέρουσα.

^x Vigil. Epist. ii. ad Euthereum, c. vi. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 313.) Si quis episcopus aut presbyter, juxta præceptum Domini, non baptizaverit in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, sed in una persona Trinitatis, aut in tribus Patribus, aut in tribus Filiis, aut in tribus Paracletis, projiciatur de ecclesia Dei.

^y Gennad. de Scriptor. Eccles. c. xxvii. Ursinus Monachus scripsit adversus eos, qui rebaptizandos hæreticos decernunt, docens, nec legitimum, nec Deo dignum rebaptizari illos, qui in nomine vel simpliciter Christi, vel in nomine Patris, Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, quamvis pravo sensu, baptizentur: iis autem,

the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; but it was sufficient for both sorts of them, upon confession of the Trinity, to receive the bishop's confirmation, in order to obtain eternal life." This author plainly distinguishes betwixt the two forms of baptizing, one with explicit mention of the three persons of the Trinity, and the other in the name of Christ alone; both which he makes to be lawful, and equivalent in sense, though differing in words from one another. And St. Ambrose, I confess, seems to have been of the same opinion; for he takes all those expressions of Scripture which speak of being baptized in the name of Christ, to mean the using such a form as this:—"I baptize thee in the name of Christ," without any express mention of the three persons, though the whole Trinity was implied in it. "He that is blessed in Christ," says he^z, "is blessed in the name of the Father, and Son, and Holy Ghost; because the name is one, and the power one. The Ethiopian eunuch, who was baptized in Christ, had the sacrament complete. If a man names only a single person expressly in words, either Father, Son, or Holy Ghost, so long as he does not deny in his faith either Father, Son, or Holy Ghost, the sacrament of faith is complete: as, on the other hand, if a man in words express all the three persons, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, but in his faith diminishes the power either of the Father, or Son, or Holy Ghost, the sacrament of faith is void." He says further, "He that names but one person, designs thereby the whole Trinity; he that

post sanctæ Trinitatis et Christi simplicem confessionem, sufficere ad salutem manus impositionem Catholici sacerdotis.

^z Ambros. de Spirit. Sancto, lib. i. c. iii. (Bened. fol. vol. ii. p. 608.) Qui benedicitur in Christo, benedicitur in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, quia unum nomen, potestas una. . . . Æthiops eunuchus Candacis reginæ baptizatus in Christo, plenum mysterium consequutus est. . . . Quemadmodum si unum in sermone comprehendas, aut Patrem, aut Filium, aut Spiritum Sanctum, fide autem nec Patrem, nec Filium, nec Spiritum abneges, plenum est fidei sacramentum: ita etiam quamvis et Patrem, et Filium, et Spiritum dicas, et aut Patris, aut Filii, aut Spiritus Sancti minuas potestatem, vacuum est omne mysterium. . . . Qui unum dixerit, Trinitatem signavit. Si Christum dicas, et Deum Patrem a quo unctus est Filius, et ipsum qui unctus est, Filium, —et Spiritum quo unctus est, designasti. Et si Patrem dicas, et Filium ejus, et Spiritum oris ejus pariter indicasti, si tamen id etiam corde comprehendas. Et si Spiritum dicas, et Deum Patrem, a quo procedit Spiritus, —et Filium, quia Filii quoque est Spiritus, nuncupasti.

names Christ only, intends the Father, by whom the Son is anointed, and the Son himself who is anointed, and the Spirit with which he is anointed ; and he that names only the Father, does, in like manner, intend both his Son and the Spirit of his mouth, if he truly believe them in his heart." So that, according to St. Ambrose, it was a sufficient baptism, though only one person, Father, Son, or Holy Ghost, was expressly mentioned ; because, in one name, by an orthodox believer, all the rest were implied. But this appears to have been a singular opinion in St. Ambrose, contrary to the general stream and current of the ancient writers. For, though Petavius joins St. Basil with him, and Vossius, after Soto, makes Cyprian, and Athanasius, and the author of the *Opus Imperfectum*, under the name of St. Chrysostom, to be abettors of the same assertion, yet it is clear from what has been alleged before out of Cyprian, Athanasius, and Basil, that they were of the contrary opinion, and esteemed it an error and transgression against the first institution, to give baptism only in the name of Christ. Whence it is also further evident, that they did not understand those passages of Scripture which speak of baptizing in the name of Jesus, or the Lord, or Christ, as new forms of baptizing, different from the original form delivered by Christ ; but as Eulogius in *Photius*^a has explained them,—“ To be baptized into Christ Jesus signifies to be baptized according to the command and tradition of Jesus Christ ; that is, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.” According to which sense, it follows, that

^a Eulog. ap. Phot. Cod. cclxxx. p. 1608. Τὸ εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν βαπτισθῆναι, σημαίνει ἂν τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἐντολὴν καὶ παράδοσιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ βαπτισθῆναι· τουτέστιν, εἰς Πατέρα, καὶ Υἱὸν, καὶ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα.—Aug. cont. Maximin. lib. iii. c. xvii. Si autem, quia non est nominatus (Spiritus Sanctus) quod etiam per illum facta sit creatura, quando de Filio dictum est, ‘Omnia per ipsum facta sunt,’ ideo putas, Dei Spiritum non esse Creatorem, procul dubio nec in ejus nomine poteris baptizatos dicere, quibus ait Petrus, ‘Agite poenitentiam, et baptizetur unusquisque vestrum in nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi,’ quia non ait, ‘et Spiritus Sancti :’ nec in Patris nomine, quia nec ipse ibi est nominatus. Si autem etiam non nominatis Patre et Spiritu Sancto, in nomine Jesu Christi jussi sunt baptizari, et tamen intelliguntur non baptizati, nisi in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti ; cur non sic audis de Filio Dei, ‘omnia per ipsum facta sunt,’ ut et non nominatum intelligas ibi etiam Spiritum Sanctum ?

the form of baptizing delivered by Christ was not changed, as some imagine, but precisely observed even by the apostles; and, after them, by the general consent and practice of the Catholic Church.

SECT. IV.—*Of Alterations made in the Form of Baptism; First, By the Tritheists and Priscillianists.*

It is true, indeed, as sects grew up and increased in the Church, some innovations were made in this matter among them. For, though, as St. Austin observes, the greatest part of heretics who retained any baptism at all, retained also the old form of the Church; yet some there were who varied from it, and brought in new forms of their own, according as their fancies or the genius of their heresies led them. There were some very early that turned the doctrine of the Trinity into Tritheism; and, instead of three divine persons under the economy of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, brought in three collateral, co-ordinate, and self-originated beings, making them three absolute and independent principles, without any relation of Father or Son, which is the most proper notion of three Gods. And having made this change in the doctrine of the holy Trinity, they made another change answerable to it in the form of baptism; for, instead of baptizing in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, they brought in an unheard-of form of baptizing, in the name of three unoriginated principles, as we learn from one of those called the Apostolical Canons, which is directly levelled against them in these words:—"If any bishop^b or presbyter baptize not according to the command of Christ, 'In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,' but in three unoriginated principles, or in three Sons, or in three Paracletes, or Holy Ghosts, let him be deposed." This canon does not describe these heretics by any name, but we may conjecture from another canon of the first Council of Bracara, that they were the Gnostics who first introduced this kind of Tritheism, or doctrine of

^b Can. Apost. c. xlix. (vol. i. p. 36.) Εἰ τις ἐπίσκοπος ἢ πρεσβύτερος, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου διάταξιν, μὴ βαπτίσῃ εἰς Πατέρα, καὶ Υἱόν, καὶ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, ἀλλ' εἰς τρεῖς Ἀνάρχους, ἢ εἰς τρεῖς Υἱούς, ἢ εἰς τρεῖς Παρακλήτους, καθαιρεῖσθω.

three Gods, into the world; which was afterwards taken up by the Priscillianists, and both of them condemned together in that Council. For so the canon words it: "If any one shall introduce any strange names^c of the Divinity beside the holy Trinity, saying, that in the Godhead there is a Trinity of Trinities, as the Gnostics and Priscillianists maintain, let him be anathema." This was the consequence of asserting three unbegotten principles; for hereby they made three Fathers, and three Sons, and three Holy Ghosts, which was a Trinity of Trinities, as the Council charges them. And in compliance with this grand error, they sometimes baptized in the name of three Fathers, or three Sons, or three Holy Ghosts; as seems pretty evident from that decree of Pope Vigilius, made against all such heterodox innovations:—"If any bishop or presbyter^d baptize not according to the command of the Lord, 'In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost;' but in one person of the Trinity, or in two or in three Fathers, or in three Sons, or in three Paracletes, or Holy Ghosts, let him be cast out of the Church."

SECT. V.—*Secondly, By Menander and his Followers.*

Another corruption of the form of baptism was introduced by Menander, who was a disciple of Simon Magus, and to all his master's heresies added this of his own, "That no one could be saved except he was baptized in his name," as Tertullian^e informs us. The reason of this innovation is assigned

^c Conc. Braoar. I. can. ii. (Labbaeo Conc. I. c. ii. tom. v. Conc. p. 837.) Si quis, extra sanctam Trinitatem, alia, nescio quæ, divinitatis nomina introducit; dicens, quod in ipsa Divinitate sit Trinitas Trinitatis, sicut Gnostici et Priscillianistæ dixerunt, anathema sit.

^d Vigil. Epist. ii. ad Euther. (tom. v. Conc. p. 313.) Si quis episcopus aut presbyter, juxta præceptum Domini, non baptizaverit in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, sed in una Persona Trinitatis, aut in duabus, aut in tribus Patribus, aut in tribus Filiis, aut in tribus Paracletis, projiciatur de ecclesia Dei.

^e Tertull. de Præscript. c. xlv. (Oberthür, vol. ii. p. 480.) Quidquid se Simon dixerat, hoc se Menander esse dicebat, negans habere posse quemquam salutem, nisi in nomine suo baptizatus fuisset.

by Irenæus^f and Epiphanius^g, who tell us, “that he took upon him to be the Messiah; for he taught, that he was the person sent for the salvation of men, and to gather a Church by mysteries of his own appointing, to deliver men from the dominion of the angels, and principalities, and powers, that made the world.” And Theodoret^h gives the same account of him; for he says, “He called himself the Saviour of the world, and taught that men were saved by being baptized in his name: by which means, also, they got power over the powers that made the world.” But this was so absurd a heresy, that, as Epiphanius observes, “it never prevailed much in the Church.” Menander had promised his proselytes, as Tertullianⁱ says, “that all who would be baptized in his name, should be immortal and incorruptible, and have the benefit of an immediate resurrection; but experience in a little time confuted this foolery; for, in a hundred years’ time, none of his immortal apostles appeared to convince any doubting Thomas of the truth of such a pretended resurrection:” and so this vain attempt upon the baptism of Christ quickly sunk by its own absurdity.

^f Iren. lib. i. c. xxi. (Venet. 1734, vol. i. p. 100.) Hujus (Simonis) successor fuit Menander, Samarites genere, qui et ipse ad summum magiæ pervenit. Qui primam quidem Virtutem incognitam ait omnibus; se autem eum esse, qui missus sit ab invisibilibus salvatorem pro salute hominum. Mundum autem factum ab angelis; quos is ipse similiter, ut Simon, ab Ennoia emissos dicit.

^g Epiphan. Hæres. xxi. n. ii. (Colon. 1682. vol. i. p. 56.) Ἐλεγεν ἑαυτὸν πεπέμφθαι εἰς σωτηρίαν δῆθεν, καὶ εἰς τὸ συνάγειν τινὰς εἰς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ μυστήριον, διὰ τὸ μὴ ὑπὸ τῶν τὸν κόσμον πεποιηκότων ἀγγέλων καὶ ἀρχῶν καὶ ἑξουσιῶν κατακυριευθῆναι.

^h Theodoret. Hæret. Fab. lib. i c. ii. (Sirmond. 8vo. vol. iv. p. 289.) Σωτῆρα ἑαυτὸν προσηγόρευε . . . σώζεσθαι δὲ τοὺς εἰς αὐτὸν βαπτιζομένους, καὶ κρείττους ἀποτελεῖσθαι, κἂν τῷ δὲ τῷ βίῳ, καὶ λαμβάνειν δύναμιν εἰς τὸ ῥᾶστα τῶν κοσμοποιῶν δυνάμεων περιγίνεσθαι.

ⁱ Tertull. de Anima, c. l. (Oberthür, vol. ii. p. 405.) In hoc scilicet se a superna et arcana potestate legatum, ut immortales, et incorruptibiles, et statim resurrectionis compotes, fiant, qui baptismus ejus induerint. . . . At ubi sunt illi, quos Menander ipse perfudit, quos in stygem suam mersit? Apostoli perennes veniant, adsistant: videat illos meus Thomas, audiat, contrectet, et credat.

SECT. VI.—*Thirdly, By the Elcesians.*

A no less absurd innovation was made by the Elcesians, so called from their founder, one Elcesai, who taught them enchantments and invocation of demons, and to use baptisms^k in the name or confession of the elements, or letters, as Theodoret represents them; though what sort of baptism this was, is not very easy to conjecture, there being scarce any one besides Theodoret that gives any account of this heresy. But they were great admirers of astrology and magic; and upon that account, perhaps, might bring the elements into their baptism, by composition of certain letters and numbers used by them in their magical operations.

SECT. VII.—*Fourthly, By the Montanists and Sabellians.*

The Montanists, also, or Cataphrygians, introduced a new form of baptism. For Montanus, their founder, took upon him to be the Holy Ghost, and made himself two prophetesses, Priscilla and Maximilla, who pretended to write books by inspiration; therefore, their followers having them in great esteem, corrupted the old form of baptism, and administered it in the name of Father, Son, and Montanus, or Priscilla, as St. Basil acquaints us; who therefore judges their baptism to be null, and necessary to be repeated^l when they came over to the Catholic Church. Theophylact^m gives the same account of them, telling us, “that their foul and stinking tongues baptized in the name of Montanus, and Priscilla, and Maximilla.” By which he does not mean that they used those three names instead of the Trinity, but that they added the name of Montanus, or Priscilla, or Maximilla, to the Father and Son, in-

^k Theodoret. Hæret. Fab. lib. ii. c. vii. (Sirmond. vol. iv. p. 333.) Ἐπεφδαῖς δὲ καὶ δαιμόνων ἐπικλήσει καὶ οὗτοι κέχρηται, καὶ βαπτίσμασιν ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν στοιχείων ὁμολογίᾳ.

^l Basil. Ep. can. i. c. i. Τίνα λόγον ἔχει, τὸ τούτων βάπτισμα ἐγκριθῆναι, τῶν βαπτιζόντων εἰς Πατέρα, καὶ Υἱόν, καὶ Μοντανόν, ἢ Πρίσκιλλαν; οὐ γὰρ ἐβαπτίσθησαν οἱ εἰς τὰ μὴ παραδεδομένα ἡμῖν βαπτισθέντες.

^m Theophyl. in Luc. xxiv. (Venet. 1754. vol. i. p. 497. E 7.) Ποῦ λοιπὸν αἱ βορβορώδεις γλῶσσαι τῶν βαπτιζόντων εἰς Μοντανόν, καὶ Πρίσκιλλαν, καὶ Μαξιμίλλαν;

stead of the Holy Ghost. For which reason, most probably, the Council of Laodiceaⁿ orders them to be rebaptized, notwithstanding that some of them had received a pretended ordination, and were advanced not only to the dignity of bishops, but to the title of patriarchs and *maximi* among them, as the Council of Laodicea words it. And the same decree was made against them in the first General Council of Constantinople^o, and some others also. St. Jerome seems further to intimate, that these Montanists were, as to the doctrine of the Trinity, really Sabellians; for though they pretended to believe a Trinity of divine persons, yet it was but equivocally, in the same way as Sabellius had done before, whose three persons were no more but three names, or different appearances of one and the same person. Therefore, St. Jerome says^p, “The Montanists differed from the Catholics in the very rule of faith; for we assert Father, and Son, and Holy Ghost, every one distinct in his own person, though united in substance; but they, following the opinion of Sabellius, bring the Trinity to the narrow restraints of one person.” That is, as he explains it a little after, they said, “that God at first intended to save the world by Moses and the prophets; but

ⁿ Conc. Laodic. can. viii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1497.) Περὶ τοῦ, τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς αἰρέσεως τῶν λεγομένων Φρυγῶν ἐπιστρέφοντας, εἰ καὶ ἐν κλήρῳ νομιζομένῳ παρ’ αὐτοῖς τυγχάνοιεν, εἰ καὶ μέγιστοι λέγοιντο· τοὺς τοιούτους μετὰ πάσης ἐπιμελείας κατηχεῖσθαι τε καὶ βαπτίζεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπισκόπων τε καὶ πρεσβυτέρων.

^o Conc. Constantinop. I. can. vii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 951. C.) Μοντανιστὰς τοὺς ἐνταῦθα λεγομένους Φρύγας, καὶ Σαβελλιανούς . . . ὥς Ἕλληνας δεχόμεθα· καὶ οὕτως κατηχοῦμεν αὐτοὺς, καὶ ποιοῦμεν αὐτοὺς χρονίζειν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ ἀκροᾶσθαι τῶν γραφῶν· καὶ τότε αὐτοὺς βαπτίζομεν.

^p Hieron. Epist. liv. ad Marcell. adv. Montan. (Bened. 1706. vol. iv. pt. ii. p. 64.) Primum in fidei regula discrepamus. Nos Patrem, et Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum, in sua unumquemque persona ponimus, licet substantia copulemus: illi, Sabellii dogma sectantes, Trinitatem in unius personæ angustias cogunt. ‘Deum primum voluisse in Veteri Testamento per Moysen et prophetas salvare mundum: sed, quia non potuerit explere, corpus sumpsisse de Virgine, et in Christo sub specie Filii prædicantem, mortem obiisse pro nobis. Et quia per duos gradus mundum salvare nequiverit, ad extremum per Spiritum Sanctum in Montanum, Priscam et Maximillam insanas feminas descendisse, et plenitudinem quam Paulus non habuerit, dicens: ‘Ex parte cognoscimus, et ex parte propheta-mus:’ et, ‘Nunc videmus per speculum in ænigmate,’ abscisum et semivirum habuisse Montanum.’

because he could not effect his design that way, he assumed a body of the Virgin, and preached in Christ under the species of a Son, and suffered death for our sakes: and because, by these two degrees, he could not save the world, at last he descended by the Holy Ghost into Montanus, Priscilla, and Maximilla; and made Montanus, who was a eunuch, and but half a man, have that plenitude of prophecy which Paul himself could not pretend to have." From this account of St. Jerome, it is evident the Montanists, in point of doctrine, were really Sabellians, and believed but one person in the Godhead under different appearances or manifestations of himself, which they called *πρόσωπα*, 'persons,' in an equivocal sense; whereby they imposed upon many Catholics, and, among the rest, upon Theodoret^a, to make them believe them sound and orthodox men, when yet they asserted three persons in no other sense than Simon Magus, and Praxeas, and Noetus, and Sabellius, and all the Patripassians had done before them. Now, it is very probable the Sabellians had introduced a new form of baptism, correspondent to their principles; for which reason, all the councils that mention them, order them to be^r rebaptized: and the Montanists, following the doctrine of Sabellius, were liable to the same censure. So that, upon all accounts, it must be concluded, they had made innovations upon the form of baptism received in the Catholic Church.

SECT. VIII.—*Fifthly, By the Marcosians.*

Another very strange form was conceived by the Marcosians, or Marcites, so called from one Marcus, a sorcerer, who taught his disciples to baptize in the name of the unknown Father^s of all things; in the name of Truth, the mother of all things;

^a Theodoret. Hæret. Fab. lib. iii. c. ii. (Sirmond. 8vo. vol. iv. p. 341.) Τὸν περὶ τῆς θείας Τριάδος οὐκ ἐλυμήνατο λόγον.

^r Conc. Constantin. I. can. vii. Vid. sub lit. (o). — Conf. Conc. Trullan. c. xcv. ubi eadem verba leguntur.

^s Theodoret. Hæret. Fab. lib. i. c. ix. (vol. iv. p. 301.) Εἰς ὄνομα ἀγνώστου Πατρὸς τῶν ὅλων, εἰς Ἀλήθειαν μητέρα πάντων, εἰς τὸν κατελθόντα Ἰησοῦν, εἰς ἔνωσιν, καὶ ἀπολύτρωσιν, καὶ κοινωνίαν τῶν δυνάμεων. — Ita quoque Irenæus, lib. i. c. xviii. n. ii. et Epiphanius, Hæres. xxxiv. n. xx.

and in Jesus, who descended (or, as Eusebius^t reads it, in him who descended into Jesus), for the union, and redemption, and communion of the principalities or powers, or in the union, and redemption, and communion of these powers; for it may be so understood, as if the names of these powers were taken into their form of baptism. But Irenæus, and Epiphanius from him, tell us they had several forms of baptism; and some of them added certain hard Hebrew names to astonish their catechumens and converts, which the inquisitive reader may find in those writers^u. And some of them wholly rejected baptism as useless, because the mysteries of the ineffable and invisible power were not to be performed by visible and corruptible creatures; nor intellectual and incorporeal things by those that are sensible and corporeal; but the knowledge of the ineffable greatness was a perfect redemption: and in this they agreed with the *Ascodrutæ*, of whom we have spoken in the last chapter.

SECT. IX.—*Sixthly, By the Paulianists.*

The Paulianists, or followers of Paulus Samosatensis, bishop of Antioch, who denied the divinity of Christ, seem also to have been guilty of introducing a new form of baptism, though I do not remember any ancient writer that tells us particularly what it was. But St. Austin concludes it must be so, because the Council of Nice^w made an order to receive them only by a new baptism into the Church; which he takes to be an argument that the Paulianists had not kept to the form or rule of baptism, which many other heretics, when they left the Church, took along with them, and continued still to observe. Pope

^t Euseb. lib. iv. c. xi. (Aug. T. p. 133.) habet εἰς τὸν κατελθόντα εἰς τὸν Ἰησοῦν.

^u Iren. lib. i. c. xviii. (Venet. 1734. vol. i. p. 56.) Φάσκουσι, μὴ δεῖν τὸ τῆς ἀρρήτου καὶ ἀοράτου δυνάμεως μυστήριον δι' ὁρατῶν καὶ φθαρτῶν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι κτισμάτων, καὶ τῶν ἀνεγνωσίων καὶ ἀσωμάτων δι' αἰσθητῶν καὶ σωματικῶν εἶναι δὲ τελείαν ἀπολύτρωσιν, αὐτὴν τὴν ἐπίγνωσιν τοῦ ἀρρήτου μεγέθους.

^w Aug. de Hæres. c. xlv. (Bened. vol. viii. p. 13. D 4.) Istos sane Paulianos baptizandos esse in ecclesia Catholica Nicæno Concilio constitutum est. Unde credendum est eos regulam baptismatis non tenere, quam secum multi hæretici, quum de Catholicis discederent, abstulerunt, eamque custodiunt.

Innocent, likewise^x, assigns this for the reason why the Council of Nice allowed the baptism of the Novatians but not the Paulianists, because the Paulianists did not baptize in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; but the Novatians, in their baptism, always made use of those venerable names, as being, in point of the divine power of the Holy Trinity, always asserters of the Catholic faith.

SECT. X.—*Seventhly, The Eunomians and others who baptized into the Death of Christ.*

Another sort of heretics there were, who, instead of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, used this form,—“I baptize thee into the death of Christ.” Among the Apostolical Canons, there is one that particularly reflects upon this as an unlawful^y practice: “If any bishop or presbyter use not three immersions in the celebration of baptism, but one only given in the death of Christ, let him be deposed; for our Lord did not say, ‘Baptize into my death,’ but, ‘Go, teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost.’” St. Paul, indeed, sometimes speaks of being baptized into the death of Christ; but then, as Origen has rightly observed, “this does not denote any new form of baptism; for no other form of baptism was ever thought^z lawful, beside that

^x Innocent. Epist. xxii. ad Episc. Macedoniæ, c. v. (tom. ii. Conc. 1275. B.) Idcirco distinctum esse ipsis duabus hæresibus, ratio manifesta declarat: quia Paulianistæ in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti minime baptizabant. Et Novatiani iisdem tremendis venerandisque nominibus baptizant: nec apud istos de unitate potestatis Divinæ, hoc est, Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, quæstio aliquando mota est: et ideo omnibus segregatis, hæc sola electa est, cui istud crederent concedendum, quia nihil in Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti sacramento peccarent.

^y Can. Apost. c. xlix. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 36.) Εἰ τις ἐπίσκοπος, ἢ πρεσβύτερος, μὴ τρία βαπτίσματα μιᾶς μνήσεως ἐπιτελέσῃ, ἀλλὰ ἓν βάπτισμα τὸ εἰς τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Κυρίου διδόμενον, καθαιρείσθω· οὐ γὰρ εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος, Εἰς τὸν θάνατόν μου βαπτίσατε· ἀλλὰ, Πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος.

^z Origen. Comment. Rom. (p. 540, edit. Basil.) (p. 351. A, Paris. 1604.) Requiras etiam fortassis hoc, quod cū ipse Dominus dixerit ad discipulos, ut baptizarent omnes gentes in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, cur heic apostolus solius Christi in baptismo nomen adsumserit, dicens, ‘Quicumque

which was given in the name of the Trinity, according to the command of Christ. And the apostle is not speaking of the manner of baptizing, but of Christ's death, and our conforming to it, as signified in baptism, where it would not have been convenient to have said, 'As many of us as have been baptized in the name of the Father, or of the Holy Ghost, have been baptized into his death;' and, therefore, the apostle, in prudence, omitted them in that place, because it was not proper to mention either Father or Holy Ghost, where he was speaking of death, which did not belong to them, but only Christ incarnate." Notwithstanding this just observation of Origen, Eunomius, the Arian, revived this irregular practice of those ancient heretics, and cast off the old form of baptism to make way for others more agreeable to his damnable errors and opinions; for, because he denied the divinity of the Son and Holy Ghost, he would no longer use the trine immersion, nor baptize in the name of the Trinity, but only into the death of Christ; as Socrates^a gives an account of his practice. Epiphanius^b observes of the Anomœans, who were the peculiar of followers of Eunomius, "that they baptized also in another form, in the name of the

baptizati sumus in Christo,' quum utique non habeatur legitimum baptismum, nisi sub nomine Trinitatis. Sed intueri prudentiam Pauli, quoniam quidem in præsentis loco non tam baptismatis rationem, quam mortis Christi discutere cupiebat, ad cuius nos similitudinem etiam suaderet mori debere peccato, et consepeliri Christo. Et non erat utique conveniens, ut, ubi de morte dicebat, vel Patrem nominaret, vel Spiritum Sanctum. 'Verbum enim caro factum est;' et merito, ubi caro est, ibi de morte tractatur. Nec conveniebat, ut diceret, 'Quicumque baptizati sumus in nomine Patris, vel in nomine Spiritus Sancti, in morte ipsius baptizati sumus.' Unde observanda est, ex hoc loco etiam in ceteris consuetudo apostoli, quod non semper quum, aliquid ex Scripturis assumit, integrum textum verborum, ut in suo loco positus est, assumit; sed ea tantum, quæ præsentis causæ requirit assertio, sicut et in præsentis sermone, quia de morte Christi docere cupiebat, sufficit ei dicere, 'Quicumque baptizati sumus in Christo, in morte ipsius baptizati sumus.'

^a Socrat. lib. v. c. xxiv. (Aug. T. p. 255.) Πλήν ὅτι τὸ βάπτισμα παρέχαραξαν, οὐ γὰρ εἰς τὴν Τριάδα, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ βαπτίζουσι θάνατον.

^b Epiphan. Hæres. lxxvi. Anomœor. vol. i. p. 992. Ἀναβαπτίζει τοὺς ἤδη βαπτισθέντας, οὐ μόνον τοὺς ἀπὸ ὀρθοδόξων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐρχομένους, καὶ αἱρέσεων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν Ἀρειανῶν ἀναβαπτίζει δὲ αὐτοὺς εἰς ὄνομα Θεοῦ ἀκτίστου, καὶ εἰς ὄνομα Υἱοῦ κεκτισμένου, καὶ εἰς ὄνομα Πνεύματος ἁγιαστικοῦ, καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ κεκτισμένου Υἱοῦ κτισθέντος.

uncreated God, and the name of the created God, and the name of the sanctifying Spirit, created by the created Son: and so stiff were they to this form of their own inventing, that they baptized not only the Catholics, but all other sects, and even the Arians themselves, who had been otherwise baptized before them." And Gregory Nyssen^c tells us, from Eunomius's own books, "that he perverted the law of Christ, the law or tradition of the divine institution, and taught that baptism was not to be given in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, as Christ commanded his disciples when he first delivered the mystery, but in the name of the Creator and Maker, and not Father only, but God of the only begotten." Upon which he charges him with adding to the word of God, and corrupting it, because no such words as 'Creator or Maker of the only begotten, or the Son's being a creature, or the servant of God,' were to be found in the words of the first institution.

SECT. XI.—*Whether all the Arians were guilty of the same Innovation.*

But now this innovation was peculiar to the disciples of Eunomius, though Baronius^d, and some other learned men, bring the charge against the Arians in general, upon the mis-

^c Nyssen. cont. Eunom. lib. xi. (Paris. 1638. vol. ii. p. 706. C 4.) *Μὴ εἰς Πατέρα τε καὶ Υἱὸν, καὶ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, καθὼς ἐνετείλατο τοῖς μαθηταῖς, παραδιδούς τὸ μυστήριον, ἀλλὰ εἰς δημιουργὸν καὶ κτιστὴν, καὶ οὐ μόνον Πατέρα τοῦ μονογενοῦς, ἀλλὰ τὸν Θεόν.*

^d Baron. an. 325, num. lxxxvii. (Lucæ, vol. iv. p. 116.) *Admiracione res digna est, considerare quibus dolis atque vafricie idem (humani generis hostis diabolus) Christianam religionem, quam opera tot Imperatorum extinguere non potuerat, unius hominis arte pessumdare ac penitus abolere studuerit, dum divinum mysterium, baptismum, inquam, quo omnes consignantur ac nominantur pariter Christiani, Arii hæresi auferre molitus est. Athanasii enim hæc justa est querela, dum ait: 'Ariani autem in periculum veniunt, ne amittant integritatem mysterii: loquor autem de baptismo. Si enim in nomine Patris et Filii datur perfectio, plenaque initiatio; Patrem autem verum illi non pronunciant, eo quod negent aliquid ex ipso existere, et similem esse illius substantiæ; negantque verum Filium, aliumque ex non entibus conditum sibi comminiscens in baptismo proferunt; qui, quæso, igitur non plane vanum ac inutile fuerit baptisma quod ab illis datur, quum non nisi species sit et inane simulacrum, ipsique ea re nihil solidæ opis afferant ad pietatem? Non enim in Patre et Filio tribuunt baptisma Ariani, sed in Creatore et creatura, Factore et factura,'*

taken authority of Athanasius and St. Jerome. Athanasius says “they baptized^e in a Creator, and a creature;” and St. Jerome, “that they believed in the Father, the only true God, in Jesus Christ the Saviour^f, and a creature, and in the Holy Ghost, the servant of them both.” But they do not say that the Arians used this form of baptism; but only that their baptism, though it was given in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, was, in effect, no more than if it had been given in the name of a creature, because they believed the Son and Holy Ghost to be no more than creatures. The Arians corrupted the faith, but they still retained the Catholic form of baptism, till Eunomius brought in another form among them: and that is the true reason why both the first General Council of Constantinople^g, and the Council of Trullo^h, ordered the Eunomians to be rebaptized, at the same time that they appointed the other Arians to be received by imposition of hands only, without a new baptism. And the second Council of Arles made a like decree concerning the Bonosiaci, or followers of Bonosus, bishop of Sardica, who were a branch of the Arians, that because they retained baptism in the Catholic form, as they thereⁱ say the other Arians did, therefore it should be sufficient, after the confession of a true faith,

etc. En vides, quibus cuniculis una simul et idololatriam in ecclesiam introducere, et ab ea auferre sacrum baptismum per Arium hostis humani generis nisus sit; ut merito fuerit Porphyrio comparandus; nisi quod in hoc Arius illo deterior, dum Porphyrius aperte comparatis undique muralibus machinis, quater tentavit Christianam religionem; hic vero prodicione, sub nomine Christiano, dolose eam prorsus perdere conatus est.

^e Athanas. Orat. iii. cont. Arian. (Colon. 1686. vol. i. p. 413. B 4.) (tom. i. p. 510. C, edit. Paris. 1698.) Οὐ γὰρ εἰς Πατέρα καὶ Υἱὸν διδόασιν οἱ Ἀρειανοὶ, ἀλλ’ εἰς κτιστὴν καὶ κτίσμα, εἰς ποίημα καὶ ποιητὴν.

^f Hieron. Dial. advers. Lucifer. c. iv. (Bened. 1706. vol. iv. pt. ii. p. 295.) Arianus quum nihil aliud crediderit nisi in Patre solo vero Deo, et in Jesu Christo Salvatore creatura, et in Spiritu Sancto utriusque servo, quo modo Spiritum Sanctum ab ecclesia recipiet, qui necdum remissionem peccatorum consequutus est?

^g Conc. Constant. I. c. vii. Εὐνομιανοὺς μέντοι, τοὺς εἰς μίαν κατάδυσιν βαπτιζομένους . . . οὕτως κατηχοῦμεν αὐτοὺς, καὶ ποιοῦμεν αὐτοὺς χρονίζειν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ ἀκροᾶσθαι τῶν γραφῶν, καὶ τότε αὐτοὺς βαπτίζομεν.

^h Conc. Trullan. c. xcv. eadem verba habet.

ⁱ Conc. Arelat. II. c. xvii. Bonosiacos autem ex eodem errore venientes (quos, sicut Arianos, baptizari in Trinitate manifestum est), dum interrogati

to receive them with chrism and imposition of hands without a new baptism ; which is demonstration that neither the ancient Arians before Eunomius, nor the Bonosians after him, had made any alteration in this matter ; but though they had corrupted the faith, yet they retained the ancient form of baptizing used in the Catholic Church. For, had it been otherwise, there is no question to be made, but that (as Suicerus^k, out of Vossius^l, has rightly observed) the ancient councils would have rejected their baptism, as they did the Eunomians', and ordered them to have been rebaptized upon their return to the Catholic Church ; for the observation of the form of bap-

fidem nostram ex toto corde confessi fuerint, chrismate et manus impositione in ecclesia recipi sufficit.

^k Suicer. Thes. Eccles. tom. i. p. 638. Ad baptismi formulam, ab Arianis usurpatam in genere quod attinet, eruditis quibusdam viris (ut cl. Vossius monet, disput. ii. de Bapt. thes. v.) persuasum est, eos ex impio dogmate suo formulæ baptismi quædam adjecisse. Ut ita sentiant, adducuntur verbis Athanasii, Orat. iii. cont. Arianos [vid. lit. (e)], et Hieronymi adversus Luciferianos, [vid. lit. (f)]. At si formula ejusmodi, his verbis concepta, eos usos fuisse vellent, eorum etiam baptismum, ut *κίβδηλον*, ecclesia orthodoxa rejecisset : id vero non fuisse factum, supra demonstravimus. Quid igitur Patres isti volunt ? Hoc tantum, quum verba intelligenda sint ex animo dicentis ; quamvis Patrem, Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum nominent Ariani, tamen id tantundem esse, ac si baptizare se dicant 'in nomen creaturæ ;' utpote qui Christum dicunt *κτίσμα* et *ποίημα*.

^l Voss. de Bapt. disput. ii. thes. v. p. 54. Etiam Arianos ex impio dogmate suo formulæ quædam adjicere solere ; et Catholicos item, ad explicationem ejus, quædam adjicere solere consuevisse ; eruditis aliquot viris persuasum esse video. De Arianis, auctores sententiæ suæ laudant magnum Athanasium, Orat. iii. cont. Arianos, et B. Hieronymum adversus Luciferianos : quibus in locis Athanasius quidem ait, *Εἰς κτιστὴν καὶ κτίσμα, εἰς ποίημα καὶ ποιητὴν* : Hieronymus vero dicit, 'Baptizare eos in Patre solo vero Deo, et in Jesu Christo Salvatore creatura, et in Spiritu Sancto utriusque servo.' Sed non assecuti sunt Patrum horum mentem. Nam si hoc vellent, hæreticos istos ejusmodi formula usos esse : quorsum attinebat, Athanasium non ostendere, nihil referre, si Ariani, Patris, Filii, et Spiritus Sancti nomina retineant ; cum aliter ea, quam ecclesia, intelligant ? vel quo pacto Hieronymus ibidem eo pugnaret argumento, quod Luciferiani non minus, quam Catholici, reciperent baptizatos ab Arianis ? aut qua fronte Hilarium, urbis diaconum, exagigaret, quod dogmate de rebaptizandis, qui ab Arianis venirent, orbem alioqui perituum servare sibi videbatur : unde 'Deucalion orbis' ab Hieronymo ibidem appellatur ? Quare illud solum Patres isti volunt, cum verba intelligi oporteat ex animo dicentis ; utut Patrem, Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum nominent Ariani ; tamen id tantundem esse, ac si baptizare se dicant in nomen creaturæ : quippe qui Christum habeant pro mera creatura.

tism was always esteemed so necessary a part of the institution, and so essential to the sacrament, that where it was wanting, the baptism was reputed an imperfect and void baptism, and to be repeated, by all the rules made against heretics in the Catholic Church.

SECT. XII.—*Whether any Additions were made to the Form of Baptism in the Catholic Church.*

There is one question more relating to the form of baptism, which it may not be improper to resolve in this place ; that is, Whether any additions were ever allowed to be made to the form of baptism in the Catholic Church ? Some learned persons are of opinion that such additions, when they were only made by way of explication, and greater illustration, to confirm the truth against heretics, were used in the form of baptism, as well as in the Creed. But I think Vossius, upon better grounds of reason and authority, more judiciously determines the contrary. Two authors are commonly alleged in favour of their assertion, viz. Justin Martyr, and the Author of the Constitutions ; but neither of them comes fully up to the thing intended. “ For Justin Martyr,” as Vossius observes^m, “ is only giving a paraphrastical explication of the words used in baptism for the instruction of the heathens, to whom he is writing, when he tells them how the Christians baptized in the name of the Father of all things, who was Lord and God, and in the name of Jesus Christ our Lord, and of the Holy Ghost.” And the Author of the Constitutions is yet more plain ; for, first of all, he tells every bishop and presbyter, “ that they ought to baptizeⁿ precisely in that form of words which our Lord enjoined us, when he said, ‘ Go, teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of

^m Justin. Apol. ii. (Bened. p. 71. E.) ‘Επ’ ὀνόματος τοῦ Πατρὸς τῶν ὅλων καὶ δεσπότου Θεοῦ, καὶ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ Πνεύματος ἁγίου, τὸ ἐν τῇ ὕδατι τότε λουτρὸν ποιοῦνται.

ⁿ Constitut. Apostol. lib. vii. c. xxii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 426.) Οὕτω βαπτίσεις, ὡς ὁ Κύριος διετάξατο ἡμῖν, λέγων, Πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίσαντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος . . . τοῦ ἀποστείλαντος Πατρὸς, τοῦ ἐλθόντος Χριστοῦ, καὶ μαρτυρήσαντος Παρακλήτου.

the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things which I have commanded you.” And then he goes on to explain the several names of the three persons concerned; viz. “that the Father is the person who sent, Christ the person who came, and the Paraclete, or Comforter, the person who bears witness.” So that this was plainly an explication or paraphrase of the form of baptism only, and not the very form that was then in use. Nor can it be made appear that ever the Catholic Church varied from the form delivered by our Saviour, though Vossius^o thinks a form with such an orthodox addition would not destroy the essence of baptism, as those heretical forms certainly do, which corrupt the truth of the Catholic faith.

CHAPTER IV.

OF THE SUBJECTS OF BAPTISM, OR AN ACCOUNT OF WHAT PERSONS WERE ANCIENTLY ALLOWED TO BE BAPTIZED; WHERE PARTICULARLY OF INFANT BAPTISM.

SECT. I.—*Why the Question about the Administrators of Baptism is here omitted.*

HAVING spoken of the matter and form of baptism, I should now have considered the persons by whom this sacrament was anciently administered; but because I have lately had occasion to handle this subject fully, in a scholastical way, in two distinct Discourses^a, it will be sufficient, in this place, to give this summary account of the matter. There I have showed, that bishops, as the apostles’ successors, were the persons chiefly entrusted with this power; that they granted power to

^o Voss. de Bapt. disput. ii. thes. v. p. 55. Demus istud viris illis eruditiss, tum Arianos, tum Catholicos, iis, quas dicunt, formulis uti solere. Sane sic Arianorum quidem baptismus, qui de hæresi aliquid adjungit formulæ, non erit verus baptismus, cum proposito id Christi e diametro adversetur, ut quis in creaturæ baptizetur nomen. Catholicorum vero baptismus, qui tantum explicationis causa apponit aliquid, nihilo secius baptismus erit; quia sententiam formulæ reservat.

^a Scholastical History of Lay Baptism, parts i. and ii. 1712 and 1714.

presbyters to baptize in ordinary cases ; to deacons sometimes in ordinary, and sometimes only in extraordinary cases ; to laymen only in extraordinary cases of extreme necessity ; that the usurped baptism of laymen was allowed to be valid, so far as not to need repeating, though given irregularly ; that the baptism of women was wholly prohibited ; that the baptism of Jews and infidels was never allowed, though now accepted in the Church of Rome ; that the baptism of heretics and schismatics was disannulled by the Cyprianists, and some few others, who required a true faith, as well as a true form, to make a complete baptism ; but that this opinion was rejected by the great body of the Catholic Church, who thought the defects of heretical baptism might be supplied by imposition of hands without rebaptizing ; that yet it was agreed both by the Cyprianists, and all others whatsoever, that heretics and schismatics had not the power of priests, because some of them, as the Novatians, never had a just and legal call to the priesthood ; and others were deprived of their power by the lawful authority of the Church, which first committed that power to them ; that thenceforward they were reputed, not true Christian priests, but wolves and antichrists, instead of true shepherds and governors of the flock of Christ ; that the Church had power, not only to suspend the execution of their office, but to cancel their commission, and wholly take away the power and authority of the priesthood from them ; and then they were reduced to the state and condition of laymen ; and sometimes they were not only degraded from the priesthood, but thrust down one degree below laymen, by being anathematized, and cast out of the communion of the Church : and yet, notwithstanding all this, the Church did not think fit to cancel, or wholly disannul, the baptisms given by such men, though given by usurpation, and without any authority of the priesthood, so long as it appeared they were given in due form, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. All which things being abundantly proved in the two foresaid Discourses, I think it not proper to repeat or insist any longer upon them, but shall now proceed, as the order of the Discourse requires, to consider the persons on whom baptism was anciently conferred.

SECT. II.—*Who were anciently reckoned the proper Subjects of Baptism. Where of the corrupt Custom of Baptizing Inanimate Things, as Bells, in the Roman Church.*

And here, first of all, it is certain that none but living persons, whether adult or infants, and that in their own personal capacity, were ever reckoned subjects capable of baptism in the Primitive Church. The ancients knew nothing of that profane custom of giving baptism to inanimate things, as bells and the like, by a superstitious consecration of them. The first notice we have of this, is in the Capitulars of Charles the Great^b; where it is only mentioned to be censured. But afterwards it crept into the Roman offices by degrees (as I have noticed in another place^c out of Baronius, Cardinal Bona, and Menardus), till at last it grew to that superstitious height as to be thought proper to be complained of in the *Centum Gravamina* of the German nation, drawn up in the public diet of the empire, held at Norimburg (an. 1518): where (after having described the ceremony of baptizing a bell with godfathers, who make responses, as in baptism, and give it a name; and clothe it with a new garment, as Christians were used to be clothed; and all this to make it capable of driving away tempests and devils) they conclude^d against it as not only a superstitious practice, but contrary to the Christian religion, and a mere seduction of the simple people, and an exaction upon them. For which reason, they declared so wicked and unlawful a custom ought to be abolished. He that would see more of this, may consult Hospinian^e, or Wolfius^f, or

^b Durant. de Ritibus Ecclesiæ Catholicæ, lib. i. c. xxii. n. ii. (Paris. 1632, p. 211.) Ut clocas non baptizent.

^c Vid. supra, lib. viii. c. vii. sect. xv.

^d Centum Gravam. n. li. in Fasciculo Rer. Expetend. tom. i. p. 366. Quæ res non solum superstitiosa, sed etiam Christianæ religioni contraria, ac simpliciorum seductio, et mera exactio. . . . Res igitur tam nefanda et illicita merito aboleri debet.

^e Hospin. de Templis, lib. iv. c. ix. p. 113, seq. ed. Tigur. (p. 391, seqq. edit. Genev.)

^f Wolf. Lection. Memorab. Centur. xvi. an. 1550. (Lips. 1672. p. 595.) Perquam prudenter et pie Cæsar Maximilianus inter gravamina sedis Romanæ, a Germanis non toleranda, campanarum consecrationem recensuit in hæc verba: Suffraganei excogitaverunt, ut solum ipsi, et nullus alius sacerdos, laicis campa-

Sleidan^g, who describe the ceremony at large out of the old Romish Pontifical; for I must return to the Primitive Church.

SECT. III.—*Baptism not to be given to the Dead.*

And here we meet with a practice a little more ancient, but not less superstitious, than the former; which was a custom that began to prevail among some weak people in Afric, of giving baptism to the dead. The third Council of Carthage^h speaks of it as a thing that ignorant Christians were a little fond of; and, therefore, gives a seasonable caution against it to discourage the practice. And this is again repeated in the African Codeⁱ. Gregory Nazianzen^k also takes notice of the same superstitious opinion prevailing among some who delayed to be baptized. In his address to this kind of men, he asks them, Whether they stayed to be baptized after death?—and doubts, upon this account, whether to esteem them greater objects of pity or contempt. Philastrius, also^l, notes it as the

nas baptizarent. Credunt deinde simpliciores, ita affirmantibus suffraganeis, tales campanas baptizatas daemones et tempestates pellere. Quapropter innumeri plerumque adhibentur compatres, præcipue vero, qui fortuna pollent, exorantur, qui baptismationis tempore funem, quo campana ligata est, tangunt, ac suffraganeo præcinente (quemadmodum in parvulorum baptismatione fieri solet) omnes pariter respondent, ac campanæ nomen ingeminant; vesteque nova, quemadmodum et Christianis fieri solet, campana induitur. Inde ad sumptuosa properatur convivia, quibus præcipue compatres, ut eo largius munera offerant, adhibentur; nec non suffraganei, et eorum capellani, cum multis aliis ministris, regaliter pascuntur. Nec hoc satis est, sed et suffraganeo mercedem persolvere necesse est, quam illi munusculum vocare solent. Inde evenit, ut aliquando, etiam in parvis villis, centum floreni in tali absumantur et expendantur baptismatione. Quæ res non solum superstitiosa, sed etiam Christianæ religioni contraria, ac simpliciorum seductio, et mera est exactio. Verum etiam episcopi, ut suffraganeos vel vilissima obærare possint mercede, talia et adhuc absurdiora tolerant. Res igitur tam nefanda et illicita merito aboleri debet.

^g Sleidan. Commentar. lib. xxi. p. 388.

^h Conc. Carth. III. c. v. Cavendum, ne mortuos baptizari posse fratrum infirmitas credat.

ⁱ Cod. Eccles. Afric. c. xviii. Μὴ τοὺς ἤδη τελευτῶντας βαπτισθῆναι ποιήσῃ ἢ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἄγνοια.

^k Nazianz. Orat. xl. de Bapt. (1630. vol. i. p. 648. A 8.) Ἡ καὶ σὺ μένεις νεκρὸς λουθῆναι; οὐ μᾶλλον ἐλεούμενος ἢ μισούμενος;

^l Philast. de Hæres. c. ii. de Cataphryg. Hi mortuos baptizant.

general error of the Montanists, or Cataphrygians, that they baptized men after death. The practice seems to be grounded upon a vain opinion, that when men had neglected to receive baptism in their lifetime, some compensation might be made for this default by receiving it after death. And, for the same reason, they gave the eucharist, also, to the dead, in the like circumstances; which is equally condemned in the forementioned African Canons, as proceeding from gross ignorance in some presbyters, and want of a due understanding of the true intent and meaning of those holy institutions, for whose information they order provincial councils to be held twice a-year, that they might be better instructed.

SECT. IV.—*Nor to the Living for the Dead. Where of the Apostle's meaning of being 'baptized for the Dead.'* (1 Cor. xv. 29.)

Another absurd practice, prevailing among some of the ancient heretics, was a sort of vicarious baptism; which was, that when any one died without baptism, another was baptized in his stead. St. Chrysostom tells us^m this was practised among the Marcionites with a great deal of ridiculous ceremony, which he thus describes: "After any catechumen was dead, they hid a living man under the bed of the deceased: then, coming to the dead man, they spake to him, and asked him whether he would receive baptism? And he, making no answer, the other answered for him, and said, 'He would be baptized in his stead.' And so they baptized the living for

^m Chrysost. Hom. xl. in 1 Cor. (Bened. vol. x. p. 378. C 3.) Ἐπειδὴν γὰρ τις κατηχούμενος ἀπέλθῃ παρ' αὐτοῖς, τὸν ζῶντα ὑπὸ τὴν κλίνην τοῦ τετελευτηκότος κρύψαντες, προσίοῦσι τῷ νεκρῷ, καὶ διαλέγονται, καὶ πυνθάνονται, εἰ βούλοιο λαβεῖν τὸ βάπτισμα· εἴτα ἐκείνου μηδὲν ἀποκρινομένου, ὁ κεκρυμμένος κάτωθεν ἀντ' ἐκείνου φησὶν, ὅτι δὴ βούλοιο βαπτισθῆναι· καὶ οὕτω βαπτίζουσιν αὐτὸν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀπελθόντος, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς παίζοντες· τοσοῦτον ἴσχυσε ταῖς τῶν ῥαθύμων ψυχαῖς ὁ διάβολος· εἴτα ἐγκαλούμενοι, τουτὶ παράγουσι τὸ ῥῆμα λέγοντες, ὅτι καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος εἶρηκεν, οἱ βαπτιζόμενοι ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν· . . . εἰ τοῦτο ἔλεγε Παῦλος, τίνος ἕνεκεν ἠπείλησεν ὁ Θεὸς τῷ μὴ βαπτιζομένῳ; οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶ τίνα μὴ βαπτισθῆναι λοιπὸν, ἐπινοηθέντος τούτου· ἄλλως δὲ τὸ ἔγκλημα οὐκέτι παρὰ τὸν ἀπελθόντα γίνεται, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὸν ζῶντα· . . . εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο ἐφεῖται, καὶ οὐ χρεῖα γνώμης τῆς τοῦ λαμβάνοντος, οὐδὲ συγκαταθέσεως τῆς ἐν τῷ ζῆν, τί κωλύει καὶ Ἕλληνας καὶ Ἰουδαίους οὕτω γενέσθαι πιστοὺς, ἐτέρων μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν ἐκείνων ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων ταῦτα ποιούντων.

the dead, as if they were acting a comedy upon the stage; so great was the power of Satan in the minds of these vain men. Afterward, when any one challenged them upon this practice, they had the confidence to plead the apostle's authority for it: 'Why are they then baptized for the dead?' Against which St. Chrysostom urges very well, that "if this were allowed, in vain had God threatened those that died unbaptized. For, by this means, any Jew or Gentile might easily be made a Christian, by having another, after his death, baptized for him." Tertullian brings the same charge against the Marcionitesⁿ, comparing their practice to the heathen lustrations for the dead, upon the Kalends of February. But, he tells them, "they did but in vain allege the apostle's authority for this practice, as if he had argued from it for the truth and confirmation of the resurrection. For the apostle speaks but of one baptism, and that was of the living for themselves." He reflects upon the same practice in another place^o, where he calls it the "vicarious baptism," which some use in hopes of the resurrection. Suicerus thinks the Cerinthians were the first authors of this kind of baptism; and that, indeed, would carry it up to the apostles' time. But Epiphanius, on whose authority he depends, says no such thing, as from any certain proof, or his own judgment: but only that there was an uncertain tradition handed down to them, concerning some heretics in Asia in the apostles' days^p, who, when any one

ⁿ Tertul. cont. Marcion. lib. v. c. x. (Oberthür, vol. i. p. 571.) Viderit institutio ista; Calendæ, si forte, Februariæ (respondebunt illi) pro mortuis peterent. Noli ergo Apostolum novum statim autorem, aut confirmatorem ejus denotare, ut tanto magis sisteret carnis resurrectionem, quanto illi, qui vane pro mortuis baptizarentur, fide resurrectionis hoc facerent. Habemus illum alicubi unius baptismi definitorem.

^o Tertul. de Resurrect. Carnis, c. xlviii. vol. ii. p. 591. Si et baptizantur quidam pro mortuis, videbimus, an ratione? Certe illa præsumptione hoc eos instituisse portendit, qua alii etiam carni, ut vicarium baptismum, profutura existimarent ad spem resurrectionis, quæ nisi corporalis, non nisi alias baptismate corporali obligaretur.

^p Epiphan. Hæres. xxviii. Cerinth. n. vi. (Colon. vol. i. p. 114. B.) Καί τι παραδόσεως πρᾶγμα ἦλθεν εἰς ἡμᾶς, ὡς τινῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς προφθανόντων τελευτῆσαι ἄνευ βαπτίσματος, ἄλλους δὲ ἀντ' αὐτῶν εἰς ὄνομα ἐκείνων βαπτίζεσθαι, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει ἀναστάντας αὐτοὺς δίκην δοῦναι τιμωρίας, βάπτισμα μὴ εἰληφότας, γίνεσθαι δὲ ὑποχειρίους τῆς τοῦ κοσ-

died without baptism, substituted another in his room to be baptized for him: lest, in the resurrection, he should be punished for want of baptism, and be subjected to the powers which made the world. And the same tradition asserted, that the apostle hence took occasion to say, "If the dead rise not, why are they then baptized for the dead?" But Epiphanius wholly rejects this opinion. Nor do we find any of the ancients so interpreting this passage of the apostle, except only the author under the name of St. Ambrose, who is clearly of opinion that the apostle had respect to such a custom then in being, and thence drew an argument from the example^q of those who were so firmly persuaded of the truth of the future resurrection, that when any one among them was prevented by sudden death, they had another to be baptized in his name, fearing lest he should either not rise at all, or rise to condemnation. But St. Chrysostom gives a much more rational account of the apostle's argument: for he supposes him to refer to the Catholic custom of making every catechumen, at his baptism, with his own mouth declare his belief of the resurrection of the dead, by repeating the Creed, of which that was a part, and so being baptized into that faith, or hope of the resurrection of the dead. And, therefore, he puts them in mind of this, saying, "If there be^r no resurrection of the dead, why art thou then baptized for the dead, that is, the body? For, therefore thou art baptized for the dead, believing the resurrection of the dead, that the body may not remain dead, but revive again." So that 'baptizing for the dead,' is an elliptical expression for 'being baptized into the faith or

μοποιοῦ ἐξουσίας· καὶ τούτου ἔνεκα ἡ παράδοσις ἡ ἐλθοῦσα εἰς ἡμᾶς, φησι, τὸν αὐτὸν ἄγιον ἀπόστολον εἰρηκέναι, Εἰ ὅλως νεκροὶ οὐκ ἐγείρονται, τί καὶ βαπτίζονται ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν;

^q Ambros. Commentar. in 1 Cor. xv. 29. (Bened. fol. vol. ii. app. p. 163. F.) In tantum ratam et stabilem vult ostendere resurrectionem mortuorum, ut exemplum det eorum, qui tam securi erant de futura resurrectione, ut etiam pro mortuis baptizarentur: si quem forte mors prævenisset; timentes, ne aut male, aut non resurgeret, qui baptizatus non fuerat, vivus nomine mortui tingebatur.

^r Chrysostom. Hom. xl. in 1 Cor. (Bened. vol. x. p. 379. C.) Εἰ μὴ ἐστὶν ἀνάστασις, τί καὶ βαπτίζῃ ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν; τουτέστι, τῶν σωμάτων· καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τούτῳ βαπτίζῃ, τοῦ νεκροῦ σώματος ἀνάστασιν πιστεύων ὅτι οὐκέτι μένει νεκρόν.

belief of the resurrection of the dead.' And so I think Tertullian^s is to be understood, when he says, in opposition to the error of the Marcionites, "that to be 'baptized for the dead,' is to be 'baptized for the body,' which is declared to be dead by baptism;—that is, we are baptized into the belief of the resurrection of the body, both whose death and resurrection are represented in baptism." And the interpretation of Epiphanius comes pretty near these, when he says^t, "It refers to those who were baptized upon the approach of death, in hopes of the resurrection from the dead; for they showed thereby that the dead should rise again; and that, therefore, they had need of the remission of sins, which is obtained in baptism." The same sense is given by Theodoret^u, and Theophylact^x, and Balsamon, and Zonaras^y, and Matthew Blastares^z among the

^s Tertul. cont. Marcion. lib. v. c. x. (Oberthür, vol. i. p. 571.) Pro mortuis tingui, pro corporibus est tingui; mortuum enim corpus ostendimus. Quid facient, qui pro corporibus baptizantur, si corpora non resurgunt?

^t Epiphanius. Hæres. xxxviii. n. vi. (vol. i. p. 114. C.) Καλῶς δὲ ἄλλοι τὸ ῥητὸν ἐρμηνεύοντες, φασιν, ὅτι οἱ μέλλοντες τελευτᾶν, ἐὰν ὥσι κατηχούμενοι, ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ ἐλπίδι πρὸ τῆς τελευτῆς λουτροῦ καταξιοῦνται· δεικνύντες ὅτι ὁ τελευτήσας καὶ ἀναστήσεται, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐπιδέεται τῆς διὰ τοῦ λουτροῦ ἀφέσεως ἁμαρτημάτων.

^u Theodoret. Comment. 1 Cor. xv. 29. (Sirmond. 8vo. vol. iii. p. 275.) Ὁ βαπτιζόμενος, φησι, τῷ Δεσπότῃ συνθάπτεται, ἵνα τοῦ θανάτου κοινωνήσας, καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως γένηται κοινωνός· εἰ δὲ νεκρόν ἐστι τὸ σῶμα, καὶ οὐκ ἀνίσταται, τί δὴποτε καὶ βαπτίζεται;

^x Theophyl. (Venet. 1754. vol. ii. p. 223.) Οἱ μέλλοντες βαπτισθῆναι πάντες ἀπαγγέλλουσι τὸ σύμβολον τῆς πίστεως· ἐν τούτῳ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ τοῦτο πρόκειται· πιστεύω εἰς ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν· φησὶν οὖν ὅτι οἱ πιστεύσαντες, ὅτι ἔστι ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν σωμάτων, καὶ βαπτισθέντες ἐπὶ τοιαύταις ἐλπίσι, τί ποιήσουσιν ἀπατηθέντες;

^y Balsam. in can. xviii. Conc. Carth. (Bevereg. Pandect. tom. i. p. 541. A 3.) Οὐ βαπτίζεσθαι τοὺς ἀποθανόντας ὁ ἀπόστολος λέγει, ἢ ἄλλους ἀντ' ἐκείνων· ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ οἱ βαπτιζόμενοι, μαρτυροῦντες τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς μυστηρίου τὴν δύναμιν, μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν ἐλπίζειν διδάσκονται, καὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ κολυμβήθρᾳ κατάδυσιν τὸν θάνατον παραδηλοῦν, τὴν δὲ ἀνάστασιν αὐθις διὰ τῆς ἀναδύσεως ὑπεμφαίνεσθαι· φησὶν ὁ ἀπόστολος πρὸς τοὺς ἀμφιβαλόντας περὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως, Ὅτι εἰ μὴ ἀνάστασις ἐστι, τί ποιήσουσιν οἱ βαπτιζόμενοι ἐπ' ἐλπίδι τοῦ ἀναστῆναι τοὺς νεκρούς; καὶ τί βαπτίζονται, ὥς προσδοκῶντες νεκρῶν ἀναζώωσιν; λοιπὸν ματαιοπονοῦσιν οἱ βαπτιζόμενοι, εἴγε περὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἀμφιβάλλουσι διὰ μὲν τοῦ βαπτίζεσθαι καὶ καταδύεσθαι εἰς τὸ τῆς κολυμβήθρας ὕδωρ καὶ ἀναδύεσθαι, τὸν θάνατον καὶ τὴν ἀνάστασιν καταγγέλλοντες, δι' ὧν δὲ λέγουσιν, ἀπιστοῦντες αὐτῇ.

^z Blastar. Syntag. can. ibid. tom. ii. part. ii. p. 41. E 4. Οὐ τοὺς ἤδη τεθνη-

Greeks ; and it is embraced by Bishop Patrick^a and Dr. Hammond^b, as the most natural and genuine exposition of this difficult passage of the apostle. Some, indeed, think it may refer to another custom of baptizing over the monuments of the martyrs, who died for the faith in hopes of a future resurrection. But that custom was hardly ancient enough to be alluded to in the time of the apostles ; though Vossius^c and some other learned men incline to this opinion. However it be, it is not likely the apostle would draw an argument from the absurd practice of the worst of heretics. Therefore, whatever interpretation be thought most proper and worthy to be received, that is certainly to be rejected, together with the error of the Marcionites, who founded their vicarious baptism upon the authority of this apostolical passage, contrary

κότας ὁ ἀπόστολος κελεύει βαπτίζειν, ἢ ἀντ' ἐκείνων ἄλλους . . . Βαπτίζονται γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν τῇ φύσει σωμάτων, εἰς ἀφθαρσίαν καὶ αὐτὰ μετασκευασθῆναι πιστεύοντες.

^a Patrick, *Aqua Genitalis*, p. 453.

^b Hammond, in 1 Cor. xv. 29. Why then have they in their baptism made profession of their belief of the resurrection . . . to which baptism (being the putting in and taking out of the water) doth refer, first of Christ's, and then of our resurrection from the grave ?

^c Voss. *Thes. Theol. Disput. xii. p. 225*, edit. Bellosit. Dobunor. 1628. (*Disput. xii. p. 180*, edit. Hag. Comit. 1658.) Quo loco (1 Cor. xv. 29), quamquam minime eorum sententiam damnamus, qui τὸ βαπτίζεσθαι (ut interdum sumitur) de afflictione intelligunt, ac τὸ ὑπὲρ (ut interdum accipi Eustathius docet) ἕνεκα vel ὑπὲρ exponunt ; ut nempe intelligantur, qui eo persecutionem patiuntur, quod obdormientes in Christo resurrecturos æternumque beate doceant victuros ; tamen, quum τὸ βαπτίζεσθαι obscuriori hac notione raro admodum usurpetur in Scripturis, ac tum, unico Lucæ loco excepto, additam habeat ἐξήγησιν, magis placet hoc verbum proprie accipi, ac τὸ ὑπὲρ, ut sæpe fit, *super* seu *supra*, quod et inde descendit, significare : ut nempe sententia sit, 'qui baptismi aqua tingui amant super cadavera,' h. e. super sepulchra. Quæ interpretatio eo confirmatur, quod non Hieronymi tantum vel Augustini ævo ad memoriam martyrum convenirent, quod nemo in dubium vocat ; sed jam ætate eorum, qui Johannem Evangelistam audire potuissent : ut fratrum Smyrnen-sium litteris ab Eusebio recitatis ostendimus thesibus historicis 'de Invocatione Sanctorum.' Ut igitur jam antiquissimis ecclesiæ temporibus Christiani instituere amabant conventus sacros in martyrum cœmeteriis, quo fideles hoc pacto ad eorum sequendum exemplum magis inflammarentur ; ita iisdem temporibus, ipsoque, ut videtur, apostolorum ævo, gaudebant multi super martyrum aliorumque fidelium sepulchra baptizari, quo ita tum peccato se mori, tum et suam et eorum, super quibus baptizarentur, resurrectionem se credere hoc signo testarentur.

to the sense and practice of the whole Catholic Church ; which never allowed of baptism given to the living for the dead, or of any baptism but such as was given to men in their own persons.

SECT. V.—*Proofs of Infant Baptism from the ancient Records of the Church.*

Now, of persons who were reckoned capable of receiving baptism, there were two sorts—infants and adult persons. And infants were of two sorts,—either such as were born of Christian parents ; or such as were born of heathens, but, by some providential means, became the possession and property, as I may call it, of the Christian Church ; neither of which sort were excluded from baptism, when sufficient sponsors could be provided for them. This is so evident from the ancient records of the Church, that it is to be wondered how some learned persons could run into the contrary opinion, and offer reasons from antiquity, in prejudice of the Church's constant practice. Mr. Wall, in his elaborate Discourse^d of Infant Baptism, has justly reflected upon abundance of these men, who, by their unwary concessions, have given too great advantage to the Anabaptists of this age. There are some others, also, which he had not seen, who advance as unworthy notions of the ancient practice ; for Salmasius, and Suicerus^e out of him, deliver it as authentic history, “that, for the two first ages, no one received baptism, who was not first instructed in the faith and doctrine of Christ, so as to be able to answer for himself, that he believed, because of those words, ‘He that believeth and is baptized.’” Which, in effect, is to say, that no infant, for the two first ages, was ever admitted to Christian baptism. But, afterwards, they own, Pædobaptism came in, upon the opinion that baptism was necessary to salvation. Now, I shall not think myself obliged to be very prolix in refuting this opinion, together with the false supposition

^d Wall's History of Infant Baptism, part ii. chap. ii.

^e Suicer. Thes. Eccles. (vol. ii. p. 1136.) *Primis duobus sæculis memo baptismum accipiebat, nisi qui, in fide instructus et doctrina Christiana imbutus, testari posset, se credere, propter illa verba, ‘Qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit.’*

which is made the foundation of it, since that has so often, and so substantially been done by Vossius^f, Dr. Forbes^g, Dr. Hammond^h, Mr. Walkerⁱ, and especially Mr. Wall^k, who has exactly considered the testimony and authority of almost every ancient writer that has said any thing upon this subject. But that no one who reads these collections may be wholly at a loss for want of other authors, I shall here subjoin a brief account of the most pertinent authorities that occur in the three first ages.

SECT. VI.—*From Clemens Romanus and Hermes (or Hermas) Pastor.*

The most ancient writer that we have, is Clemens Romanus, who lived in the time of the apostles; and he, though he does not directly mention infant baptism, yet says a thing that, by consequence, proves it: for he makes infants liable to original sin; which, in effect, is to say, “that they have need of baptism to purge them from it.” For, speaking of Job, he says, “Though he was a just man, yet he^l condemns himself, saying, ‘There is none free from pollution, though his life be but of the length of one day.’” Now, if children be born to sin, they have need of a regeneration, to make them capable of the kingdom of heaven. Hermes Pastor lived about the same time with Clemens, and has several passages to show the general necessity of water,—that is, baptism, to save men. In one place he represents the Church as a tower built on the waters; and says^m, “Hear, therefore, why the tower is built on the waters: because your life is saved, and shall be saved,

^f Voss. de Bapt. Disput. xiv. tot.

^g Forbes’s Instruct. Hist. Theol. lib. x. c. v.

^h Hammond’s Def. of Infant Baptism, chap. iv.

ⁱ Walker’s Plea for Infant Baptism, chap. xxvii. etc.

^k Wall’s History of Infant Baptism, part i. chap. i. etc.

^l Clem. Rom. Epist. i. ad Corinth. n. xvii. (Coteler. vol. i. p. 155.) Ἰὼβ ἦν δίκαιος καὶ ἄμεμπτος, ἀληθινὸς, θεοσεβής, ἀπεχόμενος ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ· ἀλλ’ αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ κατηγορῶν λέγει, Οὐδεὶς καθαρὸς ἀπὸ ῥύπου, οὐδὲ εἰ μιᾶς ἡμέρας ἡ ζωὴ αὐτοῦ.

^m Herm. Past. lib. i. visio iii. c. iii. (Coteler. vol. i. p. 79.) Quare ergo super aquas ædificatur turris audi: Quoniam vita vestra per aquam salva facta est, et fiet.

by water." In another place, he makes water baptism so necessary to all, that, in a vision, he represents the apostles as going, after deathⁿ, to baptize the holy spirits who lived under the Old Testament, that they might be translated into the kingdom of God. "It was necessary," says he, "for them to ascend by water, that they might be at rest: for they could not otherwise enter into the kingdom of God, than by putting off the mortality of their former life. They, therefore, after they were dead, were sealed with the seal of the Son of God, and so entered into the kingdom of God. For before any one receives the name of the Son of God, he is liable to death, but when he receives that seal, he is delivered from death, and is assigned to life. Now that seal is water, into which men descend, bound over unto death, but ascend out of it assigned unto life. For this reason, the seal was also preached unto them; and they made use of it, that they might enter into the kingdom of God." The plain design of this place is to represent the necessity of baptism; without which, none can ordinarily enter into the kingdom of God. And it cannot be doubted, that he who thought it so necessary even for the patriarchs, who died before the coming of Christ, must think it equally necessary to all those who lived under the dispensation of the Gospel. Though whether the baptism here mentioned be to be understood in a literal and corporeal sense, or only in a metaphorical or mystical way, as a vision or a parable may require, is what may admit of some dispute. And, therefore, Cotelerius^o gives his opinion for the latter sense, concluding, "that forasmuch as washing in water properly

ⁿ Id. lib. iii. simil. ix. n. xvi. (Coteler. vol. i. p. 117.) Necesse est ut per aquam habeant adscendere, ut requiescant. Non poterant enim aliter in regnum Dei intrare, quam ut deponerent mortalitatem prioris vitæ. Illi igitur defuncti, sigillo Filii Dei signati sunt, et intraverunt in regnum Dei. Antequam enim accipiat homo nomen Filii Dei, morti destinatus est: at ubi accipit illud signum, liberatur a morte, et traditur vitæ. Illud autem sigillum aqua est, in quam descendunt homines morti obligati; adscendunt vero vitæ adsignati. Et illis igitur prædicatum est illud sigillum; et usi sunt eo, ut intrarent in regnum Dei.

^o Cotel. p. 117. Quandoquidem lavatio corporibus competit, non animis, Noster necessario intelligit baptismum metaphoricum et mysticum, bona videlicet, quæ in baptismate a Deo conceduntur.

belongs to bodies, and not to spirits, our author is necessarily to be understood of metaphorical and mystical baptism; that is, the spiritual effects of it; the good things which are conferred by God in baptism;" the chief of which is a title to eternal life, which the patriarchs after death are supposed to be made partakers of, by believing the word of the Gospel then preached to them. This was that spiritual water in which departed souls were baptized; as the bodies of the living are baptized in common water: from the analogy of which we must needs conclude the necessity of water-baptism for all those who are in a capacity to receive it,—that is, for all those who are yet in the body, in order to be made partakers of eternal life. God, indeed, may, if he pleases, give the baptism of the Spirit, and the baptism of faith, which is the baptism of the word, without it. And so some of the ancients suppose the apostles to be baptized without water, from that saying of our Saviour, "Now ye are clean through the word which I have spoken unto you." So Tertullian^p and others; though

^p Tertull. de Bapt. c. xii. (Oberthür, vol. ii. p. 50.) Quum præscribitur, nemini sine baptismo competere salutem, ex illa maxime pronuntiatione Domini, qui ait, 'Nisi natus ex aqua quis erit, non habet vitam,' suboriuntur scrupulosi, immo temerarii retractatus quorundam, quo modo ex ista præscriptione apostolis salus competat, quos tinctos non invenimus in Domino, præter Paulum. Immo quum Paulus solus ex illis baptismum Christi induerit, aut præjudicatum esse de ceterorum periculo, qui careant aqua Christi, ut præscriptio salva sit, aut rescindi præscriptionem, si etiam non tinctis salus statuta est. Audivi, Domino teste, ejusmodi, ne quis me tam perditum existimet, ut ultro exagitem libidine styli, quæ aliis scrupulum incutiant. Et nunc illis, ut potero, respondebo, qui negant apostolos tinctos. Nam si humanum Joannis baptismum inierant, et Dominicum desiderabant, quatenus unum baptismum definierat ipse Dominus, dicens Petro perfundi nolenti, 'Qui semel lavit, non habet necesse rursum:' quod utique non tincto non omnino dixisset: et hæc est probatio exserta adversus illos, qui adimunt apostolis etiam Joannis baptismum, ut destruant aquæ sacramentum. An credibile videri potest, in his personis viam tunc Domini non præparatam, id est, baptismum Joannis, quæ ad viam Domini per totum orbem aperiendam destinabantur? Ipse Dominus nullius poenitentiae debitor tinctus est, peccatoribus non fuit necesse? Quid ergo? alii tincti non sunt? non tamen comites Christi, sed æmuli fidei, legis doctores et Pharisei. Unde et suggeritur, quum adversantes Domino tingui noluerint, eos qui Dominum sequebantur, tinctos fuisse, nec cum æmulis suis sapuisse, maxime quando Dominus cui adhærebant, testimonio Joannem extulisset, 'Nemo,' dicens, 'major inter natos feminarum Joanne Baptizatore.' Alii plane satis coacte injiciunt tunc apostolos baptismi vicem implesse, quum in navicula fluctibus

the more general opinion is^q, that they were baptized by Christ himself. In like manner, God might dispense with the want of water-baptism in cases extraordinary, and supply this want either by martyrdom, or faith and repentance, in such cases where it could not be had ;—as I have showed (in the last Book^r) the general consent of the ancients upon this matter to be ; but yet in all ordinary cases, where water-baptism might be had, they concluded as generally for the necessity of it, from that assertion of our Saviour, “ Except one be born of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.” This was not only a doctrine of the third or fourth ages, as Salmasius and Suicerus represent, but the doctrine of the very first ages immediately succeeding the apostles ; for we see Hermes Pastor, who lived in the apos-

adpersi operti sunt ; ipsum quoque Petrum, per mare ingredientem, satis mersum. Ut opinor autem, aliud est adspergi vel intercipi violentia maris, aliud tingui disciplina religionis. . . . Nunc sive tincti quoquo modo fuerunt, sive inloti perseveraverunt, ut et illud dictum Domini de uno lavacro sub Petri persona ad nos tantummodo spectet, de salute tamen apostolorum satis temerarium est aestimare, quia illis vel primæ adlectionis, et exinde individuae familiaritatis prærogativa compendium baptismi conferre posset. Cum illo, opinor, sequebantur illum, qui credenti cuique salutem pollicebatur. ‘ Fides tua te (aiebat) salvum fecit, et remittuntur tibi peccata ; ’ credenti utique, nec tamen tincto.

^q Aug. Ep. cvii. (Bened. vol. ii. p. 897. E 4.) Tunc quando ab Jerosolymis exiit cum discipulis suis in Judæam terram, et illic morabatur cum eis, baptizabat non per seipsum, sed per discipulos suos ; quos intelligimus jam fuisse baptizatos, sive baptismo Johannis, sicut nonnulli arbitrantur, sive, quod magis credibile est, baptismo Christi. Neque enim ministerium baptizandi defugeret, ut haberet baptizatos servos, per quos ceteros baptizaret, qui non defugit memorabilis illius humilitatis ministerium, quando eis lavit pedes ; et petenti Petro, ut non tantum pedes, verum etiam manus et caput ei lavaret, respondit, ‘ Qui lotus est, non indiget, nisi ut pedes lavet : sed est mundus totus ; ’ ubi intelligitur, quod jam Petrus baptizatus fuerat.—Anon. Auctor de non Iterando Bapt. ad calcem Cypriani, p. 23, edit. Oxon. (p. 21, edit. Amstelod.) Quoniam quidem et ipsi apostoli et discipuli, qui etiam alios baptizabant, qui etiam a Domino baptizati non statim Spiritum Sanctum acceperint, etc.—Clem. Alexandr. Hypotypos. lib. v. ap. Joan. Mosch. Prat. Spirit. c. clxxvi. *Ναὶ ἀληθῶς ἐβαπτίσθησαν, καθὼς Κλήμης ὁ Στρωματεὺς, ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ τόμῳ Ὑποτυπώσεων μέμνηται· φησὶ γὰρ, τὸ ἀποστολικὸν ῥητὸν ἐξηγούμενος τὸ λέγον (εὐχαριστῶ τῷ Θεῷ, ὅτι οὐδένα ὑμῶν ἐβάπτισα) ὁ Χριστὸς λέγεται Πέτρον μόνον βεβαπτικέναι, Πέτρος δὲ Ἀνδρέαν, Ἀνδρέας Ἰάκωβον καὶ Ἰωάννην· ἐκεῖνοι δὲ τοὺς λοιπούς.*

^r See Book x. chap. ii. sect. xx.

tolical age, founds the general necessity of baptism upon that very saying of our Saviour. And, therefore, they who represent this doctrine of the necessity of baptism as a novelty or an error, first introduced into the Church in the age of St. Austin, against the Pelagian heretics, do manifest wrong both to the doctrine itself, and to St. Austin and to the ancients, who embraced and delivered the same before him. And it gives an unnecessary advantage to the Anti-pædobaptists; which a right understanding of this matter absolutely takes from them. I thought it, therefore, of some use to observe this against Salmasius and Suicerus, and to add to it the observations which Mr. Wall has made upon Hermes Pastor.

SECT. VII.—*From Justin Martyr.*

Another ancient writer, who lived within the compass of the second century, was Justin Martyr, who very plainly speaks of infant baptism as used from the time of the apostles; for, in one of his Apologies, he takes occasion to say^s, “There were among Christians in his time many persons of both sexes, some sixty, and some seventy years old, who had been made disciples to Christ from their infancy, and continued virgins, or uncorrupted, all their lives.” Now, Justin wrote this Apology about the year 148, in the middle of the second century; and, therefore, those whom he speaks of as baptized sixty or seventy years before, in their infancy, must be persons baptized in the first age, while some of the apostles were living. In another place of the same Apology^t, he urges these words of our Saviour (John iii. 35), “Except ye be regenerated, or born again, ye cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven,” to prove the necessity of baptism. And in his Dialogue with Trypho the Jew, he speaks of the whole progeny of Adam as liable to death^u, and the deception of

^s Justin. Apol. ii. p. 62. Πολλοί τινες καὶ πολλαὶ, ἐξηκοντούται καὶ ἐβδομηκοντούται, οἱ ἐκ παίδων ἐμαθητεύθησαν τῷ Χριστῷ, ἄφθοροι διαμένουσι.

^t Ibid. p. 94. A.

^u Ibid. Dialog. c. Tryph. (p. 186. A 7.) . . . ὑπὲρ τοῦ γένους τοῦ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὃ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ ὑπὸ θάνατον καὶ πλάνην τὴν τοῦ ὄψεως ἐπεπτώκει, παρὰ τὴν ἰδίαν αἰτίαν ἐκάστου αὐτῶν πονηρευσαμένου.

the serpent, by reason of Adam's sin, beside the particular guilt which each man contracts, by actual sin, in his own person. Now, if all mankind be born with original sin, this extends to infants, who have need of regeneration or baptism to free them from it. And this assertion in Justin, by consequence, proves the necessity of baptism for infants as well as others, that they may have redemption from original sin. In another place of the same Dialogue^x, he makes baptism parallel to circumcision, saying, "We have not received that carnal circumcision, but the spiritual circumcision, which Enoch, and those like him, observed: and we have received it by baptism, through the mercy of God, because we were sinners; and it is incumbent on all persons to receive it in the same way." Now, if baptism be answerable to circumcision, and succeed it in its room, and be necessary to be received as the means to obtain the true circumcision of the Spirit; then, as infants were admitted to circumcision, so they were to be admitted to baptism, that being the ordinary means of applying the mercy of the Gospel to them, and cleansing them from the guilt of original sin.

SECT. VIII.—*And the Author of the Recognitions contemporary with Justin Martyr.*

Next after Justin Martyr, I subjoin the ancient author of the book, called The Recognitions, or Travels of St. Peter; because, though it be not the genuine work of Clemens Romanus, whose name it borrowed, yet it is an ancient writing, of the same age with Justin Martyr, mentioned by Origen in his *Philocalia*, and, by some, ascribed to Bardesanes Syrus, who lived about the middle of the second century. This author speaks of the necessity of baptism in the very same style as Justin Martyr did, making it universally necessary to purge away original sin, and to qualify men for the kingdom of heaven. For putting an objection, by way of question,—

^x Ibid. (p. 139. A 6.) Ἡμεῖς οὐ ταύτην τὴν κατὰ σάρκα παρελάβομεν περιτομήν, ἀλλὰ πνευματικὴν, ἣν Ἐνὼχ καὶ οἱ ὅμοιοι ἐφύλαξαν· ἡμεῖς δὲ διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος αὐτήν, ἐπειδὴ ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἐγεγόνημεν, διὰ τὸ ἔλεος τὸ παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐλάβομεν, καὶ πᾶσιν ἐφετὸν ὁμοίως λαμβάνειν.

“ What does baptism by water^y contribute toward the worship of God ?” He answers, “ 1st, that it is fulfilling that which is the will and pleasure of God ; then, 2d, the man that is regenerated by water, and born again to God, is thereby freed from the weakness of his first nativity, which comes to him by man ; and so he is made capable of salvation, which he could not otherwise obtain. For so the true Prophet (meaning Christ) has testified with an oath, saying, ‘ Verily, I say unto you, except one be born again of water, he shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven.’ ” This author, indeed, does not speak particularly of the baptism of infants ; but his reasons are such as show his discourse to extend to them : for if baptism be necessary upon these two accounts, first, to cut off concupiscence, or original sin, which is the infirmity of our first birth, and then to qualify us to enter into the kingdom of God, these are general reasons for baptism, which make it necessary for infants, as well as any other : since, according to this author, they are born in original sin, and cannot enter into the kingdom of God, till that sin be purged away by the waters of baptism. Here, then, we have another author, within the compass of the two first ages, directly confronting that assertion of Salmasius and Suicerus, “ that the doctrine of the necessity of baptism to salvation, was not the doctrine of the two first ages, but only an opinion taken up afterwards, upon which foundation the practice of infant baptism was introduced into the Church ;” for no one can, or ever did, declare himself plainer for the necessity of baptism to salvation,

^y *Recognit. lib. vi. n. ix. (Coteler. tom. i. p. 551.) Quid confert aquæ baptismus ad Dei cultum ? Primo quidem quia quod Deo placuit, impletur ; secundo, quia regeneratio ex aquis et Deo renato fragilitas prioris nativitatis, quæ tibi per hominem facta est, amputatur ; et ita demum pervenire poteris ad salutem : aliter vero impossibile est. Sic enim nobis cum sacramento verus Propheta testatus est, dicens ; Amen dico vobis : nisi quis denuo renatus fuerit ex aqua, non introibit in regna cœlorum.’ This is repeated in the Greek Clementines, hom. xi. num. xxvi. p. 698. Τί συμβάλλεται πρὸς εὐσέβειαν τὸ βαπτισθῆναι ὕδατι ; πρῶτον μὲν, ὅτι τὸ δόξαν Θεῷ πράττεις· δεύτερον δὲ, ἐξ ὕδατος ἀναγεννηθεὶς Θεῷ, αἰτία φόβου, τὴν ἐξ ἐπιθυμίας πρώτην σοι γενομένην καταλλάσσεις γενέσιν, καὶ οὕτως σωτηρίας τυχεῖν δύνη· ἄλλως δὲ ἀδύνατον· οὕτως γὰρ ἡμῖν ὤμοσεν ὁ προφήτης, εἰπὼν· Ἀμὴν ὑμῖν λέγω, εἰ μὴ ἀναγεννηθῆτε ὕδατι ζῶντι, εἰς ὄνομα Πατρὸς, Υἱοῦ, ἁγίου Πνεύματος, οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθητε εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν.*

than this author does, from the words of our Saviour Christ, which he interprets, as all the ancients both before and after him did, of the ordinary necessity of water baptism to salvation. So that, if infant baptism was founded, as Salmasius pleads, upon the opinion of the necessity of baptism to salvation, this author must be an asserter of infant baptism, because he was, undeniably, an asserter of the general necessity of baptism to salvation. I have the rather insisted a little upon this author's meaning, because I know not whether his testimony has been produced before in this cause by any other.

SECT. IX.—*And Irenæus.*

Not long after the time of Justin Martyr, and the author last mentioned, lived Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, who, as Mr. Dodwell evidently shows^z, and Dr. Cave from him^a, was born in the latter end of the first century, about the year 97, and was a disciple of Polycarp, who was a disciple of St. John. About the year 176, he wrote his book *Against Heresies*, being then nearly eighty years old, and died not many years after; so that he must needs be a competent witness of the Church's sense and practice upon this point during the second century. Now, there are three things relating to this matter, which appear very evident from him. 1. That the Church then believed the doctrine of original sin. 2. That the ordinary means of purging away this sin was baptism. 3. That children, as well as others, were then actually baptized to obtain remission of sins, and apply the redemption of Christ to them. For the doctrine of original sin, he sometimes calls it 'the sin^b of our first parents,' which was done away in Christ by

^z Dodwell. Dissert. in Irenæum.

^a Cav. Histor. Litter. (Basil. 1741. vol. i. p. 66.) Cl. Dodwellus dissertatione 'de Ætate Irenæi,' quam una cum aliis ad novam Irenæi editionem parat, aliter plane quam vulgo fieri solet, Irenæi tempora disponit. . . . Statuit, Irenæum natum esse sub Nerva, ann. Christi 97. Quod quidem ex ipsis verbis colligi posse videtur, lib. v. c. xxx. ubi exitum imperii Domitiani vocat *σχεδὸν τὴν ἡμετέραν γενεάν*, seu, ut habet antiqua versio, 'pene nostrum sæculum.' Sæculum vero suum a suis natalibus ipsum deducere, nulli dubium esse potest. Circa annum, ut videtur, 122, dum adhuc *ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἡλικίᾳ* erat (lib. iii. c. iii.), Polycarpum vidit et audivit, etc.

^b Iren. lib. v. c. xix. (Venet. 1734. vol. i. p. 316.) Adhuc protoplasti pec-

his loosing the bonds wherein we were held and bound over unto death, the sin whereby we offended God^c in the first Adam, by disobeying his command, but were reconciled to God in the second Adam, by obedience unto death. So that infants, as well as others, were under the guilt of this sin, and had need of a Redeemer, with the rest of mankind, to deliver them from it. Now, the ordinary way of being freed from this original guilt, he says, is baptism, which is our regeneration^d, or new birth unto God. And this he expressly affirms to be administered to children as well as adult persons. “For,” says he, “Christ^e came to save all persons by himself; all, I say, who by him are regenerated unto God—infants, and little ones, and children, and youths, and elder persons: therefore, he went through the several ages, being made an infant for infants, that he might sanctify infants; and for little ones he was made a little one, to sanctify them of that age also.” No art can elude this passage, so long as it is owned that regeneration means ‘baptism.’ And for this we have the explication of Irenæus himself, who calls baptism by the name of ‘regeneration.’ And so all the ancients commonly do, as Suicerus (against whom I am now disputing) scruples not to own, alleging Justin Martyr^f, Chrysostom, and Gregory Nyssen,

catum per corruptionem primogeniti emendationem accipiens, et serpentis prudentia devicta in columbæ simplicitate, vinculis autem illis resolutis, per quæ adligati eramus morti.

^c Id. lib. v. c. xvi. p. 313. Deum in primo quidem Adam offendimus, non facientes ejus præceptum; in secundo autem Adam reconciliati sumus, obedi- entes usque ad mortem facti.

^d Id. lib. i. c. xviii. Καὶ ὅτι μὲν εἰς ἐξάρνησιν τοῦ βαπτίσματος τῆς εἰς Θεὸν ἀναγεννήσεως, καὶ πάσης τῆς πίστεως ἀπόθεσιν ὑποβέβληται τὸ εἶδος τοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ Σατανᾶ, ἐλέγχοντες αὐτοὺς ἀπαγγελοῦμεν ἐν τῷ προσήκοντι τόπῳ.

^e Iren. lib. ii. c. xxxix.

^f Suicer. Thesaur. Eccles. voce ἀναγέννησις, tom. i. p. 243. Quia baptismus est inter causas regenerationis instrumentales, qua regenerationis gratia nobis significatur et obsignatur, usitatissime Græcis patribus ἀναγέννησις vocatur. —Gregor. Nyssen. Orat. de Bapt. iii. p. 368. Βάπτισμα τοίνυν ἐστὶν ἀμαρ- τιῶν κάθαρσις, ἄφεσις πλημμελημάτων, ἀνακαινισμοῦ καὶ ἀναγεννήσεως αἰτία. —Chrysostom. in c. iv. ad Galat. (tom. iii. p. 748, edit. Eton. 1612.) (Bened. vol. x. p. 711. C 8.) Ἐπὶ τῆς ἀναγεννήσεως τῆς ἡμετέρας τὰ ῥήματα τοῦ Θεοῦ διὰ τοῦ ἱερέως λεγόμενα, ἅπερ ἴσασιν οἱ πιστοὶ, διαπλάττει καὶ ἀναγεννᾷ τὸν βαπτιζόμενον. —Justin. Martyr. Apol. ii. ubi administrationem

to this purpose ; which fully evinces infant baptism, in the age of Irenæus, that is, in the second century, to have been the common practice of the Church.

SECT. X.—*And Tertullian.*

In the latter end of the second century, and beginning of the third, lived Tertullian, presbyter of the Church of Carthage, who, though he had some singular notions about this matter, yet he sufficiently testifies the Church's practice. In his own private opinion, he was for deferring the baptism of infants, especially where there was no danger of death, till they came to years of discretion ; but he so argues for this, as to show us that the practice of the Church was otherwise. "For," says he, "according to every one's condition^s and disposition, and also their age, the delaying of baptism is more advantageous, especially in the case of little children ; for what need is there that the godfathers should be brought into danger ? Because they may either fail of their promises by death, or they may be deceived by a child's proving of wicked disposition. Our Lord says, indeed, 'Do not forbid them to come unto me.' Let them come, therefore, when they are grown up ; let them come when they can learn—when they can be taught whither it is they come ; let them be made

baptismi describit inter alia : "Ἐπειτα ἄγονται ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐνθα ὕδωρ ἐστὶ, καὶ τρόπον ἀναγεννήσεως, ὃν καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ ἀνεγεννήθημεν, ἀναγεννώμεθα. Ἐπ' ὀνόματος γὰρ τοῦ Πατρὸς τῶν ὅλων καὶ δεσπότου Θεοῦ, καὶ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ Πνεύματος ἁγίου, τὸ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι τότε λουτρὸν ποιοῦνται. (Bened. p. 71.)

^s Tertull. de Bapt. c. xviii. (Oberthür, vol. ii. p. 55.) (Paris. 1674. p. 231.) Pro cujusque personæ conditione, ac dispositione, etiam ætate cunctatio baptismi utilior est : præcipue tamen circa parvulos. Quid enim necesse est, sponsors etiam periculo ingeri ? quia et ipsi per mortalitatem destituere promissiones suas possunt, et proventu malæ indolis falli. Ait quidem Dominus, 'Nolite illos prohibere ad me venire.' Veniant ergo, dum adolescent ; veniant dum discunt, dum quo veniant, docentur : fiant Christiani, quum Christum nosse potuerint. Quid festinat innocens ætas ad remissionem peccatorum ? Cautius agetur in sæcularibus ; ut, cui substantia terrena non creditur, divina credatur : norint petere salutem, ut petenti dedisse videaris. Non minore de causa innupti quoque procrastinandi, in quibus tentatio præparata est tam virginibus per maturitatem, quam viduis per vagationem, donec aut nubant, aut continentiae corroborentur.

Christians when they can know Christ. What need their innocent age make such haste to the forgiveness of sins? Men proceed more cautiously in worldly things: and he that is not trusted with earthly goods, shall he be trusted with divine? Let them know how to ask salvation, that you may appear to give it to one that asketh. For no less reason, unmarried persons ought to be delayed, because they are exposed to temptations, as well virgins that are come to maturity, as those that are in widowhood by the loss of a consort, until they either marry or be confirmed in continence." The way of Tertullian's arguing upon this point, shows plainly that he was for introducing a new practice; that, therefore, it was the custom of the Church, in his time, to give baptism to infants as well as adult persons. And his arguments tend not only to exclude infants, but all persons that are unmarried, or in widowhood, for fear of temptation. Which are rules that no one beside himself ever thought of, much less were they confirmed by any Church's practice. But even this advice of Tertullian, as singular as it was, seems only calculated for cases where there was no danger or apprehensions of death. For, otherwise, he pleads as much for the necessity of baptism as any other, both in those words of our Saviour^h, "Except one be born again of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven;" as also from the general corruption of original sin, which renders every son of Adam unclean till he be made a Christian: which is only done in baptism; for men are not born Christians, but made so. And, therefore, in case of necessity, he thought every Christian had power to give baptism, rather than any person should die without it. Which seems to imply, that his opinion for delaying baptism, whether of infants or others, respected only such cases where there was no danger of death. But even in those cases, the practice of the Church was otherwise: for she baptized infants as soon as they were born, though without any imminent danger of death, as appears from Tertullian's Discourse itself, who

^h Tertull. de Anima, c. xl. (Oberthür, vol. ii. p. 393.) Ita omnis anima eoque in Adam censetur, donec in Christo recenseatur: tam diu immunda, quam diu recenseatur. Peccatrix autem, quia immunda recipiens ignominiam suam ex carnis societate.—It. de Bapt. c. xiii.

laboured to make an innovation, but without any success ; for the same practice continued in the Church in the following ages.

SECT. XI.—*And Origen.*

Origen lived in the beginning of the third century, and nothing can be plainer than the testimonies alleged from him. In one place, he says, “Every one is born in original sin ;” which he thus proves from the words of David, saying, “ ‘I was conceived in iniquity, and in sinⁱ did my mother bear me ;’ showing that every soul that is born in the flesh, is polluted with the filth of sin and iniquity : and that, therefore, it was said, as we mentioned before, that none is clean from pollution, though his life be but of the length of one day. Besides all this, it may be inquired, what is the reason why the baptism of the Church, which is given for remission of sins, is, by the custom of the Church, given to infants also ? Whereas, if there were nothing in infants that wanted remission and indulgence, the grace of baptism might seem needless to them.” In another place^k, he says, “Infants are baptized for the forgiveness of sins. Of what sins ; or when did they commit them ; or how can any reason be given for baptizing them, but only according to that sense which we mentioned a little before ? ‘None is free from pollution, though his life be but

ⁱ Origen. Homil. viii. in Levit. (Oberthür, vol. vi. p. 137.) Audi David dicentem, ‘In iniquitatibus conceptus sum, et in peccatis peperit me mater mea :’ ostendens, quod quaecumque anima in carne nascitur, iniquitatis et peccati sorde polluitur : et propterea dictum esse illud, quod jam superius memoravimus ; quia ‘nemo mundus a sorde, nec si unius diei fuerit vita ejus.’ Addi his etiam illud potest, ut requiratur, quid causæ sit, quum baptisma ecclesiæ pro remissione peccatorum detur, secundum ecclesiæ observantiam etiam parvulis baptismum dari : quum utique si nihil esset in parvulis, quod ad remissionem deberet et indulgentiam pertinere, gratia baptismi superflua videretur.

^k Origen. in Luc. Hom. xiv. (Oberthür, vol. xiii. p. 335.) Parvuli baptizantur in remissionem peccatorum. Quorum peccatorum ? Vel quo tempore peccaverunt ? Aut quomodo potest ulla lavacri in parvulis ratio subsistere, nisi juxta illum sensum, de quo paullo ante diximus : ‘Nullus mundus a sorde, nec si unius diei quidem fuerit vita ejus super terram.’ Et quia per baptismi sacramentum nativitatis sordes deponuntur, propterea baptizantur et parvuli. ‘Nisi enim quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et Spiritu, non potest intrare in regnum coelorum.’

the length of one day upon the earth.' And, for that reason, infants are baptized, because, by the sacrament of baptism, the pollution of our birth is taken away. And, 'except one be born of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven.'" Where he not only makes infant baptism the practice of the Church, but derives it from divine institution, as he does in another place¹ from apostolical tradition. For he affirms, "that the Church received the order of baptizing infants from the apostles; for they, to whom the divine mysteries were committed, knew that there is in all persons the natural pollution of sin, which must be washed away by water and the Spirit: by reason of which, the body itself is also called 'the body of sin.'"

SECT. XII.—*And Cyprian, with the Council of Carthage under him.*

In the middle of this age, lived St. Cyprian, in whose time there was a question moved concerning the day on which infants ought to be baptized. For one Fidus, an African bishop, had sent a query to him upon this case, "Whether infants were to be baptized, if need required, as soon as they were born, or not till the eighth day, according to the rule given in the case of circumcision?" To this question, St. Cyprian, and a Council of sixty-six bishops, returned this synodical answer:—"As to the case of infants, whereas you judge^m that they ought not to be baptized within two or three

¹ Ibid. in Roman. lib. v. c. vi. (Basil. p. 543.) Ecclesia ab apostolis traditionem suscepit, etiam parvulis baptismum dare. Sciebant enim illi, quibus mysteriorum secreta commissæ sunt divinorum, quod essent in omnibus genuinæ sordes peccati, quæ per aquam et Spiritum ablui deberent; propter quas etiam corpus ipsum 'corpus peccati' nominatur.

^m Cyprian. Epist. lix. al. lxiv. ad Fidum. (Fell, Oxon. 1682. p. 158.) (p. 279, edit. Amstelod.) Quantum ad causam infantium pertinet, quos dixisti intra secundum vel tertium diem quo nati sint, constitutos, baptizari non oportere, et considerandam esse legem circumcisionis antiquæ, ut intra octavum diem eum qui natus est baptizandum et sanctificandum non putares; longe aliud in concilio nostro omnibus visum est. In hoc enim, quod tu putabas esse faciendum, nemo consensit; sed universi potius judicavimus, nulli hominum nato misericordiam Dei et gratiam denegendam. Porro autem si etiam gravissimis delictoribus et in Deum multum ante peccantibus, quum postea crediderint, remissa peccatorum

days after they are born, and that the rule of circumcision should be observed, so that none should be baptized and sanctified before the eighth day after he is born, we were all in our council of the contrary opinion. It was our unanimous resolution and judgment, that the mercy and grace of God is to be denied to none as soon as he is born. For if the greatest offenders, and they that have sinned most grievously against God before, have afterward, when they come to believe, forgiveness of their sins (and no person is kept off from baptism and grace), how much less reason is there to prohibit an infant, who, being newly born, has no other sin, save that, being descended from Adam, according to the flesh, he has, from his birth, contracted the contagion of the death anciently threatened, who comes, for that reason, more easily to receive forgiveness of sins, because they are not his own, but other men's sins, that are forgiven him?" Here we have both the practice of the Church, and the reason of it together; infants were baptized because they were born in original sin, and needed baptism to cleanse them from the guilt and pollution of it. To this we may add another place of Cyprian, where, describing the great wickedness of those that lapsed in time of persecution, he thus aggravates their crimeⁿ: "That nothing might be wanting to fill up the measure of their wickedness, their little infants were either led or carried in their parents' arms, and lost that which they had obtained at their first coming into the world," meaning the benefits of their baptism. And, therefore, he brings them in thus pleading against their parents, in an elegant strain, at the day of judgment:—"This

datur, et baptismo atque a gratia nemo prohibetur; quanto magis prohiberi non debet infans, qui recens natus nihil peccavit, nisi quod secundum Adam carnaliter natus, contagium mortis antiquæ prima nativitate contraxit? Qui ad remissam peccatorum accipiendam hoc ipso facilius accedit, quod illi remittuntur non propria, sed aliena peccata.

ⁿ Cypr. de Lapsis. (Fell, Oxon. 1682. p. 125.) Ne quid deesset ad criminis cumulum, infantes quoque parentum manibus vel impositi, vel attracti, amiserunt parvuli, quod in primo statim nativitatis exordio fuerant consequuti.—Nos nihil fecimus, nec, derelicto cibo et poculo Domini, ad profana contagia sponte properavimus: perdidit nos aliena perfidia, parentes sensimus parricidas. Illi nobis ecclesiam matrem, illi patrem Deum negaverunt; ut, dum parvi et improvidi, et tanti facinoris ignari, per alios ad consortium criminum jungimur, aliena fraude caperemur.

was no fault of ours: we did not, of our own accord, forsake the meat and cup of the Lord, to run and partake of those profane pollutions; it was the unfaithfulness of others that ruined us: we had our parents for our murderers; they denied us God for our Father, and the Church for our mother: for, whilst we were little, and unable to take care of ourselves, and ignorant of so great a wickedness, we were ensnared by the treachery of others, and, by them, drawn into a partnership of their impieties." Here, we may observe, that children were made partakers of the eucharist (which Cyprian calls 'the meat and drink of the Lord'), and this is evident from other passages in the same author: which is a further evidence for the practice of infant baptism; for it is certain that none but baptized persons were ordinarily allowed to partake of the eucharist at the Lord's Table. I think it needless to clog this discourse with any more authorities from the Council of Eliberis, Optatus, Gregory Nazianzen, Basil, Ambrose, Chrysostom, Paulinus, the Councils of Carthage, St. Austin, or St. Jerome, or other writers of the fourth age, which the reader may find collected together by Mr. Wall, with suitable observations on them. It is sufficient to my design, against Salmasius and Suicerus, to have proved, that infant baptism was not owing to any new doctrine begun in the third century, but was derived from more ancient principles, and handed down through the two first ages from apostolical practice.

SECT. XIII.—*Infant Baptism not to be delayed to the Eighth Day after the Example of Circumcision; nor till Three Years, as Gregory Nazianzen would have had it.*

I shall now proceed to remark a few other things relating to the baptism of infants. Among those who allowed them to be capable of it from their birth, some there were in the African Church, as we have heard out of the last mentioned citations from Cyprian, who were strictly for confining baptism to the eighth day, because such was the rule in the case of circumcision. But Cyprian and the Council of Carthage answer all the arguments that were brought in favour of this novelty, which seems only to have been a question in theory, and

scarce ever reduced to practice. The abettors of it pleaded, "that an infant in the first days after its birth is unclean, so that any one of us abhors to kiss it." To which Cyprian answers, "We judge not^o this to be any reason to hinder the giving to it the heavenly grace; for it is written, 'To the clean, all things are clean:' nor ought any of us to abhor that which God has vouchsafed to make." To the other pretence, that the eighth day was observed in the Jewish circumcision, he answers, "that this was only a type going before, a shadow and resemblance; but upon Christ's coming, it was fulfilled in the substance: for, because the eighth day, that is, the next to the Sabbath day, was to be the day on which the Lord was to rise from the dead, and quicken us, and give us the spiritual circumcision; this eighth day, that is, the next day to the Sabbath, or Lord's day, was signified in the type before; which type ceased when the substance came, and the spiritual circumcision was given to us. So that we judge that no person is to be hindered from obtaining the grace by the law that is now appointed; and that the spiritual circumcision ought not to be restrained by the circumcision that was according to the flesh, but that all are to be admitted to the grace of

^o Cypr. Epist. lxiv. ad Fidum. (Fell, Oxon. 1682. p. 160.) 'Non hoc putamus ad coelestem gratiam dandam impedimento esse oportere, scriptum est enim: 'Omnia munda sunt mundis.' Nec aliquis nostrum id debet horrere, quod Deus dignatus est facere. Nam etsi adhuc infans a partu novus est, non ita est tamen, ut quisquam illum, in gratia danda atque in pace facienda, horrere debeat osculari; quando in osculo infantis unusquisque nostrum pro sua religione ipsas adhuc recentes Dei manus debeat cogitare, quas in homine modo formato et recens nato quodammodo exosculamur, quando id quod Deus fecit, amplectimur.' Ad alterum, quod octavum diem in circumcissione observatum fuisse dicebant, ita respondet: 'Quod in Judaica circumcissione carnali octavus dies observabatur, sacramentum est in umbra atque in imagine ante præmissum, sed veniente Christo veritate completum. Nam quia octavus dies, id est, post sabbatum primus dies futurus erat, quo Dominus resurgeret, et nos vivificaret, et circumcissionem nobis spiritualem daret: hic dies octavus, id est, post sabbatum primus et dominicus præcessit in imagine, quæ imago cessavit, superveniente postmodum veritate, et data nobis spiritali circumcissione. Propter quod neminem putamus a gratia consequenda impediendum esse ea lege, quæ jam statuta est, nec spiritalem circumcissionem impediri carnali circumcissione debere, sed omnem omnino admittendum esse ad gratiam Christi; quando et Petrus, in Actis Apostolorum, loquatur et dicat: 'Dominus mihi dixit, neminem hominum communem dicendum et immundum.'"

Christ ; forasmuch as Peter says, in the Acts of the Apostles, ‘The Lord hath showed me, that no person is to be called common or unclean.’” This is the only place wherever we read that this question was made ; and, after the resolution here given, we never find that it was proposed again ; so that this circumstance of time seems never to have prevailed in the practice of the Church. Gregory Nazianzen had also a singular opinion in relation to the time of baptizing children, when there was no danger of death. For in that case, he thought it better to defer it till they were about three years old ; but in case of danger, to give it immediately after they were born, for fear they should die unbaptized. His words are these :—

“What say you^p to those that are as yet infants, and are not in a capacity to be sensible either of the grace, or of the loss of it ? Shall we baptize them, too ? Yes, by all means, if any danger so require it ; for it is better that they should be sanctified without their own sense of it, than that they should die unsealed and uninitiated : and the ground of this is circumcision, which was given on the eighth day, and was a typical seal, and was given to those who had not the use of reason ; as also the anointing of the door-posts, which preserved the first-born by things that have no sense. As for others, I give my opinion that they should stay three years or thereabouts, till they can hear the mystical words, and make answers to them : and though they do not perfectly understand them, yet they can then frame to speak them. And then you may sanctify them in soul and body with the great sacrament of initiation.” But this was a singular opinion of Nazianzen, taken up upon some particular reasons, which the Church never

^p Nazianz. Orat. xl. de Bapt. (Paris. 1630. vol. i. p. 658. A 5.) Τί δ' ἂν εἶποις περὶ τῶν ἔτι νηπίων, καὶ μήτε τῆς ζημίας ἐπαισθανομένων, μήτε τῆς χάριτος ; ἢ καὶ ταῦτα βαπτίσομεν ; πάννυγε· εἴπερ τις ἐπείγοι κίνδυνος· κρεῖσσον γὰρ ἀναισθήτως ἀγιασθῆναι, ἢ ἀπελθεῖν ἀσφράγιστα καὶ ἀτέλεστα· καὶ τούτου λόγος ἡμῖν, ἡ ὀκταήμερος περιτομή, τυπικὴ τις οὖσα σφραγὶς καὶ ἀλογίστοις ἔτι προσαγομένη· ὥς δὲ καὶ ἡ τῶν φλιῶν κρίσις, διὰ τῶν ἀναισθήτων φυλάττουσα τὰ πρωτότοκα. Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων δίδωμι γνώμην τὴν τριετίαν ἀναμείναντας, ἢ μικρὸν ἐντὸς τούτου, ἢ ὑπὲρ τούτου, ἡνίκα καὶ ἀκοῦσαί τι μυστικόν, καὶ ἀποκρίνεσθαι δυνατόν· εἰ καὶ μὴ συνιέντα τελείως, ἀλλ' οὖν τυπούμενα, οὕτως ἀγιάζειν καὶ ψυχὰς καὶ σώματα τῷ μεγάλῳ μυστηρίῳ τῆς τελειώσεως.

assented to: and, therefore, I join this with that other of Fidus, the African, as peculiar fancies of private men, which never gained any esteem or credit in the public and avowed practice of the Church.

SECT. XIV.—*Yet in some Churches it was deferred to the Time of an approaching Festival.*

Yet, in some Churches, a custom had prevailed to defer the baptism of infants, as well as adult persons, where there was no apparent danger of death, to the time of some of the more eminent and noted festivals, which were more peculiarly designed and set apart for the solemn administration of baptism. Socrates^a says, “In Thessaly they only baptized at Easter; upon which account a great many in those parts died without baptism.” He does not say expressly that this was the case of children; but there are some reasons to incline one to believe that it related to them as well as others: for, both in the French and Spanish Councils, there are canons which order the baptism of children to be administered only at Easter, except in case of necessity, and imminent danger of death. In the Council of Auxerre^r, it was decreed for the French churches, “that no children should be baptized at any other time save on the solemn festival of Easter, except such as were near death, whom they called *grabatarii*, because they were baptized on a sick-bed. And if any one, contumaciously, in contempt of this decree, offered their children to baptism in any of their churches, they should not be received; and if any presbyter presumed to receive them against this order, he should be suspended three months from the communion of the

^a Socrat. lib. v. c. xxii. (Aug. T. p. 251.) Ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τοῦ Πάσχα μόνον βαπτίζουσι διὸ σφόδρα πλὴν ὀλίγων, οἱ λοιποὶ μὴ βαπτισθέντες ἀποθνήσκουσιν.

^r Conc. Autissiodor. c. xviii. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 959.) Non licet absque paschæ solemnitate ullo tempore baptizare, nisi illos, quibus mors vicina est, quos ‘grabatarios’ dicunt. Quod si quis in alio pago, contumacia faciente, post interdictum hoc infantes suos ad baptismum detulerit in ecclesias nostras, non recipiantur usque ad satisfactionem. Et quicumque presbyter ipsos extra nostrum permissum recipere præsumserit, tribus mensibus a comunione ecclesiæ sequestratus sit.

Church.” The second Council of Bracara^s also speaks of the like practice in the Spanish Churches, ordering that, in the middle of Lent, such infants as were to be baptized at Easter, should be presented twenty days before, to undergo the purgation, or preparation of exorcism. St. Austin also speaks of children, infants^t, little ones, sucklings, hanging on their mothers’ breasts, coming at Easter to be baptized among adult persons; whence Palm Sunday, or the Sunday before Easter, had the name of *octavæ infantium*, ‘the octave of infants,’ upon their account. St. Ambrose, also^u, speaks of great numbers of infants coming at Easter to be baptized. “This,” says he, “is the paschal gift: pious fathers, and holy mothers, bring their new-born progeny in great multitudes, by faith, to the holy font, from whose womb, being regenerated under the tree of faith, they shine with the innocent ornament of lights and tapers.” These are abundant proofs that though, in cases of extremity, children might receive baptism at any time, yet, in other cases, where there was no visible appearance or danger of death, their baptism, in many places, was deferred till the Easter festival, as well as that of adult persons.

SECT. XV.—*A Resolution of some Questions. Whether Children might be baptized, when only One Parent was Christian.*

Whilst I am upon the subject of infant baptism, it will not be improper to resolve certain cases and questions, that may be put concerning it, so far as they are capable of being

^s Conc. Bracar. II. al. III. c. ix. (ibid. p. 898.) Mediente quadragesima, ex viginti diebus baptizandos infantes ad exorcismi purgationem offerre præcipiant.

^t Aug. Serm. clx. de Tempore. (Bened. vol. v. p. 1469.) Hodie octavæ dicuntur infantium. . . . Illi pueri, infantes, parvuli, lactentes, maternis uberibus inhaerentes, et quantum in eos gratiæ conferatur nescientes, ut ipsi videtis, quia infantes vocantur, et ipsi habent octavas hodie: et isti senes, juvenes, adolescentuli, omnes infantes.

^u Ambros. de Mysterio Paschæ. (Bened. 1690. vol. ii. app. p. 438.) Hæc illa est cælestium mysteriorum gratia, hoc paschæ donum, hæc optabilis anni festivitas, hæc exordia gignentium rerum. Hinc vitalis lavacri sacræ ecclesiæ editi puerperio infantes, parvulorum simplicitate renati, balatu innocentis perstrepunt conscientiæ. Hinc casti patres, pudicæ etiam matres novellam per fidem stirpem prosequuntur innumeram. Hinc sub fidei arbore ab utero fontis innocui cereorum splendet ornatus. Hinc cælestis meriti sanctificantur munere, et sacramenti spiritalis celebri mysterio saginantur.

resolved from the practice of the Church, or judgment of the ancient writers. One is concerning such children who had only one parent Christian, and the other a Jew, or a heathen: these were reckoned capable of baptism upon the right of one parent being Christian. For so it was resolved in the fourth Council of Toledo ^x, in the case of such women as had Jews for their husbands, that the children that were born of them, should follow the faith and condition of the mother; and so, on the other hand, they who had unbelieving mothers, and believing fathers, should follow the Christian religion, and not the Jewish superstition.

SECT. XVI.—*Whether the Children of Excommunicated Parents might be Baptized.*

Another case was concerning the children whose parents were under excommunication and the Church's censures. St. Austin had occasion to consider this case upon the account of one Auxilius, a young bishop, who, in a fit of ungoverned zeal, had rashly excommunicated one Classicianus; and, together with him, laid his whole family under an anathema and interdict: which was a practice that, however some later popes have dealt much in, the ancients were not acquainted with. He also seems to have forbidden any children to be baptized, who were born in the family during this interdict. Upon which St. Austin took occasion to write to him, and expostulate with him upon the reasons of these proceedings, desiring to be informed^y upon what grounds and authority of reason,

^x Conc. Tolet. IV. c. lxiii. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 1720.) Filii qui ex talibus (Judæis) nati existunt, fidem atque conditionem matris sequantur. Similiter et hi, qui procreati sunt de infidelibus mulieribus et fidelibus viris, Christianam sequantur religionem, non Judaicam superstitionem.

^y Aug. Epist. lxxv. ad Auxilium. (Bened. vol. ii. p. 878. C 6.) Apud caritatem tuam tacere non potui, ut si habes de hac re sententiam, certis rationibus vel scripturarum testimoniis exploratam, nos quoque docere digneris; quomodo recte anathemetur pro patris peccato filius, aut pro mariti uxor, aut pro domini servus, . . . si eodem tempore, quo universa domus est anathemate obligata, nascatur, nec ei posset per lavacrum regenerationis in mortis periculo subveniri. Neque enim hæc corporalis est poena, qua legimus quosdam contemtores Dei cum suis omnibus, qui ejusdem impietatis participes non fuerunt, pariter interfectos. Tunc quidem ad terrorem viventium mortalia corpora perimebantur,

or testimony of Scripture, he could confirm his opinion: by what right a son was to be anathematized for the father's crime; or a wife, for her husband's; or a servant, for his master's; or a child not yet born, if he happened to be born in the house whilst it lay under such an interdict, why it should not have the benefit of the laver of regeneration, in danger of death. In corporal punishments, he owns, sometimes it was otherwise, for God thought fit to punish some despisers with their whole families, though they were not accessory to the contemner's crimes; that, by the death of mortal bodies, which must otherwise have shortly died, he might strike terror into the living; but he never dealt thus in spiritual punishments, which affect the soul; but the soul that sinneth, it shall die. And, therefore, St. Austin, for his own part, declares, he never durst use excommunication to this purpose, though he was never so highly provoked by the most villainous actions of any men against the Church; because, if any one should ask him a reason of such his practice, and oblige him to show the justice of his proceeding, he freely owns he could find nothing to answer him. Whence, I think, we may fairly conclude that the excommunication of a parent did not deprive the child of his right to baptism. And, though there were some who made a stretch upon Church power in this case, yet their actions were so far from being generally approved, or authorized by any rule, that they were rather thought to deserve a censure. The reader that would know how the reformed Churches have resolved this same case, about the admission of the children of excommunicated persons to baptism, may consult another discourse^z, which I have formerly had occasion to write in defence of the Church, where this case is more particularly considered

quandoque utique moritura. Spiritalis autem poena, qua fit quod scriptum est, 'Quæ ligaveris in terra, erunt et ligata in coelo,' animas obligat, de quibus dictum est, 'Anima patris mea est, et anima filii mea est. Anima, quæ peccaverit, ipsa morietur.' Audisti fortasse, aliquos magni nominis sacerdotes cum domo sua quempiam anathemassee peccantium; sed forte si essent interrogati, reperirentur idonei reddere inde rationem. Ego autem, quoniam si quis ex me quærat, utrum recte fiat, quid ei respondeam non invenio: numquam hoc facere ausus sum, quum de quorundam facinoribus, immaniter adversus ecclesiam perpetratis, gravissime permoverer.

^z French Churches' Apology for the Church of England, book iii. chap. xix.

and resolved upon the principles and practice of some of the most eminent Churches of the Reformation.

SECT. XVII.—*Whether Exposed Children, whose Parents were unknown, might be baptized.*

Another question, sometimes agitated in the Primitive Church, was concerning such children who were either exposed, or redeemed from the barbarians, whose parents were unknown; and, consequently, it was utterly uncertain whether they were ever baptized or not. This was a case that often happened in Afric, where the Christians bordered upon several barbarous nations. And it was thus resolved, upon a consultation in one of the Councils of Carthage: “That all such infants^a as had no certain witnesses to testify that they were baptized, neither could they testify for themselves, by reason of their age, that the sacrament had been given them; that such should, without any scruple, be baptized, lest a hesitation in that case should deprive them of the purgation of the sacrament.” And this resolution was made at the instance of the legates of the Churches of Mauritania, who informed the council that many such children were redeemed by them from the barbarians. In which case, it was uncertain whether their parents were heathens or Christians.

SECT. XVIII.—*Whether the Children of Jews or Heathens might be Baptized in any Case whatsoever.*

But, as in some cases, if it plainly appeared that the parents of the infants who, by some providential means, fell into the

^a Conc. Carth. V. c. vi. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1216.) Placuit de infantibus, quoties non inveniuntur certissimi testes, qui eos baptizatos esse sine dubitatione testentur, neque ipsi sunt per ætatem idonei de traditis sibi sacramentis respondere, absque ullo scrupulo eos esse baptizandos, ne ista trepidatio eos faciat sacramentorum purgatione privari. — Cod. Can. Afric. c. lxxii. p. 1094. Ὁμοίως ἤρεσε περὶ τῶν νηπίων, ὅσάκις μὴ εὐρίσκονται βέβαιοι μάρτυρες, οἱ ταῦτα ἀναμφιβόλως βαπτισθέντα εἶναι λέγοντες, καὶ οὐδὲ αὐτὰ διὰ τὴν κεῖραν περὶ τῆς παραδοθείσης αὐτοῖς μυσταγωγίας ἀποκρίνεσθαι ἐπιτηδεῖως ἔχωσι, χωρὶς τινος προσκόμματος ὀφείλιν ταῦτα βαπτίζεσθαι, μή ποτε ὁ τοιοῦτος δισταγμὸς ἀποστερήσῃ αὐτὰ τῆς τοιαύτης τοῦ ἁγιασμοῦ καθάρσεως· ἐκ τούτου γὰρ οἱ τοποτηρηταὶ τῶν Μαύρων ἀδελφοὶ ἡμῶν τοῦτο ἐβουλεύσαντο, ὅτι πολλοὺς τοιούτους ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐξαγοράζονται.

hands of Christians, were mere Jews or Pagans, yet, in such cases, baptism was not denied to the infants: because they were now become the possession of Christians, who undertook to be their sponsors, and answer for their education. This is evident from St. Austin ^b, who says it in express terms: "This grace is sometimes vouchsafed to the children of infidels, that they are baptized, when, by some means, through the secret providence of God, they happen to come into the hands of pious Christians." Sometimes they were bought or redeemed with money; sometimes made lawful captives in war; and sometimes taken up by any charitable persons ^c when they were exposed by their parents. In all which cases, either the faith and promises of the sponsors, or the faith of the Church in general, who was their common mother, and whose children they were now supposed to be, was sufficient to give them a title to Christian baptism. The holy virgins of the Church did many times, in such exigencies, become their sureties, and take care of their religious education. And so it happened, as is observed by St. Ambrose, or whoever was the author of the excellent book ^d, *De Vocatione Gentium*, that many who were deserted by the impiety of their kindred, were taken care of by the good offices of others, and brought to be baptized by strangers, when they were neglected by their nearest relations. Which was so general and charitable a practice among the ancients, that some learned modern ^e writers speak of it with

^b Aug. de Grat. et Libero Arbitrio, c. xxii. (Bened. vol. x. p. 742. G 5.) Aliquando filiis infidelium præstatur hæc gratia, ut baptizentur, quum, occulta Dei providentia, in manus piorum quomodocumque perveniunt.

^c Aug. Epist. xxiii. ad Bonifac. (Bened. vol. ii. p. 266. D 2.) Videas multos non offerri a parentibus, sed etiam a quibuslibet extraneis, sicut a Dominis servuli aliquando offeruntur. Et nonnumquam, mortuis parentibus suis, parvuli baptizantur ab eis oblatis, qui illis hujusmodi misericordiam præbere potuerunt. Aliquando etiam, quos crudeliter parentes exposuerunt, nutriendos a quibuslibet, nonnumquam a sacris virginibus colliguntur, et ab eis offeruntur ad baptismum.

^d Ambros. de Vocat. Gent. lib. ii. c. viii. Multis, quos suorum impietas deseruit, alienorum cura servierit; et ad regenerationem venerint per extraneos, quæ eis non erat providenda per proximos.

^e Vid. Rivetum et Walæum in Synopsi Purioris Theologiæ, disput. xliv. num. xlix. (p. m. 491. edit. Lugd. Batav. 1643.) Augustinus et alii veteres sine controversia, eos, qui legitime venissent in potestatem Christianorum, baptizandos

great commendation upon that account; and tell us such children have a right to baptism, after the same manner that Abraham's servants, bought with his money, had to circumcision, as well as those that were born in his house. And they concur so far in asserting it to be the common practice, beyond all controversy, in the primitive Church, as to say, that St. Austin made use of it as an uncontested argument, to prove free grace and election against the Pelagians; which I note only here, by the way, for the sake of some mistaken persons, who impute the encouragement of the same practice in the English Church, not to her charity, but rather to a fault and error in her constitution.

SECT. XIX.—*Whether Children born while their Parents were Heathens might be baptized.*

There is one question more concerning such infants as were born while their parents were heathens. But of these there was no doubt ever made; for as soon as the parents were baptized themselves, they were obliged to take care that their wives, and children, and whole families, should be baptized likewise. To which purpose there is a law in the Justinian Code^f inflicting a severe penalty upon them, in case of neglect or prevarication in this matter. For it is there enacted, that such

sentiebant. 'Aliquando,' inquit, 'filiis infidelium præstatur hæc gratia, ut baptizentur; quum, occulta Dei providentia, in manus piorum quomodocumque pervenerunt.' Nos vero legitime in potestatem Christianorum venire judicamus, si vel justo bello capiantur, aut emanant a Christianis, ut videre est ex Gen. xvii. 12: 'Circumcidetur vobis natus dies octo omnis mas per ætates vestras, natus domi, et emtus pecunia tua.'

^f Cod. Justin. lib. i. tit. xi. de Paganis, leg. x. num. i. Οἱ μήπω βαπτισθέντες, ἑαυτοὺς καὶ παῖδας, καὶ γαμετάς, καὶ πάντας τοὺς αὐτῶν προσαγέτωσαν ταῖς ἀγίαις ἐκκλησίαις, καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν τέκνα μικρὰ ὄντα χωρὶς ἀναβολῆς βαπτίζονται, οἱ δὲ τέλειοι πρότερον τὰς γραφὰς κατὰ τοὺς κανόνας διδάσκονται. Εἰ δὲ διὰ τὸ τυχεῖν στρατείας, ἢ ἀξίας, ἢ οὐσίαν ἔχειν, σχηματίζονται βαπτισθῆναι· καὶ τοὺς παῖδας, ἢ τὰς γαμετάς αὐτῶν, ἢ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς οἴκοις αὐτῶν, ἐπὶ τῆς πλάνης ἐάσωσι, καὶ τοὺς αὐτοῖς προσήκοντας· δημεύονται, καὶ δεόντως τιμωροῦνται, καὶ τῆς πολιτείας οὐ μετέχουσιν. — This law is repeated by Balsamon, Constitut. Eccles. ap. Justell. Bibliothec. Juris Canon. tom. ii. p. 1298; and in Photius, Nomocanon, tit. iv. c. iv. p. 907, *ibid.*

Pagans as were yet unbaptized, should present themselves, with their wives and children, and all that appertained to them, in the church; and there they should cause their little ones immediately to be baptized; and the rest, as soon as they were taught the Scriptures, according to the canons. But if any persons, for the sake of a public office, or dignity, or to get an estate, received a fallacious baptism themselves, but, in the meantime, left their wives, or children, or servants, or any that were retainers or near relations to them, in their ancient error, their goods, in that case, are ordered to be confiscated and their persons punished by a competent judge, and excluded from bearing any office in the commonwealth. Photius repeats this law in his *Nomocanon*; and adds to it another of the same nature, concerning the Samaritans: "That though they themselves were not to be baptized till they had been two years catechumens; yet their little ones, who were not capable of instruction, might be admitted to baptism without any such delay or prorogation." Which law is now extant among Justinian's^g Novels; from all which it appears, that as soon as any Jews or heathens were either baptized themselves, or had only taken upon them the state of catechumens, their children were made capable of baptism, and, accordingly, by law, required to be baptized. Thus much of infants, and the several cases I have met with in the writings of the ancients, relating to their baptism.

^g Phot. Nomocan. tit. iv. c. iv. p. 907, Justin. Novel. cxliv. c. ii. 'Επὶ ἐνιαυτοὺς δύο κατηχεῖσθαι, μαρτάνειν τε τὰς γραφὰς κατὰ δυνατόν, καὶ τότε προσφέρεισθαι τῷ τῆς ἀπολυτρώσεως βαπτίσματι, τῇ μετανοίᾳ τοῦ τοσούτου χρόνου καρπουμένους τὴν ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀπολύτρωσιν· τοὺς δὲ νέους σφόδρα, καὶ διδασκαλίας οὐ συνιέντας, ἐφίμεν, καὶ τῆς παρατηρήσεως ταύτης χωρὶς, ἀξιοῦσθαι τοῦ ἁγίου βαπτίσματος.

CHAPTER V.

OF THE BAPTISM OF ADULT PERSONS.

SECT. I.—*No Adult Persons to be baptized without previous Instruction to qualify them to answer for themselves.*

THE other sort of persons on whom baptism was conferred, were adult persons, who were grown up to years of understanding; and who, in those days, made up the main body of the baptized. These were usually converts from Judaism or Gentilism, who, before they could be admitted to baptism, were obliged to spend some time in the state of catechumens, to qualify them to make their professions of faith, and a Christian life, in their own persons. For, without such personal professions, there was, ordinarily, no admission of them to the privilege of baptism. The time of their instruction, and the substance and manner of it, has already been considered particularly in the last Book. All, therefore, I have further to observe concerning them here, is in relation to some special cases, which we find determined in the canons of the ancient Councils, when, because great multitudes were baptized at riper years, the Church had occasion to consider many cases, which are scarce to be met with in the rules of later ages.

SECT. II.—*Yet Dumb Persons allowed to be baptized in some certain Cases.*

One of these doubtful cases was in reference to dumb persons, who were incapacitated, at the time of baptism, from answering for themselves. In this case, if persons had desired to be baptized before this infirmity came upon them, or if they could, by sufficient signs, signify their present desire, the Church favourably accepted their request, and admitted them to the privilege of baptism. The first Council of Orange^a has

^a Conc. Arausican. I. c. xii. (Labbe, vol. iii. p. 1449.) Subito obmutescens, prout status ejus est, baptizari aut pœnitentiam accipere potest, si voluntatis aut præteritæ testimonium aliorum verbis habet, aut præsentis, in suo nutu.

a canon in favour of such persons, both with respect to baptism and penance ; for it decrees, that a person who is suddenly struck speechless, may either be baptized, or admitted to penance, if it appears, by the testimony of others, that he had any such will or desire before he became dumb ; or if, in the time of this misfortune, he could make signs to express his present desire and intention. In the African Code there is a canon to the same purpose, “that men^b so sick that they cannot answer for themselves, may be baptized, if their friends, who attend them in danger, do testify their desire of baptism.” And among the canonical answers of Timotheus of Alexandria, there is one of the like nature. For the question is put^c, “Whether if a catechumen be so disordered in his mind, that he cannot make profession of his faith, he may be baptized, notwithstanding this infirmity?” And the answer is, “He may, if he be not possessed.” We have an instance of this case actually verified in the baptism of an African negro slave, at Carthage, whom his master had caused to be instructed among the catechumens ; and prepared him, among the *competentes*, for baptism. He had made his profession of faith, and the usual renunciations, publicly in the church, as was customary for the candidates of baptism to do, before they came to the baptistery to consummate the mystery. But, just before the time of baptism, he fell sick of a fever, which made him speechless. However, he was baptized ; others answering in his name, as if it had been for an infant. Ferrandus, who tells the story, had some doubts concerning this

^b Conc. Carth. III. c. xxxiv. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1172.) “Ὅστε τοὺς ἀσθενοῦντας, οἱ τινες ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν ἀποκρίνεσθαι οὐ δύνανται, τότε βαπτίζεσθαι, ὅτε τῇ αὐτῶν προαιρέσει τὴν περὶ αὐτῶν μαρτυρίαν κινδύνῳ ἰδίῳ εἴπωσιν. Ut ægrotantes, si pro se respondere non possunt, cum voluntatis eorum testimonium sui periculo proprio dixerint baptizentur. Similiter et de poenitentibus agendum est. — This Canon is repeated in the Codex Can. Eccles. Afric. can. xlv. ; and in the later editions of the Councils it is read with a little variation, thus : Cum voluntatis eorum testimonium hi, qui suis periculo proprio affuere, dixerint, baptizentur, etc.

^c Timoth. Respons. Canon. c. iv. ap. Bevereg. Pandect. tom. ii. p. 166. B. Ἑρώτησις Ἐάν τις κατηχούμενος, ὦν ἀσθενῆς, γένηται ἐκ φρενὸς, καὶ μὴ δύνηται αὐτὸς ὁμολογῆσαι τὴν πίστιν, καὶ παρακαλῶσιν οἱ ἴδιοι αὐτοῦ, ἵνα λάβῃ τὸ ἅγιον βάπτισμα, ἕως ζῆ, ὀφείλει λαβεῖν, ἢ οὐ ; Ἀπόκρισις Ὅφείλει λαβεῖν, ἐὰν μὴ ὑπὸ πνεύματος ἀκαθάρτου πειράζεται.

baptism, which he communicated to Fulgentius, bishop of Ruspa, who gave him a consolatory answer to this effect: "That this man^d had all the conditions required by our Saviour for adult persons, which were, 'that they should believe and be baptized.' Faith and the profession of it is the act of the man; the baptizing him is only the act of the minister. And, though this man had not his senses when the minister performed his act, yet he had when he himself performed his own. We believe, indeed, that none but infants are saved by the faith of those that bring them; and that, at the age of reason, a man's own confession is required; but this man made his profession whilst he had his senses; and was baptized whilst he was yet alive. From whence he concludes, that there was no reason to doubt of his salvation, because he had done all that was necessary on his part; and was baptized in the manner that, in this case, the canons had appointed." Let me add to all this, how it is that Albaspinæus, and many others, understand that canon of the Council of Eliberis^e, which speaks of cate-

^d Fulgent. de Baptismo Æthiopis, c. viii. (Bibl. Max. Patr. vol. ix. p. 176.) Neque enim ab hac sententia nostrum animum revocare debet ulla suspicio, ne quis dicat, quod ille salvus esset, si nec ad ipsam tinctionem corporis pervenisset, cum utique non dicamus, illum sine baptismi sacramento, sola confessione, potuisse salvari. Qui enim crediderit, et baptizatus fuerit, salvus erit. Illum utique adolescentem, quia credidisse, et confessum fuisse novimus, ideo per sacramentum baptismatis salvum fuisse firmamus. Qui si non baptizaretur, non solum nesciens, sed etiam sciens, nullatenus salvaretur. Via enim salutis fuit in confessione, salus in baptismo. Nam in illa ætate, non solum ei confessio sine baptismo nihil prodesset, sed nec ipsum baptisma non credenti neque confitenti ullatenus proficeret ad salutem. Ideo ergo illi Deus confessionem prodesse voluit, quia eum usque ad sanctam regenerationem in hac vita servavit. Donum itaque sanctæ regenerationis sicut ille, quia voluit, petivit; sic Deus, quia voluit, dedit.—See a like case in Austin's Confessions, lib. iv. c. iv. Quum laboraret ille (amicus meus) febribus, jacuit diu sine sensu in sudore letali. Et quum desperaretur, baptizatus est nescius . . . baptismum acceperat mente atque sensu absentissimus.

^e Conc. Illiber. can. xlv. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 975.) Qui aliquando fuerit catechumenus, et per infinita tempora nunquam ad ecclesiam accesserit; si eum de clero quisque cognoverit esse Christianum, aut testes aliqui exstiterint fideles, placuit, ei baptismum non negari; eo quod in veterem hominem deliquisse (al. eo quod veterem hominem dereliquisse) videatur.—Albaspin. in hunc canonem, ibid. p. 1002. A. Existimarim agi de catechumeno apostata, qui, mortis insperatæ discrimine interceptus, baptismum peteret, et cui ante vox intercluderetur, quam ad eum accessisset presbyter.

chumens deserting their station, and forsaking the Church for a long time, yet at last desiring to be baptized. In this case, though they were speechless, they might be baptized, if either any of the clergy, or other faithful witnesses, could testify that they desired to be made Christians, because their crimes were committed whilst they were in the old man ; or, as other copies read it, “because they seemed to have relinquished and bid adieu to the old man ;” that is, in their former state of sin and natural corruption. And this was but the very same privilege as was allowed men in the business of penance, mentioned in the forecited Council of Orange, and also the fourth Council of Carthage ; where it is said^f, “that if a lapses desires to be admitted to penance, in time of sickness, and unfortunately becomes speechless, or falls into a frenzy, whilst the priest who is sent for is coming to him,—they who heard his desire, shall testify for him, and he shall be admitted to penance : and if he seems to be at the point of death, he shall be reconciled by the imposition of hands, and have the eucharist poured into his mouth. But if he recovers, the witnesses shall acquaint him that his petition was granted ; and then he shall submit himself to the ordinary rules of penance, so long as the priest who admitted him to penance shall think fit, in his discretion.” Now, it is probable, that after the same manner, persons who were baptized in such a condition, when they recovered, were obliged to make their professions, as was usual in baptism, when afterwards they received the imposition of hands in confirmation. But, as I cannot affirm this upon the certain evidence of any rule or canon, as in the other case of penance, but only judge by parity of reason, I will not be positive, but leave every one to enjoy his own opinion.

SECT. III.—*And Energumens in cases of extremity.*

Another question was sometimes raised about the energumens, or persons possessed by evil spirits, whether, during the

^f Conc. Carth. IV. can. lxxvi. Leo, Epist. lxxxix. al. xci. ad Theodorum Forojuliensem. (Labbe, vol. iii. p. 1404. A 3.) Quod si aliqua vi ægritudinis ita fuerint adgravati, ut quod paullo ante poscebant, sub præsentia sacerdotis significare non valeant, testimonia eis fidelium circumstantium prodesse debebunt, ut simul et pœnitentiæ et reconciliationis beneficium consequantur, etc.

time of their possession, it was proper to give them baptism. The Council of Eliberis orders them to be deferred till they were set free and cured; but yet, in case of extremity, and visible appearance of death^g, appoints them to be baptized. The first Council^h of Orange seems to have allowed it not only in absolute necessity, but in the remissions and intervals of their distemper: for it orders, “that such catechumens as were possessed should be baptized, according as their necessity required, or opportunity permitted.” In the Canons of Timothy, bishop of Alexandria, the same question is put, but resolved a little differently: “If baptism be desired for a catechumen that is possessed, what shall be done?” To which the answer is, “Let him be baptized at the hour of death, and not otherwiseⁱ.” So, likewise, in the Constitutions^k, under the name of the Apostles: “If any one is possessed with a devil, let him be taught the principles of piety, but not be received to communion till he is cleansed. Yet, if he be under the pressure of imminent death, let him be received.” Some understand this of being received to the communion of the eucharist: but it is plain the author means it of being received to the communion of the Church by baptism; for he is there giving rules concerning persons to be baptized, and describing their necessary qualifications, among which this is one, “that energumens shall be cleansed before they be admitted to communion, except at the hour of death, where necessity gave them a dispensation.” And this was the ancient rule in the time of Cyprian, who says, “that they who were possessed with unclean spirits, were baptized in time of sickness; and many times this

^g Conc. Illiber. can. xxxvii. (tom. i. p. 974.) Eos, qui ab immundis spiritibus vexantur, si in fine mortis fuerint constituti, baptizari placet.

^h Conc. Arausic. c. xv. Energumenis catechumenis, in quantum vel necessitas exegerit, vel opportunitas permiserit, de baptismo consulendum.

ⁱ Timoth. Respons. Can. c. ii. (Bevereg. Pand. vol. ii. p. 165.) Ἐρώτησις· Ἐὰν δαιμονιζόμενος κατηχούμενος ᾗ, καὶ θελήσῃ αὐτὸς ἢ οἱ ἴδιοι αὐτοῦ, ἵνα λάβῃ τὸ ἅγιον βάπτισμα, ὀφείλει λαβεῖν ἢ οὐ, καὶ μάλιστα ἐὰν περὶ τὸν θάνατόν ἐστιν; Ἀπόκρισις· Ἐὰν ὁ δαιμονιζόμενος μὴ καθαρισθῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀκαθάρπου πνεύματος, οὐ δύναται λαβεῖν τὸ ἅγιον βάπτισμα, περὶ δὲ τὴν ἔξοδον βαπτίζεται.

^k Constitut. Apostol. lib. viii. c. xxxii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 494. E.) Ἐὰν δέ τις δαίμονα ἔχῃ, διδασκέσθω μὲν τὴν εὐσέβειαν· μὴ προσδεχέσθω δὲ εἰς κοινωνίαν, πρὶν ἂν καθαρισθῇ· εἰ δὲ θάνατος κατεπέιγῃ, προσδεχέσθω.

benefit followed from it, that though some of those, for want of faith, were still vexed¹ with unclean spirits ; the true energy of baptism, which was to deliver men from the power of the devil, failing in some by their own default and weakness of faith ; yet, in others, it was found true, by experience, that they who were baptized in time of sickness and urgent necessity, were thereby delivered from the unclean spirit with which they were before possessed ; and thenceforward lived a very laudable and reputable life in the Church, and made a daily proficiency and increase in heavenly grace by the augmentation of their faith. And, on the contrary, it oftentimes happened, that some of those who were baptized in health, when they afterward fell into sin, were tormented with the unclean spirit returning upon them : whence it was apparent that the devil was excluded in baptism by the faith of the believer, but if afterward his faith failed, the devil returned to his old possession." From this discourse of Cyprian we learn, not only that energumens, in time of extremity, were admitted to baptism ; but that baptism, in such cases, was many times a peculiar benefit to them, whilst it delivered them from the possession of unclean spirits, which could not be before cast out by any power of the exorcists, though, in those days, the power of exorcism was a miraculous gift of the Holy Ghost.

¹ Cyprian. Epist. lxi. ad Magnum. (Fell, Oxon. 1682. p. 187.) Si aliquis in illo movetur, quod quidam de iis qui ægri baptizantur, spiritibus adhuc immundis tentantur ; sciat diaboli nequitiam pertinacem usque ad aquam salutarem valere, in baptismo vero omne nequitie suæ virus amittere. . . . Hoc denique et rebus ipsis experimur, ut necessitate urgente in ægritudine baptizati, et gratiam consequuti, careant immundo spiritu, quo antea movebantur ; et laudabiles ac probabiles in ecclesia vivant, plusque per dies singulos in augmentum coelestis gratiæ per fidei incrementa proficiant. Et contra sæpe nonnulli de illis, qui sani baptizantur, si postmodum peccare cœperint, spiritu immundo redeunte quatiuntur ; ut manifestum sit, diabolum in baptismo fide credentis excludi, si fides postmodum defecerit, regredi. — See also, to the same purpose, Clement, Recognit. lib. iv. c. xxxii. (Coteler. Patr. Apostolic. vol. i. p. 541.) Agatis gratias largitori omnium Patri, per eum, quem posuit regem pacis, et thesaurum ineffabilem bonorum : ut in præsentem quidem tempore diluantur peccata vestra per aquam fontis, aut fluminis, aut etiam maris, invocato super vos trino beatitudinis nomine : ut per hoc non solum fugentur, si intra vos habitant, spiritus maligni ; verum etiam, quum destiteritis a peccatis, et tota fide totaque mentis puritate Deo credideritis, etiam ex aliis vos malignos spiritus et dæmones effugetis.

SECT. IV.—*No Slave to be baptized without the Testimony of his Master.*

Another observation to be made upon the baptism of adult persons, is in relation to such as were slaves to Christian masters ; for, we find, by the author of the Constitutions, under the name of the Apostles', that, in the examination of the several qualifications of those that offered themselves to baptism, one part of the inquiry was, "whether they were slaves or freemen?" If they were slaves to a heathen, they were only taught their obligations to please their master, that the word of God might not be blasphemed ; and the master had no further concern in their baptism, as being himself an infidel ; but if the master were a Christian, then the testimony of the master was first to be required^m concerning the life and conversation of his slave, before he could be admitted to the privilege of baptism. If he gave a laudable account of him, he was received : if otherwise, he was rejected, till he approved himself to his master. So far, in those days, it was thought necessary and serviceable to religion, to grant Christian masters a power over their slaves, that, without their testimony and approbation, they could not be accepted as fit candidates of baptism. Not that this was intended to countenance any tyrannical power in Christian masters, to debar their slaves of baptism, and deny them the privilege and benefits of the Christian religion (which is a piece of barbarous cruelty and spiritual tyranny over men's souls, unknown to former ages) ; but the design was to preserve the purity of religion, and keep back hypocritical and profane pretenders from the holy mysteries, the over-hasty admission of whom might prove a scandal and disgrace to the profession, if persons of a doubtful life were indiscriminately and indifferently admitted to the sacred rites of it. This caution wisely lodged a useful power in the hands

^m Constitut. Apostol. lib. viii. c. xxxii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 495. D.) Ἐξεταζέσθωσαν αὐτῶν καὶ οἱ τρόποι, καὶ ὁ βίος, καὶ εἰ δοῦλοί εἰσιν ἢ ἐλεύθεροι· καὶ ἐὰν πιστοῦ δοῦλος ᾖ, ἐρωτάσθω ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ, εἰ μαρτυρεῖ αὐτῷ· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ, ἀποβαλλέσθω ἕως ἂν ἐαυτὸν ἄξιον ἐπιδείξῃ τῷ δεσπότῃ· εἰ δὲ μαρτυρεῖ αὐτῷ, προσδέχέσθω· εἰ δὲ ἐθνικοῦ ᾖ οἰκέτης, διδασκέσθω εὐαριστεῖν τῷ δεσπότῃ, ἵνα μὴ βλασφημηῇται ὁ λόγος.

of Christian masters, which prudence and charity directed them to use soberly, to edification and not to destruction; and experience proved it to be a useful rule; for it both made the masters zealous for the salvation of their slaves, as we have seen in the instance of the African negro, mentioned in Fulgentius, and also made the slaves sincere in their professions and pretences to religion, when they knew they could not be accepted as real converts, worthy of baptism, without the corroborating testimony of their masters. There were also laws of state obliging all masters to take care of their families, so far as to see that every individual person, slaves as well as children, were made Christians; and, in default of this, some penalties were annexed, depriving the masters of certain privileges in the commonwealth, if they were found either remiss, or acting by collusion in this part of their dutyⁿ. So that all imaginable obligation was laid upon masters, both in point of interest, duty, and charity, to take care of the instruction of their slaves, and bring them, with their own testimonials, to Christian baptism.

SECT. V.—*Yet Baptism to be a voluntary Act, and no one to be compelled by Force to receive it.*

Yet because baptism was to be a voluntary act in adult persons, some laws were made against compelling any one by force to receive it. In the fourth Council of Toledo, a canon was made to this purpose concerning the Jews, who had sometimes been drawn by force to be baptized against their will, and it was ordered by the synod, “that thenceforth no one should be compelled by force to profess^o the Christian faith;

ⁿ See chap. iv. sect. xix.

^o Conc. Toletan. IV. c. lvii. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 1719.) De Judæis præcipit sancta synodus, nemini deinceps ad credendum vim inferre: ‘Cui enim vult Deus, miseretur, et quem vult, indurat.’ Non enim tales inviti salvandi sunt, sed volentes; ut integra sit forma justitiæ. Sicut enim homo proprii arbitrii voluntate serpenti obediens periit, sic vocante gratia Dei, propriæ mentis conversione homo quisque credendo salvatur. Ergo non vi, sed liberi arbitrii facultate, ut convertantur suadendi sunt, non potius impellendi. Qui autem jam pridem ad Christianitatem venire coacti sunt, sicut factum est temporibus religiosissimi principis Sisebuti; quia jam constat, eos esse sacramentis divinis adsociatos, et baptismi gratiam percepisse, et chrismate unctos esse, et corporis

for God 'hath mercy on whom he will have mercy; and whom he will, he hardeneth.' For such are not to be saved against their will, but of their own free consent, that the form or method of their justification may be perfect; for as man perished by his own free will, obeying the serpent, so every man is saved (when he is called by the grace of God) by his own voluntary act of faith, and conversion of his own mind: therefore, they are not to be compelled by force, but to be persuaded by their own free will to be converted. But as to those who have, heretofore, been forced to embrace Christianity, as was done in the time of the religious Prince Sisebutus, [or Sisenandus] forasmuch as they have been partakers of the sacraments, and have received the grace of baptism, and the unction of chrism, and the communion of the body and blood of the Lord, therefore they ought to be obliged to hold the faith, which they were compelled, by force or necessity, to receive, lest the name of the Lord should be blasphemed, and the faith which they have received, be vilified and exposed to contempt." By this we learn, that baptism was always to be a voluntary act in adult persons, and none were to be compelled against their own wills to receive it. And though the Church did not rescind such actions as were done against this rule, yet she did not approve them, but thought them worthy of her censure, and unfit to be made a precedent for the future. That which looks most like force in this case allowed by law, was the orders of Justinian, mentioned ^p before: one of which appoints the heathens, and the other the Samaritans, to be baptized, with their wives, and children, and servants, under pain of confiscation. But even these laws did not compel them to be baptized against their wills; but allowed them two years' time to be catechumens, and admitted none but such as made a voluntary profession of their faith and repentance: for the penalties were only designed to prevent fraud and prevarications, in such as pretended to receive baptism themselves, but, in the meantime, took no care to have

Domini et sanguinis exstitisse participes, oportet, ut fidem etiam, quam vi vel necessitate susceperunt, tenere cogantur, ne nomen divinum blasphemetur, et fides, quam susceperunt, vilis ac contemptibilis habeatur.

^p See chap. iv. sect. xix.

their families made Christian, against whom the wisdom of the state then thought no laws severe enough could be enacted. So that these laws were tempered with the greatest prudence, between the extremes of rigour and remissness, that men might be made sensible, on the one hand, of their obligations to become Christians, and yet none have reason to complain, on the other hand, that they were forced, by violence, to embrace a religion against their wills, which they could not approve and assent to; for the penalties, as I said, were only designed to chastise the hypocritical practices and fraudulent remissness of manifest prevaricators. And it were to be wished that all civil governments and states in all ages would enact such laws, and put them duly in execution, against such sort of Christians, who, instead of encouraging their slaves to be baptized, are the only obstacles to hinder and deprive them of the benefit of Christian baptism.

SECT. VI.—*What Persons were rejected from Baptism; with a particular Account of some certain Trades and Vocations, which kept Men from it; such were Image-Makers and Stage-Players.*

I have one thing more to note concerning adult persons, who might, or might not, be admitted to baptism; and that is, “that all such heathens as made their livelihood out of any scandalous trades or professions, which could not be allowed by the rules of Christianity, were rejected from baptism till they solemnly promised to bid adieu to, and actually forsook, such vocations.” The author of the Apostolical Constitutions specifies several of this nature; such as the πορνοβοσκοὶ, ‘panders, or procurers;’ πόρναι, ‘whores;’ εἰδωλοποιοὶ, ‘makers of images, or idols^a;’ against whom Tertullian has also a particular Dissertation, where he censures this trade as inconsistent with the profession of Christianity, telling men, that by this art they made the devils their

^a Constitut. Apostol. lib. viii. c. xxxii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 496. E 3.) Εἴ τις πορνοβοσκὸς, ἢ πανσάσθω τοῦ μαστροπεύειν, ἢ ἀποβαλλέσθω πόρνη προσιοῦσα, ἢ πανσάσθω, ἢ ἀποβαλλέσθω εἰδωλοποιὸς προσιών, ἢ πανσάσθω, ἢ ἀποβαλλέσθω.

alumni, their 'pupils,' to whom they were a sort of foster-fathers, whilst they furnished out materials to carry on their service. And "with what confidence^r," says he, "can any man exorcise his own *alumni*, those devils, whose service he makes his own house a shop or armoury to maintain?" reflecting on this unlawful trade of making images for the idol temples. Next to these in the Constitutions follow οἱ ἐπὶ σκηνῆς, 'actors and stage-players,' who could not stick to that profession, and be admitted to Christian baptism, because a great deal both of lewdness and idolatry was actually committed and encouraged by such as made a livelihood of that profession. The canons, therefore, forbade all such to be baptized, and excommunicated those that fell to the trade again after baptism. "If a soothsayer or a stageplayer," says the Council of Eliberis^s, "have a mind to become believers, that is, to be baptized, let them be received on condition they first bid adieu to their arts, and return not to them again; which, if they attempt to do against this prohibition, they shall be cast out the Church." In like manner, the third Council of Carthage appoints all such^t to be excommunicated, and not to be reconciled or received again to favour but upon their conversion. And, in the time of Cyprian, not only public actors, but private teachers and masters of this scandalous art, were debarred the communion of the Church; as appears from Cyprian's answer to Eucratius, who put this question to him, "Whether^u a stage-player might communicate, who con-

^r Tertull. de Idololatr. c. xi. (Oberthür, vol. i. p. 45.) Qua constantia exorcizabit alumnos suos, quibus domum suam cellariam præstat?

^s Conc. Illiber. c. lxii. Si augur [al. auriga] et pantomimus credere voluerint, placuit, ut prius artibus [al. actibus] suis renuntient, et tunc demum suscipiantur; ita, ut ulterius ad ea non revertantur. Quod si facere contra interdictum tentaverint, projiciantur ab ecclesia.

^t Conc. Carth. III. can. xxxv. Ut scenicis, atque histrionibus, ceterisque hujusmodi personis vel apostaticis, conversis vel reversis ad dominum, gratia vel reconciliatio non negetur.

^u Cyprian. Epist. ii. ad Eucratium. (Fell, Oxon. 1682. p. 3.) Pro dilectione tua et verecundia mutua consulendum me existimasti, frater carissime, quid mihi videatur de histrione quodam, qui apud vos constitutus, in ejusdem adhuc artis suæ dedecore perseverat, et magister et doctor non erudiendorum, sed perdendorum puerorum, id quod male didicit, ceteris quoque insinuat: an talis debeat communicare nobiscum? Puto nec majestati divinæ, nec evangelicæ

tinued to follow that dishonourable trade, by teaching children that pernicious art which he was master of?" To which Cyprian replies, "that it was neither agreeable to the majesty of God, nor the discipline of the Gospel, that the modesty and honour of the Church should be defiled with so base and infamous a contagion; for, if the law prohibited men to wear women's apparel, and laid a curse upon all that did it, how much greater was the crime, not only to wear their clothes, but to express their loose, and wanton, and effeminate gestures, by teaching this immodest art to others!" Indeed, this kind of life was scandalous, even among the wise and sober part of the very heathens; Tertullian observes^x, "that they who professed these arts, were noted with infamy, degraded and denied many privileges, driven from court, from pleading, from the senate, from the order of knighthood, and all other honours in the Roman city and commonwealth." Which is also confirmed by St. Austin^y, who says, "No actor was ever allowed to enjoy the freedom, or any other honourable privilege of a citizen of Rome." Therefore, since this was so infamous and scandalous a trade, even among the heathens, it is no wonder the Church would admit none of this calling to baptism, without obliging them first to bid adieu to so ignominious a profession. To have done otherwise had been to expose herself to reproach, and to have given occasion to the adversary to blaspheme, if men of such lewd and profligate practices had been admitted to the privileges of the Church, who were

disciplinæ congruere, ut pudor et honor ecclesiæ tam turpi et infami contagione fœdetur. Nam quum in lege prohibeantur viri induere muliebrem vestem, et maledicti ejusmodi judicentur; quanto majoris est criminis non tantum muliebria indumenta accipere, sed gestus quoque turpes, et molles, et muliebres, magisterio impudicæ artis exprimere?

^x Tertul. de Spect. c. xxii. (Oberthür, vol. i. p. 27.) Ipsi auctores et administratores spectaculorum, quadrigarios, scenicos, xysticos, arenarios illos amenatissimos, quibus viri animas, feminæ, aut illi etiam corpora sua substernunt, propter quos in ea committunt, quæ reprehendunt; ex eadem arte, quam magnificiunt, deponunt; immo manifeste damnant ignominia et capitis minutione, arcentes curia, rostris, senatu, equite, ceterisque honoribus omnibus simul ac ornamentis quibusdam.

^y Aug. de Civit. Dei, lib. ii. c. xiv. (Bened. vol. viii. p. 42. B 6.) Illi (Romani) actores poeticarum fabularum removent a societate civitatis. . . . Ab honoribus omnibus repellunt homines scenicos.

excluded from the liberties of the city, and honours of the commonwealth.

SECT. VII.—*And Gladiators, Charioteers, and other Gamesters.*

The next that are prohibited in the Constitutions, are, charioteers, and gladiators^z, and racers, and curators of the common games, practisers in the Olympic games, minstrels, harpers, dancers, vintners, and such like, who are commanded either to quit these callings, or to be rejected from baptism. It may seem a little strange, that some of these callings, which seem indifferent in their own nature, and are now commonly allowed, should then be thought just reasons to debar men from baptism. But it is to be supposed that these arts, in the time of heathenism, were instrumental in carrying on idolatry, lewdness, and profaneness, and, therefore, by the ancients, whose discipline was exact, were thought improper to be allowed in the practice of a Christian. The Circensian games were in honour of the gods; and therefore, to be concerned in them as a charioteer, was still to partake in idolatry. Upon which account, the first Council of Arles^a orders all such to be excommunicated as continued, after baptism, in this service. And there is a remarkable story told by St. Jerome^b, in the Life of Hilarion, concerning one of these charioteers, a heathen, of the city of Gaza, who, being struck by the devil with a dead palsy, as he was driving his chariot, so that he could not move his hand nor neck, but only his tongue to prayer. In this condition he was brought in a bed to Hilarion, who told him that he could not be healed unless he believed in Jesus, and promised

^z Constitut. Apostol. lib. viii. c. xxxii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 496. E 7.) Ἡνίοχος, ἡ μονομάχος, ἡ σταδιοδρόμος, ἡ λουδεμπιστής, ἡ ὀλυμπικός, ἡ χοραύλης, ἡ κιθαριστής, ἡ λυριστής, ἡ ὁ τὴν ὄρχησιν ἐπιδεικνύμενος, ἡ κάπηλος, ἡ πανσάσθωσαν, ἡ ἀποβαλλέσθωσαν.

^a Conc. Arelat. I. can. iv. De agitatoribus, qui fideles sunt, placuit eos, quam diu agitant, a communione separari.

^b Hieron. Vit. Hilarion. c. xvi. (Bened. vol. iv. pt. ii. p. 79.) Auriga, Gazensis, in curru percussus a dæmone, totus obrigit; ita ut nec manum agitare, nec cervicem posset reflectere. Delatus ergo in lecto, cum solam linguam moveret ad preces, audit non prius posse sanari, quam crederet in Jesum; et se sponderet arti pristinae renuntiaturum. Credidit, spopondit: magisque de animæ quam de corporis salute exultavit.

to bid adieu to his former trade: the man, immediately upon this, believed, renounced, and was healed, rejoicing more for the salvation of his soul than his body. This calling ministered to idolatry; and, upon that score, a renunciation of it was so precisely exacted of men at their baptism. The gladiators' art was infamous for its barbarity and cruelty, involving men in murder and bloodshed; and, therefore, utterly inconsistent with the rules of Christianity. The racers, and curators of the public games, and Olympic combatants, were all concerned in idolatrous practices. For these games, also, were held in the name and to the honour of some idol-god; which calling was, therefore, to be renounced, as an appendage to idolatry, before men came to baptism. For the other trades, of minstrels, harpers, dancers, &c., besides their ministering to levity, vanity, and luxury, they were also employed in idol-worship, and other profaneness, which seems to have been the principal reason of making such a strict prohibition of them in the subsequent life of every Christian.

SECT. VIII.—*Astrologers and Practisers of other curious Arts.*

The next sort of persons mentioned in the Constitutions, as unworthy of baptism, are lascivious persons, with all practisers of curious arts^c, as magicians, enchanters, astrologers, diviners, magical charmers, idle and wandering beggars, makers of amulets and phylacteries, and such as dealt in heathenish lustrations, soothsayers, and observers of signs and omens, interpreters of palpitations, observers of accidents in meeting others, making divination thereupon, as upon a blemish of the eye, or in the feet, observers of the motion of birds, or weasels, observers of voices and symbolical sounds. All these are appointed to be examined and tried a considerable time, whether they would relinquish their arts or not. If they did,

^c Constitut. Apostol. lib. viii. c. xxxii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 497. A 2.) Ἀρρήτοποιός, κίναϊδος, βλάξ, μάγος, ἐπασιδός, ἀστρολόγος, μάντις, θηρεπφδός, λώταξ, ὀχλαγωγός, περιάμματα ποιῶν, περικαθαίρων, οἰωνιστής, συμβολοδείκτης, παλμῶν ἐρμηνεύς, φυλαττόμενος ἐν συναντήσῃ λώβας ὄψεως, ἢ ποδῶν, ἢ ὀρνίθων, ἢ γαλῶν, ἢ ἐπιφωνήσεων, ἢ παρακροαμάτων συμβολικῶν χρόνῳ δοκιμαζέσθωσαν . . . πανσάμενοι οὖν προσδεχέσθωσαν, μὴ πειθόμενοι δὲ ἀποβαλλέσθωσαν.

they might be received ; if not, they were to be rejected from baptism. The names of these curious arts, which I have expressed in the margin, are some of them difficult to be understood. The *λώταγες* are explained, by Chrysostom^d, to be ‘idle, wandering beggars,’ given to spend what they got in gaming and luxury. But others make them a sort of diviners or fortunetellers, like our gipsies, which is most agreeable to this place. The *περιάμματα* were the same with the *phylacteria*, which were amulets made of ribands, with a text of Scripture, or some other charm of words written in them, and hanged about the neck to cure diseases, and preserve men from danger, whence they had the name of *phylacteries*, or ‘preservatives.’ Now this was a piece of heathenish superstition and idolatry, which stuck closest to new converts, and was most difficult to be cured. Therefore we find the ancient canons and fathers very severe in their censures and invectives against it. The Council of Laodicea condemns clergymen that pretended to make such *phylacteries*, which were truly the bonds and fetters of their own souls : and orders all such as wore them to be cast out^e of the Church. The Council of Trullo^f decrees six years’ penance for such offenders. St. Chrysostom^g declaims against it as gross idolatry, whatever

^d Chrysost. Hom. xiii. in Ephes. (Bened. vol. xi. p. 99. C 2.) Οὐχ ὁρᾷς τούτους τοὺς προσαιτοῦντας, οὓς λώταγας ἡμῖν ἔθος καλεῖν ; πῶς περιῖασι, πῶς καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐλεοῦμεν ; ἀλλ’ ὅμως τούτοις οὐδὲ συγγνώμη τίς ἐστίν· οὐδὲ γὰρ συγγινώσκομεν αὐτοῖς, ὅταν κυβεύοντες ἑαυτῶν τὰ ἱμάτια ἀπολλύωσι.

^e Conc. Laodic. c. xxxvi. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1504.) Οὐ δεῖ ἱερατικοὺς ἢ κληρικοὺς ποιεῖν τὰ λεγόμενα φυλακτήρια, ἅτινά ἐστι δεσμωτήρια τῶν ψυχῶν αὐτῶν· τοὺς δὲ φοροῦντας ῥίπτεσθαι ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκελεύσαμεν.

^f Conc. Trull. c. lxi. Ὑπὸ τὸν κανόνα πιπτέτωσαν τῆς ἐξαιτίας τῷ αὐτῷ δὲ τούτῳ ἐπιτιμίῳ καθυβάλλεσθαι δεῖ . . . καὶ τοὺς λεγομένους νεφοδιώκτας, καὶ γοητευτὰς, καὶ φυλακτηρίους, καὶ μάντεις.

^g Chrysostom. Hom. viii. in Coloss. (Bened. vol. xi. p. 387. A.) Τὰ περίαπτα κὰν μυρία φιλοσοφῶσιν οἱ ἐκ τούτων χρηματιζόμενοι, λέγοντες ὅτι τὸν Θεὸν καλοῦμεν, καὶ οὐδὲν πλεον ποιούμεν, καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα, καὶ Χριστιανή ἐστίν ἢ γραῦς καὶ πιστή, εἰδωλολατρεία τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐστίν . . . Ἴδού λέγω, καὶ προλέγω πᾶσιν ὑμῖν, ὅτι ἐάν τις ἀλῶ, οὐ φείσομαι πάλιν, ἂν τε περίαπτον, ἂν τε ἐπφδὴν, ἂν τε ἄλλο τι τῆς τέχνης τῆς τοιαύτης ποιῇ.—Id. in Psalm. ix. (vol. v. p. 104. C.) Μὴ πάντως σωθῆναι ζητήσωμεν, μὴ πάντως ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῶν δεινῶν παντὶ τρόπῳ, ἀλλὰ κατὰ Θεόν· τοῦτο δὲ λέγω, διὰ τοὺς ἐπαιδαῖς χρωμένους ἐν ταῖς νόσοις, καὶ ἐτέρας μαγγανείας ἐπιζητοῦντας εἰς παραμυθίαν τῆς ἀρρώστιας.—Id. Hom. viii. adv. Judæos, (Bened. vol. i.

little pleas were brought in favour of it : “ The use of amulets to hang about the neck,” says he, “ is idolatry, though they that gain by it, offer a thousand philosophical arguments to defend it, saying, ‘ We only pray to God, and do nothing more ;’ and ‘ The old woman that made them, was a Christian and a believer ;’ with other such like excuses.” Notwithstanding all which, he threatens to excommunicate all such as were found to practise it. So that this was a crime deserving excommunication in all that were already baptized : it was thought also a just reason to prohibit any from coming to baptism, who would not first promise to renounce it.

SECT. IX.—*Frequenters of the Public Games and Theatres.*

Another sort of persons whom the author of the Constitutions excludes from the privilege of baptism, are frequenters of the public games and theatre. “ If any man’s mind^h be addicted to the madness of the theatre, or huntings, or horse-racings, or other gymnastical sports and exercises, let him either leave them off, or be rejected from baptism.” The learned Hieronymus Mercurialisⁱ has an observation that will explain the reason of this prohibition. For in his curious discourse, *de Arte Gymnastica*, he observes these several sorts of heathen games and plays were instituted upon a religious account, in honour of the gods ; and men thought they were doing a grateful thing to them, whilst they were engaged in such exercises. Therefore, a Christian could not be present at them as a spectator, without partaking, in some measure, in the idolatry of them. Besides, there was a great deal of

p. 684. A 11.) Ἄν μὲν τοι καρτερήσῃς μικρὸν, καὶ τοὺς βουλομένους ἢ ἐπάσαι τινὰ ἐπώδην, ἢ περιάψαι τι τῷ σώματι περιάπτον, ἀτιμάσῃς, καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς ἐξαγάγῃς τῆς ὕβρεως ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας, εὐθέως ἔλαβες δρόσον ἀπὸ τοῦ συννειδότος.—Basil. Magn. in Psalm. xlv. (Bened. fol. vol. i. p. 171.) Νοσεῖ τὸ παιδίον ; καὶ σὺ τὸν ἐπαιδὸν περισκοπεῖς, ἢ τὸν τοὺς περιέργους χαρακτηρᾶς τοῖς τραχήλοις τῶν ἀναιτίων νηπίων περιτιθέντα.

^h Constitut. Apostol. lib. viii. c. xxxii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 496. B 6.) Θεατρομανία εἴ τις πρόσκειται, ἢ κυνηγίοις, ἢ ἵπποδρομίαις, ἢ ἀγῶσιν, ἢ παυσάσθω, ἢ ἀποβαλλέσθω.

ⁱ Mercur. de Arte Gymnast. lib. i. c. iii. p. 12. Ludorum finis erat religio quædam, qua antiqui opinabantur, sese diis rem gratam illis ludis tamquam promissam facturos.

barbarity and cruelty, as well as lewdness and profaneness, committed in many of them, which it did not become a Christian eye to behold with pleasure and approbation. The theatre was looked upon as the devil's propriety: and so he himself termed it, as we learn from that famous story in Tertullian^k, where, speaking of a Christian woman, who went to the theatre, and returned possessed with a devil, he says, "The unclean spirit, being asked by the exorcist, how he durst presume to make such an attempt upon a believer? replied confidently, 'That he had a right to her, because he found her upon his own ground.' " For these reasons, the ancient canons and fathers are so frequently severe in their invectives against all theatrical exercises, not only in the actors, but also in the spectators, declaring them to be incompatible with the piety and purity of a Christian life. And, upon this account, men were obliged to renounce them, before they could be admitted to baptism. But of this something more, when we come to the form of renunciation.

SECT. X.—*In what Cases the Military Life might unqualify Men for Baptism.*

The several sorts of persons hitherto mentioned were excluded from baptism without exception. But there are two other kinds of states of life that must be considered with some distinction; that is, the military life; and the state of concubinage, as it is called sometimes in the civil law and ancient canons. Some learned persons¹ are of opinion, that the ancients had so much a dislike to the military life, as to excommunicate such as bore arms after baptism; which they affirm upon the authority of the Nicene fathers, to whom they impute it as an error, that they condemned absolutely the military life as unlawful, which St. John the Baptist had approved. But this charge is grounded merely upon a mistake and misunderstand-

^k Tertul. de Spectac. c. 26. (Oberth. vol. i. p. 29.) Theatrum adiit, et inde cum dæmonio rediit. Itaque in exorcismo cum oneraretur immundus spiritus, quod ausus esset fidelem aggredi; 'constanter et justissime (inquit) feci; in meo enim [eam] inveni.'

¹ Scultet. Discuss. Quæst. de Conc. Nicæno, in Medulla Patr. part i. p. 477.

ing of the meaning of those fathers, who had no intent to condemn the military life in general, but only as it might happen to be unlawful in some particular circumstances and cases. The words of the canon referred to are these: "If any, who at first, by the grace of God, made confession^m of the faith, and cast away the military girdle, afterward return to their vomit again, so as to give money and buy a place in the army, let them be ten years among the prostrators, after they have been three years among the hearers." The generality of interpreters take this to refer peculiarly to the times of Licinius, the persecutor; who, by an edict, had ordered all such Christian soldiers to be cashiered as would not sacrifice to the gods: upon which, many Christians in the army threw away their girdles, and quitted the military life. But afterward some of them returned again to it upon the conditions proposed; doing sacrifice, and committing idolatry, and giving money to regain their places; against whose prevarication and revolt the discipline of this canon was intended. So Balsamon and Zonaras among the old expositors; and so Grotiusⁿ, and

^m Conc. Nicæn. can. xii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 241.) Οἱ προσκληθέντες ὑπὸ τῆς χάριτος, καὶ τὴν πρώτην ὁρμὴν ἐνδειξάμενοι, καὶ ἀποθέμενοι τὰς ζώνας, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τὸν οἰκεῖον ἔμετον ἀναδραμόντες, ὥς τινὰς καὶ ἀργύρια προΐεσθαι, καὶ βενεφικίοις κατορθῶσαι τὸ στρατεύεσθαι· οὗτοι δέκα ἔτη ὑποπιπτέτωσαν, μετὰ τὸν τῆς τριετοῦς ἀκροάσεως χρόνον.

ⁿ Grot. de Jure Belli, lib. i. c. ii. sect. x. (Amstel. 1720. p. 67.) Agitur (in can. xii. Conc. Nic.) haud dubie de idololatria: nam quæ canone xi. præceserat mentio temporum Licinii, in hoc canone repetita tacite haberi debet, ut sæpe canonum sequentium sensus a prioribus pendet. Vide in exemplum can. xi. Conc. Eliberini. Licinius autem, verba sunt Eusebii, στρατιώτας ἐκέλευεν ἀποβάλλεσθαι τοῦ ἀξιώματος, εἰ μὴ τοῖς δαίμοσι θύειν αἰροῖντο: quod et Julianus postea imitatus est: quam ob causam Victricius atque alii cingulum pro Christo abjecisse leguntur. . . . Quare his, qui semel conscientia puncti cingulum abjecerant, reditus ad militiam sub Licinio non patebat, nisi per fidei Christianæ abnegationem: quæ quia eo erat gravior, quo prior iste actus majorem in illis legis divinæ cognitionem testabatur, ideo hi defectores gravius etiam puniuntur, quam illi, de quibus egerat præcedens canon, qui sine periculo vitæ aut facultatum amittendarum Christianismum abjecerant. Generaliter autem de omni militia interpretari canonem, quem produximus, ab omni ratione alienum est. Aperte enim testatur historia, his, qui sub Licinio militiam abjecerant, neque Licinio imperante ad eam redierant, ne fidem Christianam violarent, a Constantino datam optionem, immunes ne esse a militia vellent, an ad militiam redire: quod haud dubie multi fecerunt.

Ziegler^o, Sylvius, and Coriolanus, Binnius, and Bishop Beveridge, with many other modern writers. Albaspinæus thinks it peculiarly respected such penitents only as vowed to renounce all secular business and employments; and to live in a state of perpetual penance, but afterward^p returned to a secular life, and took upon them civil offices again; which, in the imperial law and canons of the Church, are sometimes called by the name of *militia palatina*. And Salmasius advances^q an opinion not much different from this. However, it is agreed on all hands that the Council of Nice made no general prohibition of the military life, but only in some such special cases. There is, therefore, no reason to conclude from hence, that they esteemed the vocation of a soldier simply unlawful: especially considering that Constantine himself allowed the soldiers, who were cashiered by Licinius, to return to their ancient employment again; as is rightly observed by Ziegler out of Theodoret and Eusebius^r. Nay, the first Council of

^o Ziegler. Animadvers. in Grotium, lib. ii. c. ii. (p. 106, ed. Argentor. 1706.) Magis igitur erit, ut Hugonis Grotii partes sequamur, et de illis canonem accipiamus, qui in militiam denuo iverunt cum abnegatione fidei jam agnitæ.

^p Albaspin. Not. in can. xii. Conc. Nic. (tom. ii. Conc. p. 79. C.) Mihi plane persuasum est, canone isto designari lapsos pœnitentes, quos benedictione percepta, sæcularium sumtoque habitu, posthabitaque rerum omnium ac munerum militarium, et fori cura ac cogitatione, voti postea pœnituisset: idque quod professi fuerant repetentes, commutationis vitæ tædio quodam adfecti, animum et cogitationem ad munera illa sæcularia rursus adjecissent.

^q Salmas. de Fœnore Trapezitico, p. 782, citante Zieglero, p. 105. Novissime Claudius Salmasius (verba sunt Ziegleri) ‘de Fœn. Trapezit.’ p. 782, verba canonis simpliciter accipit de iis, qui gratia inspirante divina, cingulo militiæ deposito, quo melius et perfectius vitæ institutum magisque Christianum capesserent, postmodo illud resumserunt, et denuo se militiæ sacramento obligarunt. Non igitur absolute damnasce dicit militiam illius temporis patres, nec milites, qui ex necessitate ei nomen dedissent, improbasse, sed eos non excusasse, immo et pœna ecclesiastica dignos judicasse, quibus quum jam liberum esset non militare, ab ea utpote jam dimissis ac sacramento solutis, iterum ad eam redire placuisset. Et hanc secundam militiam propter solam hominum trucidationem improbatam patribus fuisse.

^r Euseb. de Vit. Constant. lib. ii. c. xxxiii. (Cambr. p. 552.) Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐξετασθεῖσι μὲν ἐπὶ στρατιωτικαῖς ἀξίαις ποτὲ, τούτων δὲ διὰ τὴν ἀπηνῆ τε καὶ ἄδικον πρόφασιν ἐκπεσοῦσιν, ὅτι τὸ γινώσκειν τὸ κρεῖττον ὁμολογοῦντες, προὔτίμησαν ἥς εἶχον ἀξίας, αἰρετὸν ἔστω πρὸς βούλησιν, ἢ τὰ στρατιωτικὰ στέργουσιν ἐφ’ οὗπερ ἦσαν σχήματος μένειν ἢ μετὰ ἀφίσεως ἐντίμου ἐλευθέραν ἄγειν σχολήν.

Arles excommunicated all such as threw away their arms in time of peace^s, on pretence that they were Christians. All which abundantly proves that the ancient canons did not condemn the military life as a vocation simply unlawful or antichristian, nor, consequently, such as men were obliged to renounce at their baptism. But all that was required of them, was only what St. John Baptist had exacted before, when they came to his baptism, as appears from the rule in the Constitutions^t, providing, in this case, that a soldier, when he desired baptism, should be taught to do violence to no man; to accuse no one falsely; and to be content with his wages. If he consented to these things, he was to be received; if otherwise, to be rejected. This was the standing rule of the Church; and I believe there is no instance of any man being refused baptism merely because he was a soldier; unless some unlawful circumstance, as that of idolatry, or the like, made the vocation sinful.

SECT. XI.—*Whether Persons might be baptized who lived in the State of Concubinage.*

The other case, which has been matter of doubt, is concerning the state of concubinage; which, in the common acceptance, is a matter of such ill fame, that it seems a wonder to many to hear of any allowance made to it in the civil law and ancient canons. But they made a distinction anciently in this matter, as the Jews and patriarchs of old did, among whom there was one sort of concubines which was permitted, as differing nothing from a wife, save only that she was not married with all the solemnities and usual forms that the other was. And this sort of concubines the ancient canons received both to baptism and the communion. The rule in the Constitutions^u, about this matter, is given thus: “A concubine

^s Conc. Arelat. I. can. ii. (tom. i. Conc. p. 1427.) De his qui arma projiciunt in pace, placuit abstineri eos a communione.

^t Constitut. Apostol. lib. viii. c. xxxii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 496. E 11.) Στρατιώτης προσιών διδασκέσθω μὴ ἀδικεῖν, μὴ συκοφαντεῖν, ἀρκεῖσθαι δὲ διδομένοις ὀψωνίοις· πειθόμενος προσδέχέσθω, ἀντιλέγων ἀποβαλλέσθω.

^u Constitut. lib. viii. c. xxxii. (p. 498. A 11.) Παλλακή τινος ἀπίστου δούλη, ἐκείνη μόνη σχολάζουσα, προσδέχέσθω· εἰ δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἄλλους ἀσελγαίνει, ἀποβαλλέσθω.

that is a slave to an infidel, if she keep herself only to him, may be received to baptism ; but if she commit fornication with others, she shall be rejected." A like decree was made in the Council of Toledo^x concerning the admission of persons to the communion : " If any Christian who has a wife, have also a concubine, let him not communicate. But if he have no wife, but only a concubine instead of a wife, he may not be repelled from the communion, provided he be content to be joined to one woman only, whether wife or concubine, as he pleases." Now, the difference betwixt such a concubine and a wife, as learned men have observed^y, was not that the one was truly married, and the other not ; but in the different way of their being married. For she that was called a wife, was married publicly, and with great solemnity, and instruments of dowry, and other ceremonies which the civil and canon law required ; but she who was called a concubine, was one married in a private way, without the solemnity which the law required. But they both agreed in these three things : 1. That they were unmarried persons before. 2. That they obliged themselves to their husbands to live in conjugal chastity, and in procreation of children, and be joined to no other. 3. And that they would continue faithful in this state all their lives. Now, this sort of concubines, being in the nature of wives married without the formalities required in the civil law, were

^x Conc. Tolet. I. c. xvii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1226.) Si quis habens uxorem fidelem, si concubinam habeat, non communicet. Ceterum qui non habet uxorem, et pro uxore concubinam habet, a communione non repellatur ; tantum ut unius mulieris, aut uxoris, aut concubinæ (ut ei placuerit), sit conjunctione contentus.

^y Vid. Anton. Augustin. de Emendat. Gratiani, lib. i. dialog. xv. p. 170. (p. 243, edit. Duisburg. 1677.) Non ignoro, duplex esse concubinarum genus, duplex etiam uxorum. Uxores, quæ sine dotalibus instrumentis acciperentur, eas concubinas dictas fuisse. De his possumus Toletani Concilii verba interpretari.—Petr. Martyr. Loc. Commun. class. ii. c. x. n. iii. (p. 273, Lond. 1583.) (p. 213, Amstel. 1656.) Concubina est, quæ cum cœlibe consuetudinem conjugalem habet. Sed quia ea non est individua, quoniam ita conjuncti facile separantur, ideo concubina plurimum a vera uxore distat : deinde cum ea humana jura non communicantur. Non enim concubina in familiam ejus transit, cum quo consuevit. Quin et res et facultates minime communicantur ; nec filii, ex ea conjunctione orti, legitimi et justii heredes habentur, nisi beneficio principis legitimati fuerint, etc.

not reputed guilty of fornication, though they wanted the privileges, rights, and honours that the law allowed to those who were called legal wives. And, therefore, they were admitted to baptism without any further obligation, in case the husband was a heathen. But if the husband was a Christian, the rule in the Constitutions made a little difference. For if he had a concubine, he was obliged to dismiss her, and marry a lawful^z wife, if his concubine was a slave; and if she was a free woman, he must make her a lawful wife; otherwise he was to be cast out of the Church. And so, in the decrees of Pope Leo^a, Christians who had only concubines, were obliged to dismiss them, if they were slaves, unless they would free them, and lawfully endow them, and give them a public marriage, as the laws required. And in this, these decrees seem to differ from that of the Council of Toledo, which allows a concubine to cohabit, in private wedlock, without any ecclesiastical censure. St. Austin^b reckons this case one of those dubious and difficult points, which cannot be easily determined. But he inclines to think a concubine of this kind might be admitted to baptism; because her case differs much from that of a professed adulteress, who could never be admitted to baptism, whilst she lived in the practice of so flagrant a crime; but the other case, he thinks, is a matter which the Scripture has no where so positively condemned, but rather left in doubt, as many other such points and questions, which the Church, in her prudence, must decide by the best skill she has to determine such difficult questions. I have represented the sense of the ancients upon this point as clearly as I could, because it

^z Constitut. lib. viii. c. xxxii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 497. B.) Πιστὸς εἰν ἔχῃ παλλακὴν, εἰ μὲν δούλην, πανσάσθω, καὶ νόμῳ γαμείτω· εἰ δὲ ἐλευθέραν, ἐκγαμείτω αὐτὴν νόμῳ· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἀποβαλλέσθω.

^a Leo, Epist. xcii. ad Rustic. cap. iv. p. 164. Clericus, si filiam suam viro, habenti concubinam, in matrimonium dederit, non ita accipiendum est, quasi conjugato eam dederit, nisi forte illa mulier et ingenua facta, et donata legitime, et publicis nuptiis honestata videatur.—Id. c. v. Ancillam a toro abjicere, et uxorem certæ ingenuitatis accipere, non duplicatio conjugii, sed profectus est honestatis.

^b Augustin. de Fide et Operibus, c. xix. (Bened. vol. vi. p. 185. D 8.) De concubina quoque, si professa fuerit nullum se alium cognituram, etiamsi ab illo cui subdita est, dimittatur; merito dubitatur, utrum ad percipiendum baptismum non debeat admitti.

has occasioned some ill-grounded censures of the ancients, and of Gratian's canon law (which is only copied from them), in some modern authors ; as if they had allowed such concubines as we commonly call 'harlots,' to be baptized without giving signs of repentance ; whereas, we see this matter was not so crudely delivered by them, but considered and determined with several necessary cautions and distinctions. And I have been the more particular in making inquiries concerning these several kinds of adult persons, who might, or might not, be admitted to baptism, because these are questions which the reader will not readily find so distinctly examined in modern writers, who have professedly treated of the subject of baptism.

SECT. XII.—*A peculiar Error of the Marcionites in rejecting all married Persons from Baptism.*

I only note one thing more, concerning a pretended rule of purity among the Marcionites, which was, that they would admit no married persons to their baptism ; but they must be either virgins, or widows, or bachelors, or divorced persons, which, as Tertullian observes, "came, doubtless, from their abhorrence and condemnation^c of the married life ;" which error was common to them, with many other ancient heretics, though I do not find this peculiarity, of denying baptism to such persons, ascribed to any others. However it was, we are sure, there was no such rule ever made to discourage marriage in the Catholic Church. Her rule was always that of St. Paul : "Marriage is honourable in all, and the bed undefiled ; but whoremongers and adulterers God will judge." The Church took upon her to judge adulterers, and, by the power of the keys, to exclude them from baptism ; but, beyond this, she pretended to no power or commission from God, to be exercised over any others, whom God had left at liberty to be married or unmarried, as they saw occasion.

^c Tertul. cont. Marc. lib. i. c. 29. (Oberth. vol. i. p. 332.) Non tingitur apud illum caro, nisi virgo, nisi vidua, nisi cœlebs, nisi divortio baptisma mercata . . . Sine dubio ex damnatione conjugii institutio ista constabit.

CHAPTER VI.

OF THE TIME AND PLACE OF BAPTISM.

SECT. I.—*Why adult Persons sometimes delayed Baptism by Order of the Church.*

NEXT to the persons who were the subjects of baptism, it will be proper to consider the circumstances of time and place in the administration of it. As to infants, I have already showed, that no time was limited for their baptism; but they were to be regenerated as soon as they could with convenience after the time of their natural birth, being confined to no day, as circumcision was, by any rule of Scripture, though the Church in some places deferred them, when there was no danger of death, to the solemnity of some greater festival. But for adult persons the case was something otherwise: for their baptism was generally deferred for two or three years, or a longer or shorter time, by order of the Church, till they could be sufficiently instructed and disciplined to the practice of a Christian life; of which I have given a full account in the last Book. Others had their baptism put off a longer time by way of punishment, when they fell into gross and scandalous crimes, which were to be expiated by a longer course of discipline and repentance. This was sometimes five, or ten, or twenty years, or more, even all their lives to the hour of death, when their crimes were very flagrant and provoking. If a catechumen turned informer against his brethren in time of persecution, and any one was proscribed or slain by his means; then, by a canon ^a of the Council of Eliberis, his baptism was to be deferred for five years. And so in case a woman-catechumen divorced herself from her husband, her punishment was five years' prorogation ^b. But if she committed adultery, and, after

^a Conc. Illiber. c. lxxiii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 978.) Delator si quis exstiterit fidelis, et per delationem ejus aliquis fuerit proscriptus vel interfectus, placuit, eum nec in fine accipere communionem. Si levior causa fuerit, intra quinquennium accipere poterit communionem. Si catechumenus fuerit, post quinquennii tempora admittatur ad baptismum.

^b Ibid. c. xi. (ibid. p. 972.) Intra quinquennii tempora catechumena si graviter fuerit infirmata, dandum ei baptismum placuit, non denegari.

conception, used any arts to destroy her infant in the womb, then she was to remain unbaptized all her life, and only be admitted^c to baptism at the hour of death. From whence it is plain that the baptism of adult persons was sometimes deferred a considerable time, by order of the Church. But, then, this was always either by way of preparation or punishment, whilst catechumens were first learning the principles of religion, or were kept in a state of penance to make satisfaction to the Church for some scandalous transgression.

SECT. II.—*Private Reasons for deferring Baptism, against the Rules of the Church. Firstly, Supinuity and Negligence of Salvation.*

But others deferred their baptism, of their own accord, against the rules of the Church: of which practice there are frequent complaints in the writings of the ancients, and severe invectives against it, answering the common pleas which men usually urged in their own behalf. Some did it out of a supine laziness and careless negligence of their salvation, which was a very common reason^d, but such a one as men were ashamed to own, because its own reproach was a sufficient answer to it.

SECT. III.—*Secondly, An Unwillingness to renounce the World, and submit to the Severities of Religion.*

Others deferred it out of a heathenish principle still remaining in them, because they were in love with the world and its pleasures; which they were unwilling to renounce, to take upon them the yoke of Christ, which they thought would lay greater restraints upon them, and deny them those liberties

^c Ibid. c. lxviii. Catechumena, si per adulterium conceperit, et conceptum necaverit, placuit, eam in fine baptizari.

^d Nazianz. Orat. xl. de Bapt. p. 654. A 2. "Εως πότε, δκνηρὲ, κατάκεισαι; πότε δὲ ἐξ ὕπνου ἀναστήσῃ; τὸ καὶ τὸ σκήπτρῳ, καὶ προφασίζῃ προφάσεις ἐν ἀμαρτίαις μένω τὰ φῶτα, κ. τ. λ. Vid. sub. lit. (1).—Constitut. Apostol. lib. vi. c. xv. Ὁ λέγων, ὅτι ὅταν τελευτῶ, βαπτίζομαι, ἵνα μὴ ἀμαρτήσω, καὶ ῥυπανῶ τὸ βάπτισμα, οὗτος ἄγνοιαν ἔχει Θεοῦ, καὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ φύσεως ἐπιλήσμων τυγχάνει. Μὴ ἀναβάλλου γὰρ ἐπιστρέψαι πρὸς Κύριον· οὐ γὰρ οἶδας τί τέξεται ἡ ἐπιούσα.

which they could now more freely indulge themselves in, and securely enjoy. They could spend their life in pleasure, and be baptized at last, and then they should gain as much as those that were baptized before; for the labourers who came into the vineyard at the last hour, had the same reward as those that had borne the burden and heat of the day. Thus Gregory Nazianzen^e brings them in, arguing for delaying their baptism, as men now usually do for delaying repentance. This reason was so very absurd and foolish, that many who were governed by it, were ashamed to own it. But yet, as St. Basil^f observes, “though they did not speak a word, their actions sufficiently proclaimed it. For it was the same as if they had said, ‘Let me alone, I will abuse the flesh to the enjoyment of all that is filthy; I will wallow in the mire of pleasures; I will imbrue my hands in blood; I will take away other men’s goods; live by deceit; forswear and lie; and then I will be baptized when I shall leave off sinning.’” Such men had the idol of infidelity still in their hearts, as the author^g of the Recognitions, under the name of Clemens Romanus, charges them. And that was the true reason why they put

^e Nazianz. Orat. xl. de Bapt. 1630. (vol. i. p. 650. B 9.) Ἀλλὰ τί μοι πλέον, φησὶ, προκατασχεθέντι διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος, καὶ τὸ τερπνὸν τοῦ ζῆν ἑμαυτῷ διὰ τοῦ τάχους ἀποκλείσαντι, ἐνὸν ἐφεῖναι ταῖς ἡδοναῖς, καὶ τηνικαῦτα τυχεῖν τῆς χάριτος; οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῖς ἐν τῷ ἀμπελῶνι προκεκμηκόσιν ὑπῆρξέ τι πλέον, ἴσου τοῦ μισθοῦ δοθέντος καὶ τοῖς τελευταίοις. — Id. p. 652. A. Τί δαί; οὐχὶ φιλόανθρωπόν, φησι, τὸ θεῖον; Καὶ γνωστικὸν γὰρ ἐννοιῶν, δοκιμάζει τε τὴν ἔφεσιν, καὶ ἀντὶ βαπτίσματος ποιῆται τὴν ὁρμὴν τοῦ βαπτίσματος;

^f Basil. Hort. ad Bapt. hom. xiii. (Bened. fol. vol. ii. p. 117. E 2.) Νοῦ σου τὴν ὑπέρθεσιν, κἂν περιστέλλῃ τοῖς ῥήμασιν· αὐτὰ βοᾷ τὰ πράγματα, κἂν τῇ φωνῇ σιωπᾷς, Ἔασον, ἀποχρήσωμαι τῇ σαρκὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν τῶν αἰσχυρῶν· ἐγκυλισθῶ τῷ βορβόρῳ τῶν ἡδονῶν, αἰμάξω τὰς χεῖρας, ἀφέλωμαι τὰ ἀλλότρια, δολίως πορευθῶ, ἐπιορκήσω, ψεύσωμαι, καὶ τότε τὸ βάπτισμα, ὅταν λήξω ποτὲ τῶν κακῶν, ὑποδέξομαι.

^g Clem. Rom. lib. vi. n. ix. (Coteler. vol. i. p. 551.) Confugite ad aquas istas; solæ sunt enim, quæ possint vim futuri ignis extinguere: ad quas qui moratur accedere, constat in eo infidelitatis adhuc idolum permanere, et ab ipso prohiberi ad aquas, quæ salutem conferunt, properare. Sive enim justus sis, sive injustus; baptismus tibi per omnia necessarius est: justo quidem, ut adimpleatur in eo perfectio, et regeneretur Deo; injusto vero, ut peccatorum, quæ gessit in ignorantia, remissio concedatur. Omnibus ergo festinandum est sine mora renasci Deo; quia incertus est uniuscujusque exitus vitæ.

off their baptism : for had they believed baptism to be necessary to all, whether just or unjust, they would have made haste to receive it : because the end of every man's life is utterly uncertain.

SECT. IV.—*Thirdly, A Fear of falling after Baptism.*

Another sort of men put off their baptism to the end of their lives, upon a sort of Novatian principle ; because they pretended to be afraid of falling into sin after baptism ; and there was no second baptism allowed to regenerate men again to the kingdom of heaven : whereas, if they were baptized at the hour of death, heaven would be immediately open to them, and they might go pure and undefiled into it. In the meantime, if they died before baptism, they hoped God would accept the will for the deed ; and the desire of baptism for baptism itself. Now, as this pretence was founded on abundance of errors, so the ancients are copious in refuting them. St. Basil^h argues against their practice, from the uncertainty of life. “ For who,” says he, “ has fixed for thee the term of life ? Who is it that can promise thee the enjoyment of old age ? Who can undertake to be a sufficient sponsor of futurity ? Do you not see both young and old suddenly snatched away ? And why do you stay to make baptism only the gift of a fever ? ” Gregory Nazianzenⁱ calls it a riddle for an unbaptized man to think

^h Basil. Exhort. ad Bapt. (Bened. fol. vol. ii. p. 119. A 3.) Τίς δέ σοι καὶ τὸν ὅρον τῆς ζωῆς ἐπηξε; τίς σοι τὴν προθεσμίαν τοῦ γήρως ὥρισε; τίς οὕτως ἀξιόπιστος παρά σοι τῶν μελλόντων ἐγγυητής; οὐχ ὁρᾷς νήπια ἀρπαζόμενα; τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ ἀπαγομένους; οὐκ ἔχει μίαν προθεσμίαν ὁ βίος· τί ἀναμένεις πυρετοῦ σοι δῶρον γενέσθαι τὸ βάπτισμα; ὅτε οὐδὲ φθέγξασθαι δυνήσῃ τὰ σωτήρια ῥήματα, τάχα δὲ οὐδὲ ἀκοῦσαι καθαρῶς ἐπιτραπήσῃ, αὐτῇ τῇ κεφαλῇ ἐνοικιούσης τῆς νόσου; οὐ χεῖρας ἄραι εἰς οὐρανὸν, οὐκ ἐπὶ πόδας διαναστῆναι, οὐ κλῖναι γόνυ εἰς τὴν προσκύνησιν, οὐ διδαχθῆναι χρησίμως, οὐχ ὁμολογῆσαι ἀσφαλῶς, οὐχὶ συνθέσθαι Θεῷ, οὐκ ἀποτάξασθαι τῷ ἐχθρῷ· τάχα δὲ, οὐδὲ συνετῶς ἐπακολουθῆσαι μυσταγωγούμενος, ἀμφίβολος ὢν τοῖς παροῦσιν, ἢ ἄρα ἦσθαι τῆς χάριτος, ἢ ἀναισθήτως ἔχεις τῶν γινομένων.

ⁱ Nazianz. Orat. xl. de Bapt. (Paris. 1630. vol. i. p. 652. A 6.) Αἰνίγματι λέγεις ὅμοιον, εἰ πεφωτισμένος ἐστὶ Θεῷ διὰ τὸ φιλάνθρωπον ὁ ἀφώτιστος ἢ καὶ τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐντὸς ὁ ταύτης τυχεῖν σπουδάζων, δίχα τοῦ πράττειν τὰ τῆς βασιλείας.

he is baptized in the sight of God, whilst he depends upon his mercy in the neglect of baptism; or to imagine himself in the kingdom of heaven, without doing the things that belong to the kingdom of heaven. "This is but a vain hope," says Gregory Nyssen^k, "bewitching the soul with false appearances and pretensions." And as they thus exposed the groundless hopes of these men, so they zealously demonstrated to them the vanity of their pretended fears. For though there was no second baptism for them that fell into sin after the first, yet it was not impossible for men to avoid falling into damnable sins after their first purgation; or if they did so fall, yet, if they were not sins unto death, they might obtain a second cleansing, by pardon upon repentance. So that it was plain madness and folly to neglect baptism upon such uncertain fears; because that was to run a much more dangerous risk, whilst they sought to avoid a lesser inconvenience, which was attended with much more safety, and had no such apprehended danger in it.

SECT. V.—*Fourthly, Superstitious Fancies in reference to the Time and Ministers of Baptism.*

Some, again, there were, who deferred their baptism upon a principle of mere fancy and superstition, in reference to the time, or place, or ministers of baptism. Gregory Nazianzen^l brings in some, making this excuse: "I stay till Epiphany, the time when Christ was baptized, that I may be baptized with Christ. I rather choose Easter, that I may rise with Christ. I wait for Whitsuntide, that I may honour the descent of the Holy Ghost. And what then? In the meantime, comes death suddenly, in a day thou didst not expect, and in an hour thou art not aware of." Others had a superstitious fancy to be baptized in some certain place, as at Jeru-

^k Nyssen. de Bapt. (Paris. 1638. vol. ii. p. 222. B 4.) Τὸ δὲ κενὴ τίς ἐστιν ἐλπὶς δόξῃ ψευδεῖ τὴν ψυχὴν γοητεύουσα.

^l Nazianz. Orat. xl. de Bapt. p. 654. A 5. Μένω τὰ Φῶτα, τὸ Πάσχα μοι τιμιώτερον, τὴν Πεντηκοστὴν ἐκδέξομαι, Χριστῷ συμφωτισθῆναι βέλτιον, Χριστῷ συναναστῆναι κατὰ τὴν ἀναστάσιμον ἡμέραν, τοῦ Πνεύματος τιμῆσαι τὴν Ἐπιφάνειαν· εἰτα τί; ἥξει τὸ τέλος ἐξαίφνης ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ᾗ οὐ προσδοκᾷς, καὶ ἐν ᾧρᾳ ᾗ οὐ γινώσκεις, κ. τ. λ.

saalem, or in the river Jordan ; and, therefore, they deferred their baptism, till they could have a convenience to come to the place intended. This seems tacitly to be reflected on by Tertullian^m, when he says, “ There is no difference between those whom John baptized in Jordan, and those whom Peter baptized in the Tiber ;” and by St. Ambrose, in his discourse to the catechumensⁿ, where, exhorting them to come with all possible speed to be baptized, he invites them “ to draw the blessing of consecration from the font of Jordan : and to drown their sins in that stream where Christ’s sacred person was baptized.” But, then, that they might not mistake, he adds, “ that in order to their being baptized in the font of Jordan, it was not necessary they should go to the Eastern country, or to the river in the land of Judæa. For wherever Christ was, there was Jordan. And the same consecration which blessed the rivers of the East, sanctifieth also the rivers of the West.” Eusebius tells us^o, “ that Constantine had a design, for many years, to have been baptized in the river Jordan, after the example of Christ ; and that, perhaps, might be the reason why he so long deferred his baptism. But God, who knew best what was fit for him, disappointed him in this design ; and he was, at last, baptized at Nicomedia, a little before his death.” For as to that story, which is so pompously set forth by Baronius^p, concerning his being baptized by Pope

^m Tertul. de Bapt. c. iv. Ne quidquam refert inter eos, quos Joannes in Jordane, et quos Petrus in Tiberi tinxit.

ⁿ Ambros. Serm. xli. (Bened. 1690. vol. ii. append. p. 441. C 4.) Debemus, fratres dilectissimi, (vobis catechumenis loquor,) gratiam baptismatis ejus omni festinatione suscipere, et de fonte Jordanis, quem ille benedixit, benedictionem consecrationis haurire ; ut in eum gurgitem, in quem illius sanctitas mersit, nostra peccata mergantur. (E 3.) Sed ut eodem fonte mergamur, non nobis Orientalis petenda est regio, non fluvius terræ Judaicæ : ubique enim nunc Christus, ibi quoque Jordanis est. Eadem consecratio, quæ Orientis flumina benedixit, Occidentis fluentia sanctificat.

^o Euseb. de Vit. Constant. lib. iv. c. lxii. (Camb. p. 662.) . . . ὥρα τοῦ σωτηρίου σφραγίσματος μετασχεῖν ἐπὶ ῥείθρων Ἰορδάνου ποταμοῦ τοῦτ’ ἐνενόουν ποτὲ ποιῆσαι, ἐφ’ ὧν καὶ ὁ Σωτὴρ εἰς ἡμέτερον τύπον, τοῦ λουτροῦ μετασχεῖν μνημονεύεται Θεὸς δ’ ἄρα τὸ συμφέρον εἰδὼς, ἐντεῦθεν ἤδη τούτων ἡμᾶς ἀξιοῖ.

^p Baron. an. 324, n. xxix. (Lucæ, vol. iv. p. 39.) (p. 246, Antverp. 1617.) In ejus Concilii (Romæ sub Silvestro celebrati) exordio hæc narrantur de causa cogendi ejusmodi episcoporum conventus : Eodem tempore, quum multi nobiles

Sylvester at Rome, and cured of his leprosy, it is a mere fable, refuted by the testimony of all the ancients,—Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, Athanasius, St. Ambrose, St. Jerome, and the Council of Ariminum, who all speak of his baptism immediately before his death. And the best critics since Baronius, Valesius^a, and Schelstrate^r, Lambecius^s, Papebrochius^t, and Pagi^u, agree in their verdict with the ancients against the modern fiction. So that now it is agreed on all hands, that Constantine was one of those who deferred his baptism to the time of his death; and the most probable account that can be given of this is, the fancy which he had entertained of being baptized in Jordan, which the providence of God never suffered him to put in execution. Another sort of fanciful men would not be baptized, till they could have one to minister baptism to them who had some extraordinary qualifications. Gregory Nazianzen takes notice of some such as these, and rebukes them after this manner; “Say not thou^x,

gauderent, quod Constantinus baptizatus a Silvestro, episcopo urbis Romæ, et mundatus fuisset a lepra; pro hoc beneficio, quod accepit a Domino nostro Jesu Christo per Silvestrum episcopum, cœpit integre prædicare Jesum Christum, et confiteri ejus beneficia, etc.

^a Vales. Not. in Socrat. lib. i. c. xxxix. (Cambr. p. 75.) Philostorgium hic sequi malim, qui Constantinum testamenti sui tabulas Eusebio Nicomediensi tradidisse scribit, a quo paulo antea fuerat baptizatus.

^r Schelstrat. Conc. Antiochen. dissert. ii. c. i. p. 43. Favebat deinde Arianis Eusebius, idque non modo, quum Athanasii exilium apud principem sollicitarat, sed et quum ipsum Constantinum imperatorem in fine vitæ baptizaverat. Ut enim alibi vidimus ex D. Hieronymi Chronico: ‘Constantinus, extremo vitæ suæ tempore ab Eusebio Nicomediensi episcopo baptizatus, in dogma Arianum declinat,’ etc.

^s Lambec. Comment. de Bibliothec. Vindobon. in fine lib. v. additam, iii. a p. 398 usque ad p. 408, edit. Vindobon. 1672.

^t Papebroch. Act. Sanctor. Maii, tom. v. Vit. Constantin. Maii, xxi. c. ii. p. 15, tot.

^u Pagi, Critic. in Baron. an. 324, nn. v.—xi. pp. 397—399, edit. Antverp. 1705.

^x Nazianz. Orat. xl. de Bapt. 1630. vol. i. p. 656. A 10. Μὴ εἶπῃς, ἐπίσκοπος βαπτισάτω με, καὶ οὗτος Μητροπολίτης, καὶ Ἱεροσολυμίτης· οὐ γὰρ τόπων ἡ χάρις, ἀλλὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος· καὶ οὗτος τῶν εὖ γεγονότων· (δεινὸν γὰρ, εἰ τῷ βαπτιστῇ τὸ εὐγενές μου καθυβρισθήσεται) ἢ πρεσβύτερος μὲν, ἀλλὰ καὶ οὗτος τῶν ἀγάμων, καὶ οὗτος τῶν ἐγκρατῶν καὶ ἀγγελικῶν τὴν πολιτείαν· δεινὸν γὰρ, εἰ ἐν καιρῷ καθάρσεως ῥυπωθήσομαι· μὴ ζήτηί αξιοπιστίαν τοῦ κηρύσσοντος, μηδὲ τοῦ βαπτίζοντος· ἄλλος ὁ τούτων κριτής

‘A bishop shall baptize me, and that a metropolitan, and also one of Jerusalem;’ for grace is not the gift of the place, but of the Spirit. Say not, ‘I will be baptized by one that is of noble birth; and that it will be a reproach to thy noble descent to be baptized by any other.’ Say not, ‘If I am baptized by a presbyter, it shall be one that is unmarried, and one that is of the continent and angelic order;’ as if thy baptism were defiled by any other. Make not thyself judge of the fitness or qualification of the preacher or baptizer; for there is another that judgeth of these things. Every one is qualified to thee, for thy purgation, provided only he be one of those that are allowed, and not condemned; nor a foreigner, nor an enemy of the Church. Judge not thy judges, thou that hast need of healing. Tell me not of the dignity of thy purgators: make no difference among thy spiritual fathers: one may be better or more humble than another, but each of them is in a higher rank than thou.” By all this it appears that a superstitious distinction of times, and places, and persons, had an influence upon some, and was pleaded as a reason for deferring baptism.

SECT. VI.—*Fifthly, A Pretence to follow the Example of Christ.*

Others pleaded for deferring their baptism till they were thirty years old, from the example of Christ, because he was of that age when he was baptized. Which pretence is copiously refuted by Gregory Nazianzen^y, showing, in answer to it,

καὶ τῶν ἀφανεστέρων δοκιμαστής· ἐπειδὴ ἄνθρωπος μὲν εἰς πρόσωπον, Θεὸς δὲ εἰς καρδίαν· σοὶ δὲ πᾶς ἀξιόπιστος εἰς τὴν κάθαρσιν· μόνον ἔστω τις τῶν ἐγκρίτων, καὶ μὴ τῶν προδήλως κατεγνωσμένων, μηδὲ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀλλότριος· μὴ κρίνε τοὺς κριτὰς, ὁ χρήζων τῆς ἰατρείας· μηδὲ φιλοκρίνει μοι τὰς ἀξίας τῶν σὲ καθαιρόντων· μηδὲ διακρίνου πρὸς τοὺς γεννήτορας· ἄλλος μὲν ἄλλου κρείττων ἢ ταπεινότερος, σοῦ δὲ πᾶς ὑψηλότερος.

^y Nazianz. Orat. xl. de Bapt. (Paris. 1630. vol. i. p. 658. C 9.) Ἄλλὰ Χριστός, φησι, τριακονταέτης βαπτίζεται, καὶ ταῦτα Θεὸς ὢν, καὶ σὺ κελεύεις ἐπισπεύδειν τὸ βάπτισμα; Θεὸν εἰπὼν, λέλυκας τὸ ζητούμενον· ὁ μὲν γὰρ αὐτοκάθαρσις ἦν, καὶ οὐκ ἐδεῖτο καθάρσεως, ἀλλὰ σοὶ καθαίρεται ὥσπερ καὶ σάρκα φορεῖ σοι, ἄσαρκος ὢν· οὐδέ τις κίνδυνος ἦν αὐτῷ τὸ βάπτισμα παρατείνοντι· αὐτὸς γὰρ καὶ τοῦ παθεῖν ἦν ἑαυτῷ ταμίας, ὥσπερ τῆς

that "Christ, as God, was purity itself, and had no need of purgation ; but what he did in that kind, was only for the sake of men ; that there was no danger could befall him by delaying or protracting his baptism ; that there were particular reasons for his doing so, which did not belong to other men ; and that he did many things which we are not concerned to follow his example in ; for all his actions were not designed to be copies and examples for our imitation."

He that would see more of these pleas, may consult the Discourses of St. Basil, Nazianzen, and Nyssen, upon this subject ; or Mr. Walker's Treatise of Infant Baptism, in the Preface to which he enumerates no less than nineteen such causes as these, which were the pretended occasion of men's deferring their baptism. Those I have already mentioned, are sufficient to our present purpose, to show, that when men made great delays in this matter, they commonly did it against the rules and orders of the Church, and that the ancients, with great severity and sharpness, always declaimed and inveighed against it as a dangerous and unchristian practice. Therefore, though there may be some particular instances of persons, who thus carelessly and wilfully, through ignorance or false conceits, neglected their own baptism, and perhaps the baptism of

γενέσεως· σοὶ δὲ οὐδὲ περὶ μικρῶν ὁ κίνδυνος, εἰ ἀπέλθοις τῇ φθορᾷ γεννηθεὶς μόνῃ, καὶ μὴ τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν ἀμφιεσάμενος· σκοπῶ δὲ καὶ κεῖνο, ὅτι τῷ μὲν ἀναγκαῖος ἦν οὗτος ὁ καιρὸς τοῦ βαπτίσματος, σοὶ δὲ οὐχ ὁ αὐτὸς λόγος· ἀνεδείχθη μὲν γὰρ τριακοστὸν γεγονῶς ἔτος, οὐ πρότερον, τοῦτε μὴ δοκεῖν ἐπιδεικτικὸς εἶναί τις· τῶν γὰρ ἀπειροκάλων τὸ πάθος, καὶ ὡς τελείαν βάσανον ἀρετῆς, καὶ τοῦ διδάσκειν καιρὸν ταύτης ἐχούσης τῆς ἡλικίας· ἐπειδὴ δὲ παθεῖν ἔδει, τὸ τοῦ κόσμου σωτήριον πάθος, πάντα συνδραμεῖν ἔδει πρὸς τὸ πάθος, ὅσα τοῦ πάθους, τὴν ἀνάδειξιν, τὸ βάπτισμα, τὴν ἄνωθεν μαρτυρίαν, τὸ κήρυγμα, τὴν συνδρομὴν τοῦ πλήθους, τὰ θαύματα, καὶ ὥσπερ ἐν σῶμα γενέσθαι, μὴ διεσπασμένον, μηδὲ ἀπερρήγμένον τοῖς διαστήμασιν· ἐκ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ βαπτίσματος, καὶ τοῦ κηρύγματος, ὁ τῶν συντρεχόντων σεισμὸς (οὕτω γὰρ ἡ γραφὴ καλεῖ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον), ἐκ δὲ τοῦ πλήθους, ἡ τῶν σημείων ἐπίδειξις, καὶ τὰ θαύματα τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ προσάγοντα· ἐκ δὲ τούτων ὁ φθόνος, ἐκ δὲ τούτου τὸ μῖσος· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ μίσους, τὸ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς, καὶ τῆς προδοσίας, ἐκ τούτου δὲ ὁ σταυρὸς, καὶ ὅσοις σεσώσμεθα· τὰ μὲν δὴ Χριστοῦ τοιαῦτα, καὶ οὕτως ἔχοντα, ὅσον ἡμῖν ἐφικτόν· τάχα δ' αὖ τις καὶ ἄλλος εὐρεθείη λόγος τούτων ἀπορρήτοτερος· σοὶ δὲ τίς ἀνάγκη τοῖς ὑπὲρ σε ὑποδείγμασιν ἐπομένῃ, κακῶς βουλευέσθαι, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ τῶν τηνικαῦτα ἱστορουμένων ἐτέρως ἢ ὡς τὰ νῦν ἔχοντα φαίνεται, καὶ οὐ συμβαίνοντα τοῖς καιροῖς.

their children too, yet these men's actions are of no account to show us what were the standing measures and methods of proceeding in the Church, since they are manifest transgressions of her rule, and deviations from her ordinary practice. The Church had but two reasons, at any time, for deferring the baptism of adult persons, year after year; the one was, to give sufficient time to the catechumens to prepare them for baptism; and the other, to reform their miscarriages, when they happened to turn lapsers or apostates before their baptism. Both these were grounded upon one and the same principle; which was, that men were obliged to give sufficient security and satisfaction to the Church, that they intended to live by the rules of the Gospel, before they were admitted to the mysteries of it. And the best security that could be given, was from the experiment and trial beforehand; and, therefore, this discipline was used to make them give testimony of their intentions by a reasonable prorogation of their baptism.

SECT. VII.—*The Solemn Times appointed for Baptism by the Church were, Easter, Pentecost, and Epiphany.*

Upon this account the Church appointed certain stated seasons and solemn times of baptism in ordinary cases, allowing her ministers still the liberty to anticipate these times, if either catechumens were very great proficient, or in danger of death by any sudden accident or distemper. The most celebrated time among these was Easter; and, next to that, Pentecost, or Whitsuntide, and Epiphany, or the day on which Christ was supposed to be baptized. These three are plainly referred to by Gregory Nazianzen^z, where he brings in some giving this reason why they deferred their baptism: "One said, 'he stayed till the Epiphany;'" for the ancients mean that by *φῶτα* and *lumina*, not Candlemas, as some mistake it, but Epiphany, the day on which Christ was baptized, and manifested to the world. "Another said, 'he had a greater respect for Easter;'" and a third, 'that he waited till the time of Pentecost.'" Which plainly implies, that these three festi-

^z Nazianz. Orat. xl. de Bapt. p. 654. Vid. supra sub lit. (l).

vals were then the most noted and solemn times of baptism. But Easter and Pentecost were the chief: for they are sometimes mentioned without the other; and sometimes with an express prohibition of it. St. Jerome speaks of the two former as usual, but says nothing of the latter. He tells us, “Some referred that prophecy in Zechary to baptism^a, ‘Living waters shall go out from Jerusalem; in summer and in winter shall it be.’” The Septuagint reads it, “in summer and in the spring.” And this they applied to the two solemn times of baptism, Pentecost and Easter; one of which was in summer, and the other in the spring, when the living waters of baptism were distributed to all that thirsted after them. He mentions the same in his Epistle to Pammachius^b, against the errors of John of Jerusalem, where he speaks of forty that were baptized at Bethlehem upon Pentecost, and others that offered themselves at Easter, but were rejected by that humoursome bishop, when they were ready for baptism. These two, and no other, are likewise spoken of by Tertullian^c. He says, “Easter was appointed as the time of Christ’s sufferings, into which we are baptized. And after that, Pentecost is a very large space of time set aside for that purpose. In which time, Christ manifested his resurrection to his disciples; and

^a Hieron. Comment. in Zachar. c. xiv. 8. (Bened. vol. iii. p. 1795.) ‘Aguas viventes’ multi ad baptismum referunt, quæ in vere et in æstate, hoc est, in Pascha et Pentecoste, sitientibus largiendæ sunt.

^b Id. Epist. lxi. ad Pammach. c. xvi. (Bened. vol. iv. pt. ii. p. 333.) Nos scindimus ecclesiam, qui ante paucos menses, circa dies Pentecostes, cum, obscurato sole, omnis mundus jam jamque venturum judicem formidaret, quadraginta diversæ ætatis et sexus presbyteris tuis obtulimus baptizandos? . . . Annon tu potius scindis ecclesiam, qui præcepisti Bethleem presbyteris tuis, ne Competentibus nostris in Pascha baptismum traderent, quos nos Diospolim ad Confessorem et Episcopum misimus Dionysium baptizandos?

^c Tertul. de Bapt. c. xix. (Oberth. vol. ii. p. 56.) Diem baptismo solemniorem Pascha præstat; quum et passio Domini, in quam tinguimur, adimpleta est: nec incongruenter ad figuram interpretabitur, quod quum ultimum Pascha Dominus esset acturus, missis discipulis ad præparandum, ‘Invenietis,’ inquit, ‘hominem aquam bajulantem.’ Paschæ celebrandæ locum de signo aquæ ostendit. Exinde Pentecoste ordinandis lavacris latissimum spatium est, quo et Domini resurrectio inter discipulos frequentata est, et gratia Spiritus Sancti dedicata, et spes adventus Domini subostensa, quod tunc in cœlos recuperato eo, angeli ad apostolos dixerunt, ‘sic venturum, quemadmodum et in cœlos conscendit,’ utique in Pentecoste.

the grace of the Holy Spirit was first given; and the angels predicted his second advent at his ascension." Where it is very plain, that Tertullian, by the 'large space' of Pentecost, does not mean a particular day, but the whole fifty days between Easter and Whitsuntide; which, in his time, was one continued festival; as he tells us in other^d places. And, therefore, though Vicecomes^e reprehends Ludovicus Vives for asserting this, as if he had no authority for it; yet Habertus^f defends him out of this place of Tertullian, and other learned men^g are of the same opinion. Vicecomes thinks

^d Tertul. de Idololatr. c. xiv. (Oberthür, vol. i. p. 49.) Ethnicis semel annuus dies quisque festus est: tibi octavus quisque dies: excerpe singulas solemnitates nationum, et in ordinem [texe] exsere, Pentecosten implere non poterunt. —Id. de Cor. Mil. c. iii. p. 207. Die dominico jejunium nefas ducimus, vel geniculis adorare. Eadem immunitate a die Paschæ in Pentecosten usque gaudemus.

^e Vicecom. de Ritib. Bapt. lib. i. c. xxv. (p. 71, edit. Mediolan. 4to.) Inscriptio capitis hæc est: Cur baptismus die Sabbati conferretur. Caput ipsum sic incipit: Neque vero difficilis est ratio ad explicandum, cur Sabbati die baptismus conferretur, si quis attentius totam rem consideret, et ipsius baptismi fructum et utilitatem intueatur. Etenim cum sepulturæ Christi memoria Sabbato recolatur, eodem die baptismum dari ob id patres instituerunt, ut Christiani, abjecta omni sorde peccati, ad novam vitam cum Christo sibi resurgendum esse, intelligerent. . . . Neque adsentior Ludovico Vivi, qui in grammaticæ ludo edoctus, S. Augustini libros de Civitate Dei exponere parum feliciter adgressus est. Is enim nota (k) in c. viii. lib. xxii. a Paschate ad Pentecosten baptismum quotidie administrari solitum, nullo auctore adfirmat.

^f Habert. Archierat. part. viii. observat. iv. p. 134. Baptizandi jus episcopo reservandum existimo, iis præsertim temporibus, quibus baptizandis, citra necessitatis vim, certa tempora destinata sunt: Paschæ nimirum et Pentecostes, vel potius temporis totius Paschalis, 'legitimus baptismi dies' vocatur a Concilio Matisconensi, ubi docet honoribus sacerdotalibus exclusos esse baptizatos alio die quam Paschali, in quo episcopum solum, aut neminem nisi episcopi arbitrio, baptizasse constat. Tempus Paschale dixi; immerito siquidem Josephus Vicecomes in opere de Baptismi Ritibus, sugillat Ludovicum Vivem, quod dixerit moris fuisse, ut toto illo temporis decursu a Pascha ad Pentecosten baptizaretur: nullo, inquit, auctore, etc.

^g Cave, Prim. Christ. part i. c. x. At first, all times were alike, and persons were baptized as opportunity and occasion served; but the discipline of the Church being a little settled, it began to be restrained to two solemn and stated times of the year, namely, Easter and Whitsuntide. At Easter, in memory of Christ's death and resurrection: correspondent unto which are the two parts of the Christian life represented and shadowed out in baptism, dying unto sin, and rising again unto newness of life; in order to which, the parties to be baptized were to prepare themselves by a strict observation of Lent, dis-

the time of baptizing at Easter was only one day, that is, the 'Great Sabbath,' or 'Saturday,' when our Saviour lay in the grave. But this is also a mistake; for, though this day was the most famous for baptizing catechumens and infants also, as we learn from Chrysostom^h and the author of the Constitutionsⁱ, yet the whole time of fifty days was set apart for this purpose, and accounted but as one solemn season for baptism; which, perhaps, is the true reason why some ancient canons allow no other time but that of Easter for baptism, including the whole fifty days from Easter to Pentecost, in the sense of Tertullian. Thus, in the second Council of Mascon^k, a decree was made, that, "whereas many Christians, not regarding the lawful time of baptism, were used to bring their children to be baptized upon any holiday or festival of a martyr, so that at

posing and fitting themselves for baptism by fasting and prayer. . . . At Whitsuntide, in memory of the Holy Ghost's being shed upon the apostles; the same being, in some measure, represented and conveyed in baptism. When I say that these were the two fixed times of baptism, I do not strictly mean it of the precise days of Easter and Whitsuntide, but also of the whole intermediate space of fifty days that is between them, which was in a manner accounted festival, and baptism administered during the whole time, as I have formerly noted.

^h Chrysost. Epist. i. ad Innocent. (Bened. vol. iii. p. 518. E.) Ἡμῶν αὐτὰ, καθάπερ ἐμπροσθεν εἶπον, προτεινόντων, ἀθρόον στρατιωτῶν πλήθος αὐτῷ τῷ μεγάλῳ σαββάτῳ, πρὸς ἐσπέραν λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας ἐπείγομένης, ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἐπεισελθόντες, τὸν κλῆρον ἅπαντα τὸν σὺν ἡμῖν πρὸς βίαν ἐξέβαλον, καὶ ὅπλοις τὸ βῆμα περιεστοίχιστο· καὶ γυναῖκες τῶν εὐκτηρίων οἰκῶν πρὸς τὸ βάπτισμα ἀποδυσάμεναι, κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν καιρὸν γυμναὶ ἔφυγον ὑπὸ τοῦ φόβου τῆς χαλεπῆς ταύτης ἐφόδου.

ⁱ Constitut. lib. v. c. xviii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 365. C 4.) Τῷ δὲ σαββάτῳ μέχρις ἀλεκτοροφωνίας παρατείνοντες, ἀπονηστίζεσθε ἐπιφωσκούσης μιᾶς σαββάτων, ἥτις ἐστὶ κυριακή, ἀπὸ ἐσπέρας ἕως ἀλεκτοροφωνίας ἀγρυπνοῦντες, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ συναθροιζόμενοι, γρηγορεῖτε, προσευχόμενοι καὶ δεόμενοι τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐν τῇ διανυκτερεύσει ὑμῶν, ἀναγινώσκοντες τὸν νόμον, τοὺς προφῆτας, τοὺς ψαλμοὺς, μέχρις ἀλεκτρυνόνων κραυγῆς, καὶ βαπτίσαντες ὑμῶν τοὺς κατηχουμένους, κ. τ. λ.

^k Conc. Matiscon. II. can. iii. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 981.) Relatione quorundam fratrum nostrorum comperimus, Christianos non observantes legitimum diem baptismi pene per singulos dies ac natales martyrum, filios suos baptizare, ita ut vix duo vel tres reperiantur in sancto Pascha, qui per aquam et Spiritum Sanctum regenerentur. Idcirco censemus, ut ex hoc tempore nullus eorum permittatur talia perpetrare, præter illos, quos infirmitas nimia aut dies extremus compellit filiis suis baptismum percipere.

Easter there were not above two or three to be baptized; they therefore enacted, that from thenceforward no one should be permitted so to do, excepting those whose children were in extremity of sickness and danger of death." A like decree was made in the Council of Auxerre¹, confining all children to the time of Easter, except in case of sickness, when they were allowed to have clinic baptism. And so Socrates says^m, "It was the custom at Thessaly to baptize at Easter only." All which must either be understood to include the fifty days of Pentecost; or else it must be said these Churches had a peculiar custom, differing from the rest of the world. For, in other rules and canons, express mention is made of Easter and Pentecost, though other festivals are excluded. In the Council of Girone, in Spainⁿ, all catechumens are ordered to come only at Easter or Pentecost; because the greater the feast was, the greater ought the solemnity to be. But on all other festivals, none but sick people were to be baptized, who were not to be refused baptism at any time. Siricius, in his Epistle to Himerius^o, bishop of Tarraco, in Spain, intimates indeed, that abun-

¹ Conc. Antissiodor. c. xix. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 959.) Non licet absque Paschæ solemnitate ullo tempore baptizare, nisi illos, quibus mors vicina est, quos 'grabatarios' dicunt.

^m Socrat. lib. v. c. xxii. (Aug. T. p. 251.) Ἄλλο τὸ ἔθος ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ οἷδα γινόμενον ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τοῦ Πάσχα μόνον βαπτίζουσι.

ⁿ Conc. Gerundens. c. iv. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1568.) De catechumenis baptizandis id statutum est, ut in Paschæ solemnitate vel Pentecostes, quanto majoris celebritatis major celebritas est, tanto magis ad baptizandum veniant: ceteris solemnitatibus infirmi tantummodo debeant baptizari: quibus quocumque tempore convenit baptismum non negari.

^o Siric. Epist. ad Himer. c. ii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 1018.) A nostris consacerdotibus (quod commoti dicimus) non ratione auctoritatis alicujus, sed sola temeritate præsumitur, ut passim ac libere natalitiis Christi seu apparitionis, nec non et apostolorum seu martyrum festivitatis innumeræ (ut adseris) plebes baptismi mysterium consequantur, quum hoc sibi privilegium, et apud nos, et apud omnes ecclesias, dominicum specialiter cum Pentecoste sua Pascha defendat, quibus solis per annum diebus, ad fidem confluentibus generalia baptismatis tradi convenit sacramenta, his duntaxat electis [exceptis], qui ante quadraginta vel eo amplius dies nomen dederint, et exorcismis, quotidianisque orationibus, atque jejuniis fuerint expiati, quatenus apostolica illa impleatur præceptio, ut 'expurgato fermento veteri, nova incipiat esse conspersio.' Sicut sacram ergo Paschalem reverentiam in nullo dicimus esse minuendam, ita infantibus, qui nec dum loqui potuerint per ætatem, vel his, quibus in qualibet necessitate opus

dance of people presumed to take greater liberties to be baptized on the nativity of Christ, and the Epiphany, and the festivals of the apostles and martyrs ; but this was against the rule of the Roman Church, and all others, which reserved this privilege peculiarly to Easter, with its Pentecost, or fifty days following ; at which time baptism was generally administered to all that were qualified ; but not at other times, except only to infants, and persons in a languishing condition, and in danger of death. In the time of Pope Leo, the custom had prevailed in Sicily, to baptize as many on the festival of Epiphany as at Easter or Pentecost ; but he calls^p this “ an unreasonable novelty, and a confusion of the mysteries of each time, to think that no difference was to be made between the day on which Christ was adored by the wise men, and that whereon he arose from the dead.” Therefore, since these two, Easter and Pentecost, were the only lawful^q times of baptizing the elect catechumens in the Church, he gives them an admonition that they should mingle no other days in the like observance. He gives the same admonition to the bishops of Campania^r, Sam-

fuerit sacri unda baptismatis, omni volumus celeritate succurri, ne ad nostrarum perniciem tendat animarum, si, negato desiderantibus fonte salutari, exiens unusquisque de sæculo, et regnum perdat et vitam.

^p Leo, Epist. iv. ad Episc. Siculos, c. i. (Labbe, vol. iii. p. 1297. E 2.) Miror vos vel præcessores vestros tam irrationabilem novitatem usurpare potuisse, ut, confuso temporis utriusque mysterio, nullam esse differentiam crederetis inter diem quo adoratus est Christus a Magis, et diem quo resurrexit a mortuis.

^q Ibid. c. v. (p. 1300.) Unde quia manifestissime patet, baptizandis in ecclesia electis hæc duo tempora (de quibus locuti sumus) esse legitima, dilectionem vestram monemus, ut nullos alios dies huic observantiæ misceatis.

^r Ibid. Epist. lxxx. ad Episc. Campan. c. i. (ibid. p. 1373.) Magna indignatione commoveor, et multo dolore contristor, quod quosdam ex vobis comperi ita esse apostolicæ traditionis oblitos, et studio sui erroris intentos, ut præter Paschæ festum, cui sola Pentecostes solemnitas comparatur, audeant sibimet, non aliqua humanæ infirmitatis necessitate cogente, sed sola indisciplinati arbitrii libertate, jus baptismatis vindicare, et in natalibus martyrum, quorum finis aliter honorandus est quam dies dominicæ passionis, regenerationis celebrare mysteria, ac sine ullis spiritualium eruditionibus præparationum, ita rudibus et imperitis tradere sacramentum, ut circa renovandos nihil doctrina ecclesiastica, nihil in exorcismis impositio manuum, nihil ipsa jejunia, quibus vetus homo destruitur, operentur, neque in tanto mysterio salutis humanæ ulla ejus diei habeatur exceptio, quo ipsum donum est conditum renascentibus. Admonemus igitur, et non sine periculo status eorum, qui hoc faciunt, protestamur, ut ab hac præsumptione cessetur, et summam hanc potentissimamque Dei gratiam non nisi in Paschali et

nium, and Picenum, in another Epistle, against baptizing any, except in case of necessity, on the festivals of the martyrs. And after him, Gelasius^s made another decree, directed to the bishops of Lucania, prohibiting baptism to be given at any other time, save Easter and Pentecost, except in case of dangerous sickness, when there might be reasonable fear of the party's dying, without the remedy of salvation. So that in the Roman and Western Churches, this was the general rule, to baptize none of the adult in ordinary cases, save only upon these two great festivals, though the practice in some places was a little dissonant to the injunction of the canons. In the Eastern Churches, and in Afric, Epiphany seems also to have been regarded; for, besides what has been already noted out Nazianzen, Valesius^t has observed out of the ancient ritual, called *Typicum Sabæ*, that on this day they were wont to baptize in the Church of Jerusalem. And Joannes Moschus^u mentions the same custom in other parts of the East. And Victor Uticensis^x plainly intimates, that it was a solemn time

Pentecostes die desiderantibus et credentibus conferatis : manente quolibet tempore gravium necessitatum ac periculorum consideratione, secundum quam oporteat subvenire, ne conditione mortali coarctata infirmitas necessaria liberatione fraudetur, cum servata (sicut præloquuti sumus,) duarum tantummodo festivitatum reverentia, propter multa pericula sit cavendum, ne cuiquam aut in desperata ægitudine, aut in hostilitatis incursu, aut in timore naufragii, per sacerdotem Domini regeneratio denegetur.

^s Gelas. Epist. ix. ad Episc. Lucan. c. x. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1191.) Baptizandi sibi quispiam passim quocumque tempore nullam credat inesse fiduciam, præter Paschale festum et Pentecostes venerabile sacramentum, excepto duntaxat gravissimi languoris incursu : in quo verendum est, ne morbi crescente periculo, sine remedio salutari fortassis ægrotans exitio præventus abscedat.

^t Vales. Not. in Theod. lib. ii. c. xxvii. (Aug. T. p. 98.) Τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ βαπτίσματος λειτουργίαν] Hunc locum de baptismi sacramento intellexerunt interpretes. Ego vero de festo Epiphaniarum die malim intelligere, quo Christus in Jordane est baptizatus. Hunc enim diem præcipuo honore colebant Hierosolymitani, eo quod apud ipsos Christus tinctus fuisset : eoque die infantes baptizari apud illos solebant, ut legere memini in Typico monasterii Sancti Sabæ, ubi etiam officium illius diei refertur.

^u Mosch. Prat. Spirit. c. 214. Soruba vicus quidam est ad radices montis, in quo sita est Cœanensium civitas : In eo baptisterium est, quod in sanctis Epiphaniis sudat : qui sudor per tres horas continuis incrementis augetur, et post baptismum peractum decrescere incipit, et tribus aliis horis sensim deficit.

^x Victor de Persecut. Vandal. lib. ii. Bibliothec. Patr. tom. vii. p. 603. (p. 1908. D, edit. 1589.) Quia jam tempus urgebat, pergit cum eo, comitante

of baptizing at Carthage and in the African Churches ; for though he does not name it Epiphany, yet we may easily collect it was either that day or Christ's nativity ; for, he says, " It was but a little before the Kalends of February, that fatal day on which the African bishops were banished, and the Church destroyed by the fury of the Arians, in the time of the Vandalic persecution."

SECT. VIII.—*And in some Places the Festivals of the Apostles and Martyrs, and Anniversary Days of the Dedication of Churches, prevailed also.*

It was also customary in some Churches, to make the anniversary festival of the dedication of the church a solemn time of baptizing. Sozomen^y observes it to have been so at Jerusalem, from the time that Constantine built that famous church over our Saviour's grave at Mount Calvary, called *Anastasis*, or ' the Church of the Resurrection.' For every year, after that time, the Church of Jerusalem held an anniversary festival of the dedication ; which, to make the solemnity more august, lasted for eight days together, on which they held ecclesiastical meetings, and administered the sacrament of baptism ; and many men came from all parts of the world to visit the sacred places upon this occasion. Valesius^z takes some pains to prove, out of several authors, the *Chronicon Alexandrinum*, Nicepho-

officio clericorum, ad fontem. Ubi fixis genibus cum ingenti gemitu, pulsans singultibus cœlum, crispantem benedixit alveum fontis, et cum completa surrexit oratione, ita cæco respondit : Jam tibi dixi, frater Felix, peccator homo ego sum, sed qui te visitare dignatus est, præstet tibi secundum fidem tuam, et aperiat oculos tuos : simulque vexillo crucis consignante oculos ejus, statim cæcus visum, Domino reddente, recepit. Quem secum, quousque universi baptizarentur, ibi detinuit ob hoc, ne tanto miraculo populus excitatus, virum contereret, qui receperat lumen. . . . Appropinquabat jam futurus dies ille calumniosus Kalendarum Februarium, ab eodem statutus.

^y Sozom. lib. ii. c. xxvi. (p. 76. A.) 'Εξ ἐκείνου δὲ, ἐτήσιον ταύτην ἑορτὴν λαμπρῶς μάλα ἄγει ἡ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἐκκλησία· ὥς καὶ μνήσεις ἐν αὐτῇ τελεῖσθαι, καὶ ὀκτὼ ἡμέρας ἐφεξῆς ἐκκλησιάζειν· συνιέναι τε πολλοὺς σχεδὸν ἐκ πάσης τῆς ὑφ' ἡλίου, οἱ καθ' ἱστορίαν τῶν ἱερῶν τόπων, πάντοθεν συντρέχουσι κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ταύτης τῆς πανηγύρεως.

^z Vales. Dissert. de Anastas. et Martyrio Hierosolym. ad calcem Eusebii. (Aug. T. p. 776.) Encœnia ecclesiæ sanctæ resurrectionis xiii. die Septembris quotannis celebrabantur, ut legitur in Menologio Græcorum, et in Typico Sancti Sabæ, xiii. die Septembris, τὰ ἐγκαίνια τῆς ἁγίας Χριστοῦ ἀναστάσεως.

rus, the Greek Menologium, and Typicum Sabæ, that this was on the thirteenth of September, that no one might think it fell in with the festivals of Easter or Pentecost, the other solemn times of baptism. Whether the same custom prevailed in any other Churches, is not said ; but it is not improbable that it might obtain, because Jerusalem was a leading pattern, and is sometimes styled ‘ the Mother of all Churches.’ The custom of baptizing on the festivals of the apostles and martyrs seems to have prevailed in many of the French and Spanish Churches. But this was condemned and forbidden by many canons ; and, therefore, cannot be spoken of as an authentic custom, because it was rather a transgression and encroachment upon the established rules of the Church ; which, in this case, might be observed without any detriment, whilst a liberty was granted to baptize, at any time, upon sudden emergencies and extraordinary cases.

SECT. IX.—*No such stated Times in the Apostles’ Days.*

Indeed, in the first plantation of the Gospel, there was no such obligation to observe any stated times of baptism, because the apostles made no law about it. They themselves baptized indifferently at any time, as occasion required ; and they left this circumstance wholly to the judgment and prudence of their successors in the Church, to act as reason and piety should direct them. This is very evident from the history of the Acts of the Apostles, and the subsequent history of the Church, compared together. The author of the Comments on St. Paul’s Epistles, under the name of St. Ambrose^a, has diligently noted the difference in the Church’s discipline, between the first and following ages. “ At first,” says he, “ every

^a Ambros. Comment. in Ephes. iv. (Bened. fol. vol. ii. append. p. 241.) Primum omnes docebant, et omnes baptizabant, quibuscumque diebus vel temporibus fuisset occasio : nec enim Philippus tempus quæsit, aut diem quo eunuchum baptizaret ; neque jejunium interposuit. Neque Paulus et Silas tempus distulerunt, quo optionem carceris baptizarent cum omnibus ejus. Neque Petrus diaconos habuit, aut diem quæsit, quando Cornelium cum omni domo ejus baptizavit. . . . At ubi omnia loca circumplexa est ecclesia, conventicula constituta sunt, et rectores, et cetera officia in ecclesiis ordinata sunt. Hinc ergo est, unde nunc neque diaconi in populo prædicant, neque clerici vel laici baptizant ; neque quocumque die credentes tinguntur, nisi ægri.

one taught and baptized on all days and times, as occasion required. Philip stayed for no time nor day to baptize the eunuch; nor did he use any intermediate fast before it. Neither did Paul and Silas delay the time, when they baptized the keeper of the prison with all his house. Neither did Peter use deacons, or stay for a solemn day, when he baptized Cornelius and his family. But when the Church had spread into all parts, then oratories were built, and church officers were appointed, and several orders made about the administration of baptism. Whence it was, that now neither deacons preached; nor any of the inferior clergy, nor laymen baptized; nor was baptism administered at all times to believers, but only to those that were sick." That which seems to have made the difference in this matter, was the difference in the zeal and readiness of the first converts and those that came afterwards. For the Church found it necessary, in process of time, to proceed a little more slowly with the candidates of baptism, both in the instruction and trial of them, because of their dulness, and negligence, and frequent relapses. And, by this means, it came to pass, that, in some populous Churches, often vast multitudes were baptized together. As Palladius observes, in the life of St. Chrysostom^b, that, at Constanti- nople, three thousand persons were baptized at once, upon one of these greater festivals. And this was the reason why deacons at Rome, who were not allowed to baptize upon any other occasion—no, not even in times of sickness, were admitted to do it at Easter, because of the vast numbers of people that came then to be baptized: as I have had occasion to show out of a canon of one of the Roman Councils, in another discourse^c.

SECT. X.—*How far these Rules were obliging in succeeding Ages.*

But when these rules about stated times of baptism were in

^b Pallad. Vit. Chrysostom. (Bened. vol. xiii. p. 34. E 5.) Τῇ ἐπαύριον ἐξελθὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς, τοῦ γυμνασθῆναι ἐν τῷ παρακειμένῳ πεδίῳ, εἶδεν τὸν ἄσπορον γῆν, τὴν περὶ τὸ Πέμπτον, λευχειμονοῦσαν· καὶ ἐκπλαγεὶς ἐπὶ τῇ θεᾷ τοῦ ἄνθους τῶν νεοφωτίστων, (ἦσαν γὰρ ἅμφι τοὺς τρισχιλίους) ἤρετο παρὰ τῶν δορυφόρων, Τίς ἡ λογὰς τῶν ἐκεῖ συνηθροισμένων;

^c Scholast. Hist. of Lay Baptism, c. i. p. 19.

their strictest observation, there were still several cases, wherein it was thought proper to dispense with them, and discharge men of their obligation. The case of sickness and extremity pleaded a just exemption, as we have seen before, in all the canons of the universal Church. And the promptness and proficiency of some catechumens above others, gave them an earlier title to baptism, if they desired it, without waiting for a more solemn season, especially in the Eastern Churches: as may be collected from the exhortations of Chrysostom and Basil, inviting such as were duly prepared for baptism, to receive it the first opportunity, without staying for one of these greater festivals. “You pretend to stay to the time of Lent,” says Chrysostom^d. “But why so? Has that time any thing more than others? The apostles received not this grace at Easter, but at another time. Neither was it at the time of Easter when the three thousand and the five thousand were baptized, of whom we read in the Acts of the Apostles.” “Other things,” says St. Basil^e, “have their peculiar seasons; there is a time for sleep, and a time for watching; a time for war, and a time for peace. But the time of baptism is man’s whole life; all times are seasonable to receive salvation thereby, whether day or night; every hour, every minute, every moment.” And Nazianzen^f, in answering that plea which men used for delay,—that they stayed only till Easter, Pentecost, or Epiphany,—plainly shows, that “he rather thought men ought not to defer their baptism, when once they were qualified for it, lest death should come suddenly upon them in

^d Chrysostom. Hom. i. in Act. (Bened. vol. ix. p. 13. C 3.) Ἀλλὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἀναμένεις τῆς τεσσαρακοστῆς; τίνας ἔνεκεν; μὴ γὰρ ἔχει τι πλεον ἐκεῖνος ὁ καιρὸς; οἱ γοῦν ἀπόστολοι οὐκ ἐν τῷ πάσχα κατηξιώθησαν τῆς χάριτος, ἀλλ’ ἐν ἐτέρῳ καιρῷ· καὶ οἱ τρισχίλιοι, καὶ οἱ πεντακισχίλιοι ὅτε ἐβαπτίσθησαν, πάσχα οὐκ ἦν καιρὸς· καὶ ὁ Κορνήλιος, καὶ ὁ εὐνοῦχος, καὶ ἕτεροι πλείους· μὴ τοίνυν καιρὸν ἀναμένωμεν, μήποτε μέλλοντες καὶ ἀναβαλλόμενοι ἀπέλθωμεν κενοὶ καὶ ἔρημοι τοσούτων ἀγαθῶν. (Paris. vol. ix. p. 10.)

^e Basil. Exhortat. ad Bapt. hom. xiii. (Bened. fol. vol. ii. p. 113.) Καιρὸς μὲν οὖν ἄλλοις ἄλλος ἐπιτήδειος· ἴδιος ὕπνου, καὶ ἴδιος ἐγρηγόρσεως· ἴδιος πολέμου, καὶ ἴδιος εἰρήνης· καιρὸς δὲ βαπτίσματος ἅπας ὁ τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίος· . . . πᾶς οὖν χρόνος εὐκαιρίαν ἔχει πρὸς τὴν διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος σωτηρίαν, καὶ νύκτα εἴπης, καὶ ἡμέραν, καὶ ὥραν, καὶ στιγμὴν χρόνου, καὶ τι βραχύτατον.

^f Nazianz. Orat. xi. de Bapt. p. 654. Vid. supra, sect. v. n. (a).

a day when they did not expect it, and in an hour they were not aware of." And, in this respect, it was true what Tertullian said in the close of his discourse upon this subject, that every day ^g was the Lord's day; every hour, and every time was fit for baptism, if men were fit and prepared for it. One day might be more solemn than another; but the grace of baptism was the same at all times. So that these solemn times were set apart, for prudent reasons, by the Church; and, for as prudent reasons, they might be dispensed with, when either the necessities of a languishing distemper, or the zeal and activity of forward proficients, made it advisable to anticipate the usual times of baptism, which, like all other parts of discipline, were designed for edification, and not for destruction.

SECT. XI.—*Baptism not confined to any Place in the Apostolical Ages.*

The like observation may be made with respect to the place of baptism: for this varied also with the state and circumstances of the Church. In the apostolical age, and some time after, before churches and baptisteries were generally erected, they baptized in any place where they had convenience: as John baptized in Jordan; and Philip baptized the eunuch in the wilderness; and Paul, the jailor in his own house. So Tertullian observes ^h, that "Peter baptized his converts in the Tiber, at Rome, as John had done in Jordan; and that there was no difference whether a man was baptized in the sea or in a lake, in a river or a fountain: for the same Spirit sanctified the waters in all places, and gave them the power of sanctification, when once they were consecrated by invocation and prayer." After this manner, the author of the *Recognitions*,

^g Tertul. de Bapt. c. xix. (Oberth. vol. ii. p. 56.) Omnis dies Domini est, omnis hora, omne tempus habile baptismo: si de solemnitate interest, de gratia nihil refert.

^h Ibid. c. iv. (p. 43.) Nulla distinctio est, mari quis an stagno, flumine an fonte, lacu an alveo diluatur: nec quicquam refert inter eos quos Joannes in Jordane, et quos Petrus in Tiberi tinxit. . . . Omnes aquæ de pristina originis prærogativa sacramentum sanctificationis consequuntur, invocato Deo. Supervenit enim statim Spiritus de cœlis, et aquis superest, sanctificans eas de semetipso, et ita sanctificatæ vim sanctificandi combibunt.

under the name of Clemens Romanusⁱ, represents Peter preaching to the people, and telling them, “they might wash away their sins in the water of a river, or a fountain, or the sea, when they were baptized by invoking the name of the blessed Trinity upon them.” And he describes his own baptism, and some others^k, as given them by Peter, in certain fountains in Syria, by the sea-shore. And so it seems to have continued to the time of Justin Martyr and Tertullian. For Tertullian speaks of their going from the Church to the water, and then making^l their renunciations there, as they had done in the church before. And Justin Martyr, describing the ceremony of the action, says, “They brought the person who was to be baptized^m to a place where there was water; and there gave him the same regeneration which they had received before.”

SECT. XII.—*In succeeding Ages, confined to the Baptisteries of the Church.*

But, in after ages, baptisteries were built adjoining to the church; and then rules were made that baptism should, ordinarily, be administered no where but in them. Justinian, in one of his Novelsⁿ, refers to ancient laws, appointing, “that

ⁱ Clem. Recognit. lib. iv. c. xxxii. (Coteler. vol. i. p. 541.) Ut in præsentī quidem tempore diluantur peccata vestra per aquam fontis, aut fluminis, aut etiam maris, invocato super vos trino Beatitudinis nomine. — Clem. Hom. ix. n. xix. Ἐν δὲ τῷ παρόντι ἀενάῳ ποταμῷ, ἢ πηγῇ, ἐπεὶ γε καὶ θάλασσῃ, ἀπολουσάμενοι ἐπὶ τῇ τρισμακαρίᾳ ἐπονομασίᾳ, οὐ μόνον τὰ ἐνδομυχοῦντα ὑμῖν πνεύματα ἀπελάσαι δυνήσεσθε, ἀλλὰ, κ. τ. λ.

^k Ibid. lib. vi. n. xv. (Coteler. vol. i. p. 552.) In fontibus qui contigui habentur mari, perennis aquæ mihi baptismum dedit. Cumque pro regenerationis gratia divinitus mihi collata, feriatī cum fratribus et laicis læti egissemus; Petrus eos, qui ad præcedendum fuerant ordinati, proficisci Antiochiam jubet; atque ibi tres alios expectare menses: quibus profectis, ipse eos, qui fidem Domini plene receperant, deducens ad fontes, quos mari contiguos supra diximus, baptizavit.

^l Tertul. de Cor. c. iii. (Oberth. vol. i. p. 206.) Aquam adituri, ibidem, sed et aliquanto prius in ecclesia, etc. See note (a) p. 530.

^m Justin. Apol. ii. (Bened. p. 71.) Ἐπειτα ἄγονται ὑφ’ ἡμῶν ἐνθα ὕδωρ ἐστὶ καὶ τρόπον ἀναγεννήσεως, ὃν καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ ἀνεγεννήθημεν, ἀναγεννώμεθα.

ⁿ Justinian. Novel. lviii. Καὶ τοῖς πάλαι διηγόρευται νόμοις, ὥστε μηδενὶ παντελῶς εἶναι παρῥησίαν οἱκοὶ τὰ ἱερώτατα πράττειν . . . ἀλλ’ εἰ μὲν οἴκους οὕτως ἀπλῶς τινες ἔχειν οἴονται δεῖν ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ἱεροῖς, εὐχῆς

none of the sacred mysteries of the Church should be celebrated in private houses." Men might have private oratories for prayer in their own houses; but they were not to administer baptism or the eucharist in them, unless by a particular license from the bishop of the place. Such baptisms are frequently condemned, in the ancient Councils, under the name of *παραβαπτίσματα*, 'baptisms in private conventicles.' As in the Council of Constantinople, under Mennas^o, complaint is made against Zoaras, the monk, "that though the emperor had forbidden all private baptisms, by an edict, yet Zoaras, despising that order, had baptized many in a private house, upon the Easter festival." The edict which that Council refers to, was another Novel of Justinian's^p, made against Severus and his accomplices, who after they were expelled the Church, held conventicles in private houses; and received, and baptized, and gave the communion to, all that came to them. Which sort of parabaptizations are there condemned. So, also, in the petition of the monks, presented to Mennas, and the Council under him, these baptisms and communions, in private houses, are reckoned^q to be an erecting of strange altars and baptisteries, in opposition to the true altar and baptistery, or laver of the Church; under which name they are frequently condemned in the Acts of that Council^r. And in the Council of Trullo the order was again renewed, "that no persons^s should receive baptism in oratories belonging to

δὲ καὶ μόνης χάριν, καὶ οὐδενὸς πραττομένου παντελῶς τῶν, ὅσα τῆς ἱερᾶς καθέστηκεν λειτουργίας, τοῦτο αὐτοῖς ἐφίμεν.

^o Conc. Constant. sub Menna, act. i. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 25. C 13.) Καίπερ τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν βασιλέως κελεύσαντος, μήτε παρασυνάξει, μήτε παραβαπτίσαι, Ζωοῤῥᾶς ὁμῶς γοῦν τῆς τοιαύτης καταφρονήσας κελεύσεως κατεβάπτισεν ἐν τῇ τοῦ πάσχα ἡμέρᾳ οὐκ ὀλίγους.

^p Justin. Novel. xlii. c. iii. Θεσπίζομεν ἕκαστον τῶν τοιούτων τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν, καὶ μήτε συγκαλεῖν εἰς ταῦτ' οὐδ' ἑνὸς, μήτε προσιόντας δέχεσθαι, ἢ παραβαπτίζειν θαρρεῖν, ἢ τὴν ἱερὰν κοινωνίαν ῥυπαίνειν, καὶ ταύτης μεταδιδόναι τισίν.

^q Libel. Monachor. in Act. i. Conc. sub Menna. (p. 24. D 10.) Ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἰδιωτικοῖς οἰκοῖς, καὶ ἐν προαστείοις θυσιαστήρια καὶ βαπτιστήρια ἀντεγείροντες τῷ ἀληθινῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ καὶ τῇ ἀγίᾳ κολυμβήθρᾳ.

^r Epist. Monachor. ii. Syrie. in Act. i. (p. 41, edit. Labb.) Καταπατοῦντος τὴν κρατοῦσαν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν εὐκοσμίαν τε καὶ κατάστασιν, ἐκ τῶν καθ' ἡμέραν παρασυνάξεων καὶ παραβαπτισμάτων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τολμωμένων.

^s Conc. Trullan. can. lix. (Labbe, vol. vi. p. 1170.) Μηδαμῶς ἐν εὐκτηρίῳ

houses ; but that they who desire illumination should go to the Catholic, that is, the public churches : and that on pain of deposition to the clergyman who was the administrator, and excommunication to the layman who was the receiver.

SECT. XIII. — *Except in Case of Sickness ; or with the Bishop's License to the contrary, upon some special Occasions.*

Now all these laws and rules were intended for the preservation of decency and good order in the Church, that baptism might be performed in the presence of the whole Church, whereof men were then made members ; and all the congregation might be spectators and witnesses of their admission. Upon which account, it was improper to allow it to be done either in heretical conventicles, or in private houses. Yet, in cases of necessity, sickness, imprisonment, journeying, and the like, these rules could not bind ; for they were only made for ordinary cases. Therefore, we read of martyrs sometimes baptized in prison ; and frequently of ‘clinics,’ as they were called, who were baptized on a sick-bed ; and others, baptized at sea, or in a journey ; which were not interpreted transgressions of this rule, because the exigence and necessity of the case made them lawful. And sometimes baptism was allowed in private oratories, by the bishop’s license ; as both the law of Justinian, and the Canons, in some places, had provided ; for the Council of Agde ^t, in France, allows the eucharist to be celebrated in country chapels, at all times, by the bishop’s leave, not excepting the greater festivals. And it is reasonable to suppose, that where the eucharist was allowed, there baptism might be administered also, though they were not properly parochial, or baptismal churches. The Council

οἷκῳ ἐνδον οἰκίας τυγχάνοντι βάπτισμα ἐπιτελείσθω· ἀλλ’ οἱ μέλλοντες ἀξιοῦσθαι τοῦ ἀχράντου φωτίσματος, ταῖς καθολικαῖς προσερχέσθωσαν ἐκκλησίαις, κάκεῖσε τῆς δωρεᾶς ταύτης ἀπολαύετωσαν· εἰ δέ τις ἀλφ τὰ παρ’ ἡμῶν ὀρισθέντα μὴ φυλάττων, εἰ μὲν κληρικὸς εἴη, καθαιρείσθω· εἰ δὲ λαϊκός, ἀφορίζέσθω.

^t Conc. Agath. c. xxi. (Labbe, vol. iv. p. 1386.) Si quis etiam extra parochias, in quibus legitimus est ordinariusque conventus, oratorium in agro habere voluerit reliquis festivitibus ; ut ibi missas teneat propter fatigationem familiæ, justa ordinatione permittimus.

of Eliberis^u, in Spain, speaks of deacons presiding over a people, and baptizing in places where there was neither bishop nor presbyter: which we must reasonably suppose to have been country villages at some distance from the mother-church; where yet, for convenience, baptism was allowed to be performed by the hands of a deacon. As St. Jerome^x also testifies, who says, “that in villages and castles, and places remote from the bishop’s church, men were baptized both by presbyters and deacons.” So that though the bishop’s church was the ordinary place of baptism, as he himself was the chief minister of it, and the public baptistery was only at his church; yet, upon proper reasons, by his authority and permission, baptism might be administered in other places, especially in those that were a sort of secondary churches: of which, and their several distinctions from the *ecclesia matrix*, ‘the episcopal, or principal church,’ I have given a more particular account before, in the Discourse of Churches.

CHAPTER VII.

OF THE RENUNCIATIONS AND PROFESSIONS MADE BY ALL PERSONS IMMEDIATELY BEFORE THEIR BAPTISM.

SECT. I.—*Three Things required of all Persons at their Baptism. First, to renounce the Devil.*

HAVING thus far conducted the catechumens to the place of baptism, that is, to the baptistery of the church; we are next to consider how the discipline of the Church proceeded with them immediately before their baptism. And here we are to observe, in the first place, that three things were now indispensably required of them at this season,—that is, a formal

^u Conc. Illiber. can. lxxvii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 278.) Si quis diaconus regens plebem, sine episcopo vel presbytero aliquo baptizaverit, episcopus eos per benedictionem perficere debebit.

^x Hieron. Dial. cum Lucifer. c. iv. (Bened. 1706. vol. iv. pt. ii. p. 295.) Si ad episcopi tantum imprecationem Spiritus Sanctus defluit; lugendi sunt qui in viculis [lectulis], aut in castellis, aut in remotioribus locis, per Presbyteros et Diaconos baptizati ante dormierunt, quam ab Episcopis inviserentur.

and solemn renunciation of the devil; a profession of faith, made in the words of some received creed; and a promise, or engagement to live in obedience to Christ, or by the laws and rules of the Christian religion. For though these things were, in some measure, required of them before, during the time of their institution, yet now they were to make a more solemn and public profession of them before the congregation. Tertullian seems^a to intimate this twofold profession, when he says, “that, according to the discipline of the Church, in his time, catechumens first made their renunciation of the devil, and his pomp, and his angels, in the Church, when they received imposition of hands from the bishop, in his prayers for them; and again, when they came to the water to be baptized.”

SECT. II.—*The Form of this Renunciation, and the Import of it.*

The form of this renunciation is more perfectly delivered by the author of the Constitutions, in these words:—“I renounce Satan, and his works, and his pomps^b, and his service, and his angels, and his inventions, and all things that belong to him, or that are subject to him.” Others express it more concisely; some calling it ‘the renunciation of the world,’ as Cyprian^c, who sometimes joins the devil and the world together; as, where he asks one of the lapsers, who had gone to offer sacrifice at the Capitol, “How a servant^d of God could stand there, and speak, and renounce Christ, who before had renounced the devil and the world?” And so it is in St. Ambrose: “Thou wentest into the baptistery: consider what questions were asked thee, and what answers thou gavest to them.

^a Tertul. de Coron. Milit. c. iii. (Oberthür, vol. i. p. 206.) Aquam adituri, ibidem, sed et aliquanto prius in ecclesia, sub antistitis manu contestamur, nos renuntiare diabolo, et pompæ, et angelis ejus.

^b Constitut. Apostol. lib. vii. c. xlii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 445.) Ἀποτάσσομαι τῷ Σατανᾷ, καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ, καὶ ταῖς πομπαῖς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ταῖς λατρείαις αὐτοῦ, καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ὑπ’ αὐτόν.

^c Cypr. Epist. vii. al. xiii. ad Rogatian. (Fell, Oxon. 1682. p. 37.) (p. 190, edit. Fell, Amstelod. 1700.) Sæculo renuntiaveramus, quum baptizati sumus.

^d Ibid. de Lapsis, p. 125. (p. 89.) Stare illic potuit Dei servus, et loqui et renuntiare Christo, qui jam diabolo renuntiabat et sæculo.

Thou didst renounce the devil and his works, the world^e, and its luxury and pleasures." In like manner, St. Jerome^f, joins the devil and the world together: "I renounce thee, Satan, and thy pomp, and thy vices, and thy world, which lieth in iniquity." Sometimes the games and shows, which were part of the devil's pomp, were expressly mentioned in this form of renunciation, as it is in Salvian: "I renounce the devil, his pomps, his shows, and his works." For he thus addresses himself to Christians, who still gave themselves liberty to be spectators at the Roman shows: "What is the first profession^g that Christians make at baptism? Is it not a protestation that they renounce the devil, and his pomps, and his shows, and his works? Therefore, these shows and pomps, even by our own profession, are the works of the devil. How then, O Christian, canst thou, after baptism, follow those shows, which thou confessest to be the work of the devil?" Tertullian made use of the same argument before, to make Christians refrain from following the Roman theatres. But then he had also the charge of idolatry to throw into the scale against them. "For," says he^h, "what is the chief and principal

^e Ambros. de Initiatis, c. ii. Ingressus es regenerationis sacrarium: repete, quid interrogatus sis; recognosce, quid responderis. Renuntiasti diabolo et operibus ejus, mundo, et luxuriæ ejus ac voluptatibus.

^f Hieron. Com. in Matth. xxv. 26. Renuntio tibi, diabole, et pompæ tuæ, et vitiis tuis, et mundo tuo qui in maligno positus est.

^g Salvian. de Provident. lib. vi. (Oxon. 1633. p. 197.) (p. 208, Noribergæ, 1623.) Quæ est in baptismo salutari Christianorum prima confessio? Quæ scilicet, nisi ut renuntiare se diabolo cum pompis ejus, atque spectaculis, et operibus protestentur? Ergo spectacula et pompæ, etiam juxta nostram professionem, opera sunt diaboli. Quomodo, o Christiane, spectacula post baptismum sequeris, quæ opus esse diaboli confiteris? Renuntiasti semel diabolo et spectaculis ejus, ac per hoc necesse est, prudens et sciens, dum ad spectacula remeas, ad diabolum te redire cognoscas. Utrique enim rei simul renuntiasti, et unum utrumque esse dixisti. Si ad unum reverteris, ad utrumque remeasti. (See note (l) page 533.)

^h Tertul. de Spectac. c. iv. (Oberthür, vol. i. p. 12.) Quum aquam ingressi, Christianam fidem in legis suæ verba profiteamur, renuntiasse nos diabolo, et pompæ, et angelis ejus, ore nostro contestamur. Quid erit summum ac præcipuum, in quo diabolus et pompæ et angeli ejus censeantur, quam idololatria? . . . Igitur si ex idololatria universam spectaculorum paraturam constare constiterit, indubitate præjudicatum erit etiam ad spectacula pertinere renuntiationis nostræ testimonium in lavacro, quæ diabolo et pompæ et angelis ejus sint mancipata, scilicet per idololatriam.

thing to be understood by the devil, his pomps, and his angels, but idolatry? Therefore, if all the preparation and furniture of the shows be made up of idolatry, there can be no dispute but that the renunciation we make in baptism, relates to those shows, and is a testimony against them." He argues, after the same manner, against all such secular officesⁱ, and honours, and employments, as could not be held and discharged without partaking in some idolatrous rites and ceremonies; such as the offices of the *flamens*, and many others, in which the very wearing of a crown or garland, or exhibiting some of the public shows to the people, as, by such an office, they were obliged to do, made them guilty of idolatry, though they abstained from the grosser acts of it, that of offering incense and sacrifice to the idols. And so the Council of Eliberis^k determined, that "such *flamens* as only exhibited the public shows to the people (which, in their language, is called *munus dare*), though they did not sacrifice to the idols, should be cast out of the Church all their lives, and only be admitted to communion at the hour of death." Whence it is plain that, in the times of heathenism and idolatry, all such offices and employments as obliged men to exhibit those public games and shows to the people, were supposed to be included in the renunciation of the pomps and works of the devil, because of the idolatry that was interwoven with them. But in the time of Salvian, all this idolatry was abolished, and these pomps and shows were no longer exhibited to the honour of idol-gods; yet they had still so much vanity, lewdness, and profaneness in them, that they were justly complained of as unchristian and diabolical, upon the account of their immorality; and, therefore, were reputed among those unlawful pomps which every Christian was supposed to renounce at his baptism. Cyril of Jerusalem, who wrote after idolatry was in a great measure

ⁱ Tertul. de Coron. Milit. c. xiii. (Oberthür, vol. i. p. 220.) Hæ erant pompæ diaboli et angelorum ejus, officia sæculi, honores, solemnitates, popularitates, falsa vota, humana servitia, laudes vanæ, gloriæ turpes: et in omnibus istis idololatria, in solo quoque censu coronarum, quibus omnia ista redimita sunt.

^k Conc. Illiber. c. iii. Item flamines, qui non immolaverint, sed munus tantum dederint, eo quod se a funestis abstinuerint sacrificiis, placuit in fine eis præstari communionem, acta tamen legitima poenitentia.

destroyed, still continues the charge¹ against them for their lewdness and cruelty, and reckons them among the pomps of the devil, whilst he is explaining to his catechumens this part of their baptismal profession.

SECT. III.—*The Antiquity of this Renunciation; by some derived from Apostolical Practice.*

The antiquity of this renunciation is evidenced from all the writers, that have said any thing of baptism; and, by some, it is derived from apostolical institution and practice; for so they interpret that passage of St. Paul to Timothy (1 Tim. vi. 12), “Lay hold on eternal life, whereunto thou art called, and hast professed a good profession before many witnesses.” The authors of the Comments, under the names of St. Ambrose and St. Jerome, supposed to be Hilary the Roman deacon, and Pelagius, give this interpretation of the place:—“Thou hast confessed a good confession^m in baptism, by renouncing the world and its pomps before many witnesses, before the priests, and ministers, and the heavenly powers.” So Pelagius. And Hilaryⁿ seems to say further, “that this confession was also entered or enrolled in the monuments of the Church.” Others do not found it upon this, or any other express text of Scripture, but yet derive it from ancient tradition; as Tertullian and St.

¹ Cyril. Cateches. Mystagog. i. n. iv. (Paris. 1640. p. 228, at bottom.) Εἰτα λέγεις, Καὶ πάσῃ τῇ πομπῇ αὐτοῦ· πομπὴ δὲ διαβόλου ἐστὶ, θεατρομανίαι, καὶ ἵπποδραμίαι, κυνηγεσία, καὶ πᾶσα τοιαύτη ματαιότης, ἧς εὐχόμενος ἐλευθερωθῆναι ὁ ἅγιος, τῷ Θεῷ λέγει· Ἀπόστρεψον τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς μου τοῦ μὴ ἰδεῖν ματαιότητα. Μὴ περισπούδαστός σοι ἔστω ἡ θεατρομανία, ἔνθα τὰς ἀσελγείας τῶν μίμων ὁψὲ ὕβρεσι πεπραγμένας, καὶ πάσῃ ἀσχρημοσύνῃ, ἐκτεθηλυσμένων τε ἀνδρῶν ἐμμανεῖς ὀρχήσεις, μήτε τοὺς ἐν κυνηγίοις ἑαυτοὺς θηρίοις ἐκδιδόντας, ἵνα τὴν ἀθλίαν κολακεύσωσι γαστέρα, οἷ, ἵνα κοιλίαν τροφαῖς θεραπεύσωσιν, αὐτοὶ γαστρὸς ἀτιθάσσω ἀληθῶς τροφή γίνονται θηρίων· ἵνα δὲ δικαίως εἶπω, ὑπὲρ οἰκείου θεοῦ, τῆς κοιλίας, τὴν ἑαυτῶν ζωὴν κατὰ κρημνῶν μονομαχοῦσι φεῦγε καὶ τὰς ἵπποδραμίας, τὸ ἐμμανὲς θέαμα, καὶ ψυχὰς ἐκτραχηλίζον· ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα πομπὴ ἐστὶ τοῦ διαβόλου.

^m Pelag. in 1 Tim. vi. 12. Confessus es bonam confessionem in baptismo, renuntiando sæculo et pompis ejus, coram multis testibus, coram sacerdotibus, vel ministris, virtutibusque cœlestibus.

ⁿ Ambros. in 1 Tim. vi. 12. (Bened. fol. append. vol. ii. p. 303. C.) Cujus confessio inter ipsa rudimenta fidei, teste interrogante et respondente, monumentis ecclesiasticis continetur.

Basil; the former of which^o reckons it among many other ecclesiastical rites and usages, which are not expressly determined in Scripture, but yet proceeded from tradition, and are confirmed by custom. And St. Basil ranks it^p among those mystical rites which were received in the Church, not from any written word, but by private direction and tradition from the apostles. The conjecture of those learned men^q is not

^o Tertul. de Coron. Milit. c. iii. (Oberthür, vol. i. p. 206.) Hanc si nulla scriptura determinavit, certe consuetudo corroboravit, quæ sine dubio de traditione manavit.

^p Basil. de Spirit. Sanct. c. xxvii. (Bened. fol. vol. iii. p. 54. D 4.) Τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ πεφυλαγμένων δογμάτων καὶ κηρυγμάτων, τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς ἐγγράφου διδασκαλίας ἔχομεν, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων παραδόσεως διαδοθέντα ἡμῖν ἐν μυστηρίῳ παραδεξάμεθα.

^q Cave, Prim. Christ. book i. chap. x. Persons, having passed through the state of the catechumens, and being now ripe for baptism, made it their request to the bishop that they might be baptized; whereupon, at the solemn times, they were brought to the entrance of the baptistery or font, and standing with their faces towards the west, (which, being directly opposite to the east, the place of light, did symbolically represent the prince of darkness, whom they were to renounce and defy), were commanded to stretch out their hand, as it were, in defiance of him. In this posture they were interrogated by the bishop, concerning their breaking of all their former leagues and commerce with sin and the powers of hell; the bishop asking, ‘Dost thou renounce the devil, and all his works, powers, and service?’ to which the party answered, ‘I do renounce them.’—‘Dost thou renounce the world, and all its pomps and pleasures?’ Answer, ‘I do renounce them.’ This renunciation was made twice; once before the congregation (probably at their obtaining leave to be baptized), and presently after at the font, or place of baptism, as Tertullian witnesses. Next, they made an open confession of their faith; the bishop asking, ‘Dost thou believe in God the Father Almighty, &c. in Jesus Christ, his only Son, who, &c.; dost thou believe in the Holy Ghost, the holy Catholic Church, and in one baptism of repentance for the remission of sins, and life everlasting?’ To all which the person answered, ‘I do believe.’ This form of interrogation seems to have been very ancient in the Church; and the apostle is justly thought to refer to it, when he styles baptism ‘the answer of a good conscience towards God;’ which can reasonably refer to nothing so well as that common custom of answering in baptism.—Estius, in 1 Pet. iii. 21. (p. 1182.) Nobis verus ac germanus sensus esse videtur, quem tradit Beda, apostolum loqui de *interrogatione*, quæ fit in cærimoniis baptismi; dum interrogatus is qui baptizari vult, an credat in Christum; et renuntiet Satanæ ac pompis ejus; bona conscientia, id est, seriò, ex animo respondet, se credere et abrenuntiare. Quam *interrogationem* B. Petrus apposite vocat ἐπερώτημα, id est, *stipulationem*; qua inter duos, uno interrogante et altero respondente, contractus fieri solet.—Grotius, in 1 Pet. iii. 21. Ἐπερώτημα, ‘stipulatio,’ est vox juris, ut videre est apud Theophilum titulo Institutionum de verborum obligationibus

improbable, who think the form of renunciation, made by way of questions and answers, to have been so ancient in the Church, as that the apostle St. Peter may be justly thought to refer to it, when he styles baptism, "the answer of a good conscience toward God;" which can reasonably refer to nothing so well as that common custom of answering in baptism, "Dost thou renounce the devil?" &c. "I renounce him." "Dost thou believe in God?" &c. "I believe."

SECT. IV.—*This Renunciation made by Persons standing with their Face to the West; and the Reason of that Practice, with some other Ceremonies.*

It is further to be observed concerning this renunciation, that as soon as baptisteries were built, there was a particular place in them assigned peculiarly to this service; for they commonly had two distinct apartments, as has been showed before^r, in the description of churches: 1st, their προαύλιον οἶκον, their 'porch,' or 'ante-room,' where the catechumens made their renunciations of Satan, and confessions of faith; and then their ἐσώτερον οἶκον, their 'inner room,' where the ceremony of baptism was performed. When the catechumens were brought into the former of these, they were placed with their faces to the west, and then commanded to renounce Satan, with some gesture and rite expressing an indignation against him, as by stretching out their hands, or folding them, or striking them together, and sometimes by exsufflation, and spitting at him, as if he were present; which were, all of them, so many indications of their abhorrence. Cyril of Jerusalem, in his Mystical Catechisms to the Illuminated^s,

et sequentibus, et apud Græcos juris Romani interpretes alios. In glossario, ἐπερωτῶ, 'stipulor.' Sed per μετωνυμίαν, ut in jure sæpe, nomine 'stipulationis' comprehenditur et 'responsio' sive 'promissio'; nam et ἐπερωτῶμαι significat 'promitto,' 'spondeo,' in eodem glossario. In baptismo episcopus, vel alius quis ejus nomine, ita interrogabat, aut, quod idem est, stipulabatur, Ἀποτάσσω τῷ Σατανᾷ; 'Abrenuntiasne Satanae?' respondebat baptizandus, Ἀποτάσσομαι, 'Abrenuntio.' Rursum interrogatus, Συντάσσω τῷ Χριστῷ; 'Adhæresne Christo?' respondebat, Συντάσσομαι, 'Adhæreo.' Hanc 'sponsionem salutis' vocat Tertullianus de Baptismo.

^r Book viii. chap. vii. sect. i.

^s Cyril. Catech. Mystag. i. n. ii. (Bened. p. 306. D 2.) Εἰσῆιτε πρῶτον εἰς τὸν προαύλιον τοῦ βαπτιστηρίου οἶκον καὶ πρὸς τὰς δυσμὰς ἐστῶτες, ἡκού-

thus describes this part of the action : “ Ye were first brought into the ante-room of the baptistery ; and placed toward the west, in a standing posture ; and then commanded to renounce Satan, by stretching out your hands against him, as if he were present.” A little after, he explains the meaning of their doing this, with their face toward the west. “ The west,” says he, “ is the place of darkness ; and Satan is darkness ; and his strength is in darkness. For this reason, ye symbolically look toward the west, when ye renounce that prince of darkness and horror.” St. Jerome plainly alludes to this custom, when he says, “ In our mysteries,” meaning the celebration of baptism, “ we first renounce him that is ^t in the west, who dies to us with our sins ; and then, turning about to the east, we make a covenant with the Sun of Righteousness, and promise to be his servants.” In like manner, St. Ambrose, discoursing to some newly baptized persons ^u : “ When you entered into the baptistery, and had viewed your adversary, whom you were to renounce, you then turned about to the east ; for he that renounces the devil is turned unto Christ.” “ Whence,” as Gregory Nazianzen ^x observes, “ they did not only renounce the devil in words, but in their very habit and gesture ; for they did it divested of their clothes, and with their body turned toward the west, and with hands stretched out against him.” To this they added sometimes a collision, or striking of the hands together, and an exsufflation, or a spitting at their adversary, to express their abhorrence of

σατε καὶ προσετάττεσθε ἐκτείνειν τὴν χεῖρα· καὶ ὡς παρόντι ἀπετάττεσθε τῷ Σατανᾷ. Καὶ τίνος ἕνεκεν ἵστασθε πρὸς δυσμᾶς ; ἀναγκαῖον γάρ· ἐπειδὴ τοῦ φαινομένου σκότους τύπος αἱ δυσμαί· ἐκεῖνος δὲ σκότος τυγχάνων, ἐν σκότῳ ἔχει καὶ τὸ κράτος· τούτου χάριν συμβολικῶς πρὸς δυσμᾶς ἀποβλέποντες, ἀποτάσσεσθε τῷ σκοτεινῷ ἐκείνῳ καὶ ζοφερῷ ἄρχοντι.

^t Hieron. in Amos vi. 14. (Bened. vol. iii. p. 1431.) In mysteriis, primum renuntiamus ei qui in occidente est, nobisque moritur cum peccatis : et sic versi ad orientem, pactum inimus cum Sole Justitiæ, et ei servituros nos esse promittimus.

^u Ambros. de Initiatis, c. ii. Ingressus ut adversarium tuum cerneret, cui renuntiandum mox putaret, ad orientem converteretur. Qui enim renuntiat diabolo, ad Christum convertitur.

^x Nazianz. Orat. xl. de Bapt. (1690. vol. i. p. 671. A 3.) Γνώσῃ καὶ τοῖς σχήμασι καὶ τοῖς ῥήμασιν, ὡς ὅλην ἀποπέμψῃ τὴν ἀθείαν, οὕτως ὅλη θεότητι συντασσόμενος.

him; as the author, under the name of Dionysius^y, describes it.

SECT. V.—*Why this Renunciation was made three Times.*

From whom we learn, also, that this renunciation was repeated three times; for, in another place, he thus describes the whole ceremony: “The priest makes the person who is to be baptized^z, to stand with his hands stretched out toward the west, and striking them together (the original is, τὰς χεῖρας ἀπωθοῦντα, which denotes ‘collision, or striking, of the hands together,’ by way of abhorrence); then he bids him ἐμφυσῆσαι τρίς τῷ Σατανᾷ, ‘thrice exsufflate, or spit, in defiance of Satan.’ Afterwards, thrice repeating the solemn words of renunciation, he bids him thrice renounce him in that form. Then he turns him about to the east, and, with hands and eyes lift up to heaven, bids him συντάξασθαι τῷ Χριστῷ, ‘enter into covenant with Christ.’” Vicecomes^a thinks this

^y Dionys. de Hierarch. Eccles. c. iii. (Venet. 1755. vol. i. p. 172.) Γυμνὸν καὶ ἀνυπόδετον ἵστησι πρὸς δυσμὰς ἀφορῶντα, καὶ τῇ τῶν χειρῶν ἀπώσει τὰς τῆς ἀλαμποῦς κακίας ἀναινόμενον κοινωνίας, κ. τ. λ.

^z Dionys. de Hierarch. Eccles. c. iii. (Venet. vol. i. p. 169. D 10.) Εἰτα στήσας ἐπὶ δυσμαῖς προσέχοντα, καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀπωθοῦντα πρὸς τὴν αὐτὴν ἀπεστραμμένος χώραν, ἐμφυσῆσαι μὲν αὐτῷ τρίς διακελεύεται τῷ Σατανᾷ, καὶ προσέτι τὰ τῆς ἀποταγῆς ὁμολογῆσαι· καὶ τρίς αὐτῷ τὴν ἀποταγὴν μαρτυρόμενος, ὁμολογήσαντα τρίς τοῦτο, μετὰγει πρὸς ἔω· καὶ πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἀναβλέψαντα, καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀνατείνοντα, κελεύει συντάξασθαι τῷ Χριστῷ καὶ πάσαις ταῖς θεοπαραδότοις ἱερολογίαις.

^a Vicecom. de Ritib. Bapt. lib. ii. c. xx. p. 311, edit. Paris. 1618, 8vo. (p. 143, edit. Mediolan. 4to.) Sed de eo etiam, quot vicibus renuntiationis verba proferrentur, nullus dubitandi locus relinquitur; nam inter sacros scriptores convenit, ter ea proferri solita esse: quod quidem non modo ex locis S. Gregorii M. et Ordinis Romani paullo ante citatis, sed etiam ex S. Dionysii Areopagitæ auctoritate colligitur, quum inquit, ‘Tum eum jubet tertio Satanam, ut ita dicam, insufflare.’ Idemque ex illis S. Ambrosii verbis, (lib. vii. de Fide ad Grat.) ‘Tertio repetita figura mysterii operationem Trinitatis expressit;’ et Severi Alexandrini de Baptismo, ‘Profert ibi sacerdos pro baptizatis hanc abrenuntiationem tribus vicibus, sponsoribus ter, ut ipse respondentibus, Abrenuntio Satanæ, ego N. qui baptizor,’ licet cognoscere. Primus enim pro mysterii figura renuntiationem intelligit; alter ejusdem renuntiationis aperte videtur meminisse: ut dubitandum nullo modo sit, verba etiam illa Ambrosii (‘operationem Trinitatis expressit’) ad rationem spectasse, cur ter a Satana conceptis verbis se desciscere profiterentur; ut nimirum tres hypostases divinas, quibus in filios adoptandi erant, ante oculos proponerent. Cui si quis adjiciat, detestationem tribus vicibus explicari solitam, quia tres erant, quorum fidem et amicitiam reprobabant;

triple renunciation was made, either because there were three things which men renounced in their baptism,—the devil, his pomps, and the world; or, to signify the three persons of the Trinity, by whom they were adopted as sons upon their renouncing Satan; or because it was usual in civil adoptions and emancipation of slaves, for the master to yield up his right by a triple renunciation, which he shows from Aulus Gellius and Sigonius. But, as the ancients are silent in this matter, I leave these reasons to the discretion of every judicious reader.

SECT. VI.—*The second Thing required of Men at their Baptism, was a Vow or Covenant of Obedience to Christ.*

The next thing required of men at their baptism, was a vow or covenant of obedience to Christ, which the Greeks call *συντάσσεσθαι Χριστῷ*, ‘giving themselves up to the government and conduct of Christ.’ This was always an indispensable part of their obligation, before they could be admitted to the ceremony of regeneration. They first renounce the devil; and then immediately promised to live in obedience to the laws of Christ. Some, indeed, in St. Austin’s time, pleaded hard for an exemption in this particular: they were willing to make a profession of faith in Christ, but not of universal obedience; and yet would impudently pretend to demand baptism of the Church, notwithstanding their incorrigible temper. Against whom he wrote that excellent book, *De Fide et Operibus*, to show the necessity of good works, as well as faith, to the being of a Christian; where he answers all the objections and arguments they pretended to bring from Scripture: for they pleaded Scripture for their practice. Amongst other things they urged that famous text of St. Paul, “Other foundation can no man lay, than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ. Now, if any man build upon this foundation gold, silver, precious stones,—wood, hay, stubble,—every man’s work shall be made manifest: for the day shall declare it; because it shall be revealed by fire; and the fire shall try every man’s work, of what

vel ut adoptionis civilis et emancipationis ritum exprimerent, quam triplici renuntiatione ejus, qui jure suo cedebat, peractum esse, Aulus Gellius et Sigonius testantur; diu me adversarium pertinacem haud habebit.

sort it is. If any man's work abide, which he hath built there-upon, he shall receive a reward; if any man's work shall be burnt, he shall suffer loss: but he himself shall be saved; yet so as by fire." Upon which they made this perverse comment, that they who built upon this foundation^b gold, silver, precious stones, were such as added good works to their faith in Christ; but they who built wood, hay, stubble, were they that held the same faith in unrighteousness and a wicked life; and they imagined, that even these men might so be purged by certain punishments of fire, as to obtain salvation by virtue of the foundation which they retained. To which St. Austin replies, that "if this was true^c, it were a laudable charity, indeed, for them to endeavour that all men indifferently be admitted to baptism, not only adulterers and adulteresses, who pretended false marriages, contrary to the express command of Christ, but also public harlots, continuing in the basest of all professions: which yet the most negligent Church on earth never pretended to admit to baptism, till they had first forsaken that vile prostitution." They urged further, that to deny wicked men the privilege of baptism, was to root out the tares before the time. To which St. Austin^d replies, "that this rejection of them from baptism was not rooting out the tares, but rather not sowing them, as

^b Aug. de Fide et Oper. c. xv. (Bened. vol. vi. p. 178. E.) Quod quidam ita intelligendum putant, ut illi videantur ædificare super hoc fundamentum aurum, argentum, lapides pretiosos, qui fidei quæ in Christo est, bona opera adjiciunt: illi autem fœnum, ligna, stipulam, qui quum eandem fidem habeant, male operantur. Unde arbitrantur per quasdam poenas ignis eos posse purgari ad salutem percipiendam merito fundamenti.

^c Ibid. § 25. Hoc si ita est, fatemur istos laudabili caritate conari, ut omnes indiscrete admittantur ad baptismum, non solum adulteri et adulteræ, contra sententiam Domini falsas nuptias prætendentes, verum etiam publicæ meretrices, in turpissima professione perseverantes, quas certe etiam nulla negligentissima Ecclesia consuevit admittere, nisi ab illa primitus prostitutione liberatas.

^d Ibid. c. xvii. (p. 182. F 4.) Quando tales ad baptismum non admittimus, non ante tempus zizania evellere conamur, sed nolumus insuper, sicut diabolus, zizania seminare; nec ad Christum volentes venire prohibemus, sed eos ad Christum venire nolle, ipsa sua professione convincimus; nec vetamus Christo credere, sed demonstramus eos nolle Christo credere, qui vel adulterium dicunt non esse, quod ille adulterium dicit esse; vel credunt adulteros ejus membra posse esse, quos per Apostolum dicit, 'regnum Dei non possidere;' et sanæ doctrinæ adversari, quæ est secundum evangelium gloriæ beati Dei.

the devil did. They did not prohibit any that were willing to come to Christ; but only convinced them, by their own confession, that they were unwilling to come to him." And, therefore, though these men called it a novel doctrine and practice to reject harlots and stage-players, and all that made open profession of such abominable arts, from baptism, yet he tells them, "this was grounded upon the rules^e of ancient truth, which manifestly declared, that 'they who do such things, shall not inherit the kingdom of God.'" And that this was the ancient rule, by which the Church proceeded, is evident from all the writers that have spoken of baptism. Justin Martyr, who describes the ceremonies of baptism with the greatest simplicity, says, "it was only given to those, who to their confession of faith added also a promise or vow^f, that they would live according to the rules of Christianity." And hence came that usual form of words in their profession, *συντάσσομαί σοι, Χριστέ*, 'I give myself up to thee, O Christ, to be governed by thy laws,' which immediately followed the *ἀπόταξις*, or 'renunciation' of the devil, whose service they forsook to choose a new master, as we find it frequently in St. Chrysostom^g, St. Basil^h, St. Cyril of Alexandriaⁱ, the author of the Apostolical Constitutions^k, and most of the Greek

^e Aug. de Fide et Oper. c. xviii. (p. 184. C 7.) Antiquum et robustum morem sancta Ecclesia retineret, ex illa scilicet liquidissima veritate venientem, qua certum habet, 'Quoniam qui talia agunt, regnum Dei non possidebunt.'

^f Justin. Apol. ii. (Bened. p. 79.) "Ὅσοι ἂν πεισθῶσι καὶ πιστεύωσιν ἀληθῆ ταῦτα τὰ ὑφ' ἡμῶν διδασκόμενα καὶ λεγόμενα εἶναι, καὶ βιοῦν οὕτως δύνασθαι ὑπισχνῶνται, κ. τ. λ.

^g Chrysostom. Hom. xxi. ad Popul. Antiochen. (Bened. vol. ii. p. 238. A 7.) 'Ὁ μετανοῶν οὐκέτι τῶν αὐτῶν ἄπτεται πραγμάτων, ἐφ' οἷς μετενόησε διὰ τοῦτο καὶ κελευόμεθα λέγειν, Ἀποτάσσομαί σοι, Σατανᾶ, ἵνα μηκέτι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπανέλθωμεν. — Id. Hom. vi. in Coloss. (p. 200, edit. Francof.) Ὁρᾶτε, μὴ τούτῳ ἀλῶμεν, μετὰ τὸ εἰπεῖν, Ἀποτάσσομεν τῷ Σατανᾷ, καὶ συντάσσομέν σοι, Χριστέ.

^h Basil. Hom. xiii. Exhort. ad Bapt. (Bened. fol. vol. ii. p. 119. B 2.) Οὐχὶ συνθέσθαι Θεῷ, οὐκ ἀποτάξασθαι τῷ ἐχθρῷ.

ⁱ Cyril. Alex. in Joan. xi. 26. (Paris. 1638, vol. iv. p. 638. E 6.) Ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐσχάτῃ νόσῳ κατειλημμένων, μελλόντων τε διὰ τοῦτο βαπτίζεσθαι, καὶ ἀποτάττονται τινες καὶ συντάττονται, τὴν οἰκείαν, ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀγάπης, κιχρῶντες φωνὴν τοῖς νόσῳ πεπεδημένοις.

^k Constitut. Apostol. lib. vii. c. xlii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 445.) Ἀποτάσσομαι τῷ Σατανᾷ, καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ, καὶ ταῖς λατρείαις αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις

writers ; whose words, as being but one and the same form, I think it needless to repeat upon this occasion. The Latins commonly call it *promissum*, *pactum*, and *votum*, ‘a promise,’ ‘a covenant,’ and ‘vow ;’ which names they apply indifferently to all parts of the Christian engagement, as well the renunciation of the devil, as the profession of faith and obedience to Christ, which do mutually suppose, and are virtually included in, one another ; for he that renounces the devil and the world, does thereby profess himself a soldier and servant devoted to Christ. Therefore, St. Ambrose, speaking of the renunciation, calls it¹ “a promise, a caution, a handwriting, or bond, given to God, and registered in the court of heaven ; because this is a vow made before his ministers and the angels, who are witnesses to it.” Upon which account, he says in another place^m, “It is recorded, not in the monuments of the dead, but in the book of the living.” St. Austin calls it “a professionⁿ made in the court of angels ; and the names of the professors are written in the Book of Life, not by any man, but by the heavenly powers.” St. Jerome^o styles it “a covenant made with the Sun of Righteousness, and a promise of obedience to Christ.” And he so speaks of this ceremony, as to show it

αὐτοῦ, καὶ ταῖς ἐφευρήσεσιν αὐτοῦ, καὶ πᾶσιν τοῖς ὑπ’ αὐτόν· μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀποταγὴν, συντασσόμενος λεγέτω, ὅτι καὶ συντάσσομαι τῷ Χριστῷ, καὶ πιστεύω, καὶ βαπτίζομαι, κ. τ. λ.

¹ Ambros. de Sacram. lib. i. c. ii. (Paris. 1836. vol. iv. p. 120.) Quando te interrogavit, ‘Abrenuntias diabolo et operibus ejus ?’ quid respondisti ? ‘Abrenuntio.’ ‘Abrenuntias sæculo et voluptatibus ejus ?’ quid respondisti ? ‘Abrenuntio.’ Memor esto sermonis tui, et numquam tibi excidat tuæ series cautionis. Si chirographum homini dederis, teneris obnoxius, . . . et reluctantem te fœnerator adstringit ; si recusas, vadis ad judicem, atque illic tua cautione convinceris. Ubi promiseris considera, vel quibus promiseris. Levitam vidisti ; sed minister est Christi. Vidisti illum ante altaria ministrare. Ergo chirographum tuum tenetur non in terra, sed in cœlo.

^m Ibid. de Initiatis, c. ii. Renuntiasti diabolo et operibus ejus ; mundo, et luxuriæ ejus, ac voluptatibus. Tenetur vox tua, non in tumulto mortuorum, sed in Libro Viventium.

ⁿ Aug. de Symbolo, lib. ii. c. i. (Bened. vol. vi. p. 556. D.) Professi estis, renuntiare vos diabolo, pompis et angelis ejus. Videte, dilectissimi, quia hanc professionem vestram in curiam profertis angelicam, nomina profitentium in Libro excipiuntur Vitæ, non a quolibet homine, sed a superiore cœlitus potestate.

^o Hieron. Comment. in Amos vi. 14. In mysteriis, etc. See note (t) p. 536.

to be a distinct act from the renunciation (though they both tended to the same end), because different rites were used in expressing them. For, in renouncing the devil, they had their faces to the west, for symbolical reasons, which we have heard before ; but, in making their covenant with Christ, they turned about to the east, as an emblem of that light which they received from the Sun of Righteousness, by engaging themselves in his service.

SECT. VII.—*This Vow of Obedience made by turning to the East ; and why.*

This custom of turning about to the east, when they made their profession of obedience to Christ, is also mentioned by St. Ambrose, Gregory Nazianzen, Cyril of Jerusalem, and the author under the name of Dionysius ; for which they assign two reasons : 1. Cyril^p tells his disciples, “ that as soon as they had renounced the devil, the paradise of God, which was planted in the east, and whence our first parent, for his transgression, was driven into banishment, was now laid open to them ; and their turning about from the west to the east, which is the region of light, was a symbol of this.” For the same reason St. Basil^q, and some others of the ancients, tell us, “ they prayed toward the east, that they might have their faces towards paradise.” The other reason for turning to the east in baptism, was because the east, or rising sun, was an emblem of the Sun of Righteousness, to whom they now turned from Satan. “ Thou art turned about to the east,” says St. Ambrose^r ; “ for he that renounces the devil, turns unto Christ.” Where he plainly intimates, with St. Jerome, that turning to the east was a symbol of their aversion from Satan,

^p Cyril. Catech. Mystag. i. n. vi. p. 283. (Bened. p. 309.) “Οτε οὖν τῷ Σατανᾷ ἀποτάττη, πᾶσαν τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν πάντως διαθήκην λύσας, τὰς παλαιὰς πρὸς τὸν ἄδην συνθήκας, ἀνοίγεται σοι ὁ παράδεισος τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὃν ἐφύτευσε κατὰ ἀνατολὰς, ὅθεν διὰ τὴν παράβασιν ἐξόριστος γέγονεν ὁ ἡμέτερος προπάτωρ· καὶ τούτου σύμβολον τὸ στραφῆναί σε ἀπὸ δυσμῶν πρὸς ἀνατολήν, τοῦ φωτὸς τὸ χωρίον.

^q Basil. de Spirit. Sanct. c. xxvii. (Bened. fol. vol. iii. p. 54. E 5.) Τὸ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς τετράφθαι κατὰ τὴν προσευχὴν, ποῖον ἐδίδαξεν ἡμᾶς γράμμα ;

^r Ambros. de Initiatis, c. ii. Ad orientem converteris : qui enim renuntiat diabolo, ad Christum convertitur.

and conversion unto Christ; that is, from darkness to light; from serving idols, to serve him who is the Sun of Righteousness, and fountain of light.

SECT. VIII.—*The third Thing required of the Party to be baptized, was a Profession of Faith, in the usual Words of the Creed.*

Together with this profession of obedience, there was also exacted a profession of faith of every person to be baptized; and this was always to be made in the same words of the Creed that every Church used for the instruction of her catechumens. They were obliged to repeat it privately to the catechist, and then again publicly in the church, when they had given in their names to baptism: as I have showed^s before. But, besides this, they were also obliged to make a more solemn profession of it at the time of baptism, and give distinct answers to the several questions, as the minister propounded them, with relation to the several parts of the Creed, which contained the summary of Christian faith. There were some, indeed, in St. Austin's time^t, who, as they were for excluding the profession of obedience out of the baptismal vow, so were they for curtailing the profession of faith, and reducing it to one single article, "I believe Jesus Christ to be the Son of God." In favour of this, they pleaded the example of Philip baptizing the eunuch upon this short confession; and that saying of St. Paul to the Corinthians, "I determined to know nothing among you, save Jesus Christ, and him crucified." Yet they durst never proceed so far as to put their designs in practice: for they still continued to make interrogatories about the other

^s See Book x. c. ii. sect. x.

^t Aug. de Fide et Oper. c. ix. Spado, inquiunt, ille quem Philippus baptizavit, nihil plus dixit, quam, 'Credo Filium Dei esse Jesum Christum.' Num ergo placet, ut hoc solum homines respondeant, et continuo baptizentur? Nihil de Spiritu Sancto, nihil de Sancta Ecclesia, nihil de Remissione Peccatorum, nihil de Resurrectione Mortuorum? etc. Si enim spado quum respondisset, 'Credo Filium Dei esse Jesum Christum,' hoc ei sufficere visum est, ut continuo baptizatus abscederet; cur non id sequimur? atque auferimus cetera quæ necesse habemus, etiam quum ad baptizandum temporis urget angustia, exprimere interrogando, ut baptizandus ad cuncta respondeat, etiamsi ea memoriæ mandare non vacavit?

articles, as the Church always did, concerning the Holy Ghost, the Holy Church, the Remission of Sins, the Resurrection of the Dead, the Incarnation of Christ, his Passion and Death upon the Cross, his Burial and Resurrection on the third day, his Ascension, and Session on the right hand of the Father. All which were thought so necessary, that the Church never omitted them even in clinic baptism, when men were baptized upon a sick bed. For, if they were able to speak, they answered for themselves, as St. Austin says, to every particular interrogation, though they were not able to commit them to memory: and, if they were speechless, their sureties or sponsors answered for them, as they did for children: as will be showed in the next chapter. So that, one way or other, the whole Creed was repeated, and every individual article assented to by men at their baptism. And this was always the practice of the Church from the very days of the apostles, and in their time also. For though no other article be mentioned in the baptism of the eunuch, but only his believing Jesus Christ to be the Son of God, yet, as St. Austin observes in the same place^u, “the Scripture, in saying ‘Philip baptized him,’ is to be understood as meaning, that all things were fulfilled which use to be observed in baptism; though, for brevity’s sake, they be not mentioned.” And, indeed, in all the accounts we have of baptism in ancient writers, there is express mention of this profession, either to believe the doctrines of Christianity in general, as they are delivered in Scripture; or, as they are briefly summed up in the articles of the Creed. Justin Martyr^x says, “Before men were regenerated, they must both profess to believe the truth of those things which they had been taught, and also promise to live answerably to their knowledge.” Cyprian particularly^y mentions the use of the Creed in bap-

^u Aug. de Fide et Oper. c. ix. (p. 172. E.) In eo quod ait, ‘Baptizavit eum Philippus,’ intelligi voluit impleta esse omnia, quæ licet taceantur in Scripturis gratia brevitatis, tamen serie traditionis scimus (in baptismo) implenda.

^x Justin. Apol. ii. (Bened. p. 79.) “Ὅσοι ἂν πεισθῶσι καὶ πιστεύωσιν ἀληθῆ ταῦτα τὰ ὑφ’ ἡμῶν διδασκόμενα καὶ λεγόμενα εἶναι, καὶ βιοῦν οὕτως δύνασθαι ὑπισχνῶνται . . . ἀναγεννῶνται.

^y Cypr. Epist. lxx. ad Episc. Numid. (Fell, Oxon. 1682. p. 190.) (p. 301, Amstelod. 1700.) Sed et ipsa interrogatio, quæ fit in baptismo, testis est veritatis. Nam quum dicimus, ‘Credis in vitam æternam, et remissionem pec-

tism, and specifies in several of the interrogatories that were made in reference to the particular articles of it; as, whether they believed eternal life, and remission of sins in the holy Church; which were always the concluding articles of the Creed. And in another place, he speaks both of these, and the articles relating to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, as interrogatories used in baptism both by the Catholic^z Church and the Novatians: for, however they differed in the sense of some of the articles, yet they both agreed in the same form of interrogatories, and both baptized in the same creed. Tertulian, also^a, specifies the articles relating to Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and the Church, as part of the interrogatories of baptism; and Eusebius, reciting the words of the Creed of *Cæsarea*^b, says, “it was the creed into which he was baptized.” The same use was made of the Nicene Creed, as soon as it was composed, in most of the Eastern Churches; for they ordinarily baptized in the profession of that faith, as I have showed^c in the last book. It were easy here to subjoin many testimonies out of St. Ambrose, St. Jerome, Cyril of Alexandria and Jerusalem, Chrysostom, Nazianzen, Basil, Epiphanius, and Salvian, and the author of the Constitutions. But the matter is so incontestable, that the ancients did never baptize into the

catorum per sanctam ecclesiam,’ intelligimus remissionem peccatorum non nisi in ecclesia dari.

^z Cypr. Epist. lxi. al. lxxvi. ad Magnum. (Fell, Oxon. 1682. p. 183.) (p. 296, Amstelod.) Quod si aliquis illud opponit, ut dicat, eandem Novatianum legem tenere, quam Catholica ecclesia teneat, eodem symbolo quo et nos, baptizare; eundem nosse Deum Patrem, eundem Filium Christum, eundem Spiritum Sanctum, ac propter hoc usurpare eum potestatem baptizandi posse, quod videatur in interrogatione baptismi a nobis non discrepare;—sciat quisquis hoc opponendum putat, primum non esse unam nobis et schismaticis symboli legem; neque eandem interrogationem. Nam quum dicunt, ‘Credis in remissionem peccatorum et vitam æternam per sanctam ecclesiam?’ mentiuntur in interrogatione, quando non habeant ecclesiam.

^a Tertul. de Bapt. c. vi. Quum sub tribus et testatio fidei et sponsio salutis pignorentur, necessario adjicitur ecclesiæ mentio: quoniam ubi tres, id est, Pater, et Filius, et Spiritus Sanctus, ibi ecclesia, quæ trium corpus est.

^b Euseb. ap. Socrat. lib. i. c. viii. (Aug. T. p. 20. D 2.) Τὸ μὲν οὖν παρ’ ἡμῶν γράμμα . . . τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον· καθὼς παρελάβομεν παρὰ τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν ἐπισκόπων, καὶ ἐν τῇ κατηχήσει, καὶ ὅτε τὸ λουτρὸν ἐλαμβάνομεν, κ. τ. λ.

^c Book x. chap. iv. sect. xvii.

profession of any single article, but into a complete and perfect creed, that I think it needless to insist upon the proof of it, whilst there is not any pretence of an exception to be made against it, in any public or private baptism whatsoever.

SECT. IX.—*This Confession made in the most Solemn and Public Manner.*

There were some circumstances and ceremonies of this confession, which, because they added something to the solemnity of the action, it will not be improper to mention. As first, that it was usually done in public, before many witnesses: which was a circumstance grounded upon apostolical practice, and very rarely dispensed with. Primasius^d deduces it from the example of Timothy, who “witnessed a good confession, before many witnesses:” which he interprets of his profession of faith made at baptism. Which is also the exposition given by Ephraem Syrus^e. And Pope Leo^f seems to refer to the same, when he exhorts men to stand firm in that faith which they confessed before “many witnesses;” that faith in which they were born again of water and the Holy Ghost, and received the unction of salvation, and the seal of eternal life. It was usual at Rome, St. Austin^g tells us, to make this con-

^d Primas. in 1 Tim. vi. 12. (Bibl. Maxima Patr. vol. x. p. 1240.) ‘Confessus bonam confessionem:’ in baptismo, ‘coram multis testibus;’ coram sacerdotibus, et ministris, atque virtutibus cœlestibus ac divinis.

^e Ephraem, de Pœnit. (c. v. p. 91, edit. Colon. 1547.) Requiretur a quolibet regium signum, ex qua die Catholicam et orthodoxam ecclesiam ac fidem nostram per baptismum suscepit: exigeturque a singulis fides in pace illibata, sigillumque infractum et tunica incoquinata, secundum pulchram illam confessionem, quam coram multis testibus professi sunt, dicentes, ‘Abrenuntio tibi, Satana, et omnibus operibus tuis.’ †

^f Leo, Serm. iv. de Nativit. Domini. (Opera, Venet. 1753. vol. i. p. 81.) Permanete stabiles in fide, quam confessi estis coram multis testibus, et in qua renati per aquam et Spiritum Sanctum, accepistis chrisma salutis et signaculum vitæ æternæ.

^g Aug. Confess. lib. viii. c. ii. (Bened. vol. i. p. 146. F 9.) Ut ventum est ad horam profitendæ fidei, quæ verbis certis conceptis retentisque memoriter, de loco eminentiore, in conspectu populi fidelis, Romæ reddi solet ab eis, qui accessuri sunt ad gratiam tuam, oblatum esse dicebat Victorino a presbyteris ut secretius redderet, sicut nonnullis, qui verecundia trepidaturi videbantur, offerri mos erat; illum autem maluisse salutem suam in conspectu sanctæ multitudinis profiteri. Non enim erat salus quam docebat in rhetorica, et tamen

fession publicly in the church, in some eminent place appointed for the purpose, that they might be seen and heard by all the congregation. But sometimes, to favour the modesty of some very bashful persons, who could not speak without trembling in such an awful assembly, the presbyters received their confession in private. And this they offered to Victorinus, a famous rhetorician, upon his conversion; but he chose rather to make his confession in public, saying, "There was no salvation in rhetoric, and yet he had always taught that in public: and, therefore, it would not become him to be afraid of making a public confession of God's word before the meek flock of Christ, who had never been afraid to repeat his own words in the schools of the heathen, who, in comparison of Christians were only to be reputed madmen."

SECT. X.—*With Hands and Eyes lift up to Heaven.*

Another circumstance which added to the solemnity of the action, was the posture of the body, not only looking toward the east, but with hands and eyes lift up to heaven, as if they were immediately fixed on Christ, with whom they were now entering into covenant, as their new Lord, sitting on the throne of his glory. For as they renounced the devil, with hands stretched out against him, or with collision, or striking them together in defiance of him; so, on the contrary, they made their confession, and covenant, and addresses to Christ, in the posture of petition, with hands lift up to the Sun of Righteousness, and ready to embrace him. So the author under the name of Dionysius^h describes it, saying, "The priest bids the catechumen, after he has renounced Satan, to turn about to the east, and make his covenant with Christ, with hands and eyes lift up to heaven."

SECT. XI.—*Repeated three Times.*

This confession also, for greater solemnity, is thought to

eam publice professus erat. Quanto minus ergo vereri debuit mansuetum gregem tuum, pronuntians verbum tuum qui non verebatur in verbis suis turbas insanorum?

^h Dionys. de Eccles. Hierarch. c. ii. p. 253, cit. supr. sect. v. lit. (z).

have been repeated three times, as we have heard before that it was usual to do in the renunciation of Satan. Cyril of Alexandria¹ says, "It was the custom of the Church to require a triple confession of Christ, of all those that proposed to love him, and came to his holy baptism: and this, after the example of St. Peter, to whom Christ said three times, 'Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me?' And Peter answered thrice, 'Lord, thou knowest that I love thee.'" St. Ambrose^k says, "that in the celebration of baptism, three interrogatories were made, and a triple answer was given to them; nor could any one be otherwise baptized. Whence also Peter was asked three times in the gospel, whether he loved the Lord? that by answering thrice, he might loose those bonds, with which he had bound himself by denying his Lord." But I am not sure, that this triple confession always means thrice repeating the whole Creed. For St. Ambrose^l, in another place, makes this triple confession to be rather answering three times, "I believe," to the several parts of the Creed. "Thou wast asked," says he, "'Dost thou believe in God the Father Almighty?' And thou didst answer, 'I believe.' Thou wast asked again, 'Dost thou believe in our Lord Jesus Christ, and his cross?' And thou didst answer a second time, 'I believe.' Thou wast asked a third time, 'Dost thou believe in the Holy Ghost?' And thy answer was, 'I believe.' So thou wast thrice buried under water, that thy triple confession might absolve thee from the manifold offences of thy former life."

¹ Cyril. Alex. lib. xii. in Joan. xxi. (Paris. 1638. tom. iv. p. 1119. D 4.) Τύπος δὲ πάλιν ταῖς μὲν ἐκκλησίαις ἐντεῦθεν εἰς τὸ χρῆναι τρίτον διερωτᾶν τὴν εἰς Χριστὸν ὁμολογίαν, τοὺς ἀγαπᾶν αὐτὸν ἐλομένους, διὰ τοῦ καὶ προσελθεῖν τῷ ἁγίῳ βαπτίσματι.

^k Ambros. de Spirit. Sanct. lib. ii. c. xi. (Bened. fol. vol. ii. p. 654.) Ideo in mysteriis interrogatio trina defertur, et confirmatio trina celebratur; nec potest quis nisi trina confessione purgari. Unde et ipse Petrus in evangelio tertio interrogatur, utrum diligat Dominum, ut, trina responsione, vincula quæ Dominum negando contraxerat, et quibus se ipse ligavit, absolverentur.

^l Ibid. de Sacram. lib. ii. c. vii. (vol. ii. p. 359.) Interrogatus es, 'Credis in Deum Patrem omnipotentem?' Dixisti, 'Credo,' et mersisti, hoc est, sepultus es. Iterum interrogatus es, 'Credis in Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, et in crucem ejus?' Dixisti, 'Credo,' et mersisti. . . . Tertio interrogatus es, 'Credis et in Spiritum Sanctum?' Dixisti, 'Credo,' tertio mersisti, ut multiplicem lapsum superioris ætatis absolveret trina confessio.

Where, it is plain, the triple confession means no more than answering thrice, “ I believe,” to the several parts of the Creed. But there might be different customs in different places : for St. Cyril seems to mean something more, when he makes these answers not only to be a confession of the three Persons of the Trinity, but a triple confession of Christ ; which implies a repetition of the Creed three times over, if I rightly understand him.

SECT. XII.—*And subscribed with their own Hands in the Books of the Church, as some think.*

There was one circumstance more, which, if true, added great weight to the whole action : which was, that the party, after he had made his confession of faith, subscribed it also with his own hand, if he were able to do it, in the books or registers of the Church. I cannot positively say that this was any certain or universal practice ; but there seem to be some footsteps of it in some ancient records, and the allusions of writers to such a custom. Gregory Nazianzen is thought to refer to it, when, exhorting men to continue stedfast to the faith which they professed at baptism, he says, “ If thou wast enrolled into any other faith^m than what I have expounded, come and be enrolled again : and then tell those that would draw thee away from it, ‘ What I have written, I have written.’ ” St. Ambrose seems also to allude to this, whenⁿ he tells the initiated, “ that ‘ their handwriting’ was recorded not only in earth, but in heaven, because it was taken both in the

^m Nazianz. Orat. xl. de Bapt. (1690. vol. i. p. 670. A 5.) Εἰ μὲν ἄλλως ἐγγέγραψαι, ἢ ὡς ὁ ἐμὸς ἀπαιτεῖ λόγος, δεῦρο καὶ μετεγγράφητι· ἐγὼ τούτων οὐκ ἀφυῆς καλλιγράφος· γράφων ἃ γέγραμμαι, καὶ διδάσκων ἃ καὶ μεμάθηκα, καὶ τετήρηκα ἐξ ἀρχῆς, εἰς τήνδε τὴν πολιάν· ἐμὸς ὁ κίνδυνος, ἐμὸν καὶ τὸ γέρας, τοῦ τῆς σῆς ψυχῆς οἰκονόμου, καὶ τελειοῦντός σε διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος. Εἰ δὲ οὕτως ἔχεις, καὶ καλοῖς ἐνεσημάνθης τοῖς γράμμασι, φύλασέ μοι τὰ γεγραμμένα, ἐν καιροῖς τρεπτοῖς ἀτρεπτος μένων, περὶ ἀτρέπτου πράγματος· μίμησαι τὸν Πιλάτον ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον, κακῶς γράφοντα καλῶς γεγραμμένους· εἰπὲ τοῖς μεταπείθουσίν σε, “Ο γέγραφα, γέγραφα.

ⁿ Ambros. de Sacram. lib. i. c. ii. (Bened. fol. vol. ii. p. 350.) Chirographum tuum tenetur, non in terra, sed in cælo.

presence of men and angels^o.” And St. Austin^p says, “ the names of such as made their profession, were written in the Book of Life, not only by men, but by the heavenly powers above.” Yet, I confess, St. Chrysostom has a passage which seems to go contrary to all this; for, speaking of the difference between earthly masters buying slaves, and Christ taking us to be his servants, he reckons this among others, “ that Christ requires no witnesses, nor handwriting^q of us, but only our bare word, to say, ‘ I renounce thee, Satan, and all thy pomp.’ ” Whence it must be concluded, either that this custom was not so universal as the rest, since St. Chrysostom knew nothing of it, or that the forecited evidences are not so cogent as at first sight they may seem to be. For St. Ambrose and St. Austin may be so interpreted, where they speak of being ‘ written in the Book of Life,’ as to be understood only in a figurative sense, for having their names written in heaven. Yet Vicecomes is very positive, not only of this, but that men also set their seal^r to their subscription, and confirmed their

^o Id. de Initiatis, c. ii. Tenetur vox tua, non in tumultu mortuorum, sed in Libro Viventium.

^p See note (n) p. 536.

^q Chrysostom. Hom. xxi. ad Popul. Antioch. (Bened. vol. ii. p. 243. A 7.)
Ὁὐ μάρτυρας ἡμᾶς, οὐκ ἔγγραφα ἡμᾶς ἀπαιτεῖ, ἀλλ’ ἀρκεῖται ψιλῇ τῇ φωνῇ,
καὶν εἴπῃς ἀπὸ διανοίας, Ἀποτάσσομαί σοι, Σατανᾶ, καὶ τῇ πομπῇ σου.

^r Vicecom. de Ritib. Bapt. lib. ii. c. xxvii. p. 343, edit. Paris. (p. 159, edit. Mediolan.) Postmodum professionem ita conceptam in tabulas referebant, suaeque ipsi manu, si scribere nossent, vel si nescirent, aliena, stabilem ratamque habebant: cujus sententiae veritas a S. Dionysii auctoritate repetitur, apud quem saepe haec oratio usurpata est, ut professio in tabulis diceretur scripta. . . . Jam vero illa non longam orationem desiderant, quamobrem existimem, fidei professioni subscriptionem addi consuevisse. Nam cum homines propter justitiae originalis, qua, tamquam fræno quodam, cupiditates regebantur, amissionem, ad scelera et flagitia facile labantur; et rursus cum ad conscientiae fructum et officii religionem, tum etiam ad decus et gloriam, constantia promissorum et fide nihil in rebus humanis sit præstantius; priscis reipublicae Christianae rectoribus expedire visum est, fidei professionem sua cujusque descriptione confirmari; ut si quis, veluti transfuga, a Christiana religione desciscere cogitasset, pudore datae fidei et suae confessionis testimonio impediretur. Præterea, ad rectam Christianae reipublicae gubernationem pertinebat, sicut cives olim, sic profitentium nomina literis consignari; ut omnium, qui sacrilegos ritus reliquerant, numerus intelligi posset. Demum, professionem, sacris monumentis traditam, annulo obsignabant: quod etsi difficile est probatu, propter tam pauca et tam rara testimonia scriptorum; tale tamen est, ut ela-

profession with an oath. But I do not find any sufficient authority for this; and, therefore, will not any further insist upon it, which I had rather leave to the further disquisition of the critical and curious reader.

SECT. XIII.—*The Use of all these Ceremonies and Engagements, to make Men sensible of their Obligation, and stedfast to their Profession.*

But, by what has been said, we may easily perceive that the design of the Church, in all these ceremonies, and the caution and deliberation used in the whole action, was only to make men truly sensible of the nature of the Christian religion (which admitted of no proselytes without these formal and solemn professions), and of their great obligations to continue stedfast in that faith and obedience to Christ, which they had so solemnly promised with their mouths, and subscribed with their own hands, not only before men, but in the presence of God and the holy angels. This was the greatest engagement imaginable upon them, and of force to influence their whole lives. To which purpose, St. Chrysostom often proposes and

borandum sit, quo facilius probetur: nihil est enim omnium, quæ in hoc capite tractantur, quod illustrius curiosiusque dicatur. Igitur Tertullianus (lib. de Baptism. c. vi.) hanc consuetudinem ita declarat: 'Joannes anteprecursor Domini fuit, præparans vias ejus: ita et angelus, baptismi arbiter, superventuro Spiritui Sancto vias dirigit, ablutione delictorum, quam fides impetrat, obsignata.' Probare enim statuerat, fidei professionem deleri non posse, quod in ea sigillum annulo impressum esset. Verum clarius (lib. de Pudicitia, c. ix.), ubi fidei professionem explicans, ait, 'Annulum quoque accepit tunc primum, quo fidei pactionem interrogatus obsignat.' Potest etiam ad hanc consuetudinem referri, quod Cyrillus Hierosolymit. scripsit Catech. i. Mystag. dum baptizandos ad memoriam eorum, quæ in catechesi audierant, excitaret: 'Assistas catechesibus, et quæ in illis dicuntur memineris: dicitur enim non ideo, ut audias tantum, sed ut per fidem dicta obsignes.' Quo loco 'obsignandi' verbum proprie, non metaphorice accipiendum est, cum rerum series ita declaret, et in Græco textu, ἐπισφραγίσας τὰ λεγόμενα positum sit, nulla 'per fidem' mentione facta. Nec tamen mihi sane quicquam occurrit, cur non Tertulliani sit et Cyrilli vera sententia: ut enim rationes nullæ hujus consuetudinis possent afferri (vide quid hominibus tribuam), ipsis auctoritatibus me frangerent: tot autem rationes afferri possunt, ut omnes enumerare pene sit infinitum. Illa tamen præcipua et maxime insignis, ut professionis scriptio fide non careret: quoniam publicis scripturis olim sigilla apponebantur, quod adhuc in pontificio vel episcopali diplomate, literis ordinum testimonialibus, et aliquot supremæ voluntatis tabulis, fieri solet.

insists upon it, to make men bear it perpetually in memory, and use it as their best armour and weapon against all temptations. In his last discourse to the people of Antioch, he expatiates upon this topic, inveighing, first, severely against all the shows of the Roman theatre and circus, and observation of days, and presages, and omens, which he reckons among the pomps of Satan. To these he joins enchantments and ligatures: for some Christians made no scruple to hang golden medals of Alexander the Great about their head or feet, to cure diseases; with whom he expostulates after this manner^s: “Are these our hopes and expectations, that, after the cross and death of our Lord, we should put our trust for health in the image of a heathen king? Knowest thou not what wonders the cross hath done? how it hath destroyed death, extinguished sin, emptied hell, dissolved the power of the devil?

^s Chrysostom. Hom. xxi. ad Popul. Antioch. (Bened. vol. ii. p. 243. E 5.)
 Αὐται αἱ ἐλπίδες ἡμῶν, εἶπέ μοι, ἵνα μετὰ σταυρὸν καὶ θάνατον δεσποτικόν, εἰς Ἑλληνος βασιλέως εἰκόνα τὰς ἐλπίδας τῆς σωτηρίας ἔχωμεν; οὐκ οἶδας πόσα κατώρθωσεν ὁ σταυρός; τὸν θάνατον κατέλυσε, τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἔσβεσε, τὸν ἄδην ἄχρηστον ἐποίησε, τοῦ διαβόλου τὴν δύναμιν ἐξέλυσε, καὶ εἰς σώματος ὑγίειαν οὐκ ἔστιν ἀξιόπιστος; τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀνέστησεν ἅπασαν, καὶ σὺ αὐτῷ οὐ θαρρεῖς; καὶ τίνος ἂν ἄξιος εἴης, εἶπέ μοι; οὐ περιήρα δὲ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ δῶς σου περιάγει, γράϊδια μεθύοντα καὶ παραπταίοντα εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν σου εἰσάγων, καὶ οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ, οὐδὲ ἐρυθριᾷ, μετὰ τοσαύτην φιλοσοφίαν, πρὸς ταῦτα ἐπτοημένος; καὶ τὸ χαλεπώτερον τῆς ἀπάτης· ὅταν γὰρ παραινῶμεν ταῦτα, καὶ ἀπάγωμεν, δοκοῦντες ἀπολογεῖσθαι, φασὶν, ὅτι Χριστιανὴ ἔστιν ἡ γυνή, ἡ ταῦτα ἐπράδουσα, καὶ οὐδὲν ἕτερον φθέγγεται, ἢ τὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ ὄνομα. Διὰ τοῦτο μὲν οὖν αὐτὴν μάλιστα μισῶ καὶ ἀποστρέφομαι, ὅτι τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Θεοῦ πρὸς ὕβριν κατακέχρηται, ὅτι λέγουσα Χριστιανὴ εἶναι, τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπιδείκνυται. Καὶ γὰρ οἱ δαίμονες τὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ ὄνομα ἐφθέγγοντο· ἀλλ’ ἦσαν δαίμονες, καὶ οὕτως ἔλεγον πρὸς τὸν Χριστὸν, Οἶδαμέν σε τίς εἶ, ὁ ἅγιος τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ὅμως ἐπετίμησεν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀπῆλασε. Διὰ δὲ ταῦτα παρακαλῶ, τῆς ἀπάτης καθαρεύειν ταύτης, καὶ, καθάπερ βακτηρίαν, ἔχειν τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο· καὶ ὥσπερ χωρὶς ὑποδημάτων ἢ ἱματίων οὐκ ἂν ἔλοιτό τις ὑμῶν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν καθεῖναι, οὕτω χωρὶς τοῦ ῥήματος τούτου μηδέποτε εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐμβάλῃς· ἀλλ’ ὅταν μέλλῃς ὑπερβαίνειν τὰ πρόθυρα τοῦ πυλῶνος, τοῦτο φθέγγξαι τὸ ῥῆμα πρότερον, Ἀποτάσσομαί σοι, Σατανᾶ, καὶ τῇ πομπῇ σου, καὶ τῇ λατρείᾳ σου, καὶ συντάσσομαί σοι, Χριστέ· καὶ μηδέποτε χωρὶς τῆς φωνῆς ταύτης ἐξέλθῃς· τοῦτό σοι βακτηρία ἔσται, τοῦτο ὄπλον, τοῦτο πύργος ἄμαχος· μετὰ τοῦ ῥήματος τούτου καὶ τὸν σταυρὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου διατύπωσον· οὕτω γὰρ οὐ μόνον ἄνθρωπος ἀπαντῶν, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ὁ διάβολος βλάψαι τι δυνήσεται, μετὰ τούτων σε ὁρῶν τῶν ὅπλων πανταχοῦ φαινόμενον.

And is it not as fit to be relied on to cure a bodily disease? It hath given resurrection to the world; and canst thou not confide in it? But thou not only procurest ligatures, but also charms, bringing some old drunken staggering woman to thy house for this purpose; and payest reverence to these things, after thou hast been disciplined in the religion of Christ. Nay, when men are admonished of these things, they plead, in excuse, that the old woman, 'the enchanter,' is a Christian, and names nothing but the name of God: for which she is the more to be abhorred, because she abuses the name of God to so scandalous a practice; and whilst she calls herself a Christian, does the works of the heathen. The devils named the name of Christ, and yet were devils for all that; and were rebuked and ejected by our Saviour. Therefore, I beseech you, keep yourselves pure from this deceit, and take this word as your staff and armour. As none of you will choose to walk abroad without his shoes or clothes; so without this word, let none of you venture out in public; but when you go over the threshold of your gate, say first this word, 'I renounce thee, Satan, and thy pomp, and thy worship; and I make a covenant with thee, O Christ.' Never go forth without this word; and it will be your staff, your armour, your invincible tower. And, with this word, sign yourselves with the sign of the cross: and then not only man, but the devil himself, cannot hurt you, whilst he finds you appearing guarded with this armour." Thus St. Chrysostom^t exhorts men daily to remember their solemn profession of faith, and baptismal vow, wherein they renounced Satan and embraced Christ, as the best preservative against sin and danger; to which both he and Ephraem Syrus add this momentous consideration^u, "That an account of this vow will be required of men at the day of

^t Chrysostom. (Bened. vol. ii. p. 243. A 10.) Τοῦτο τοίνυν λέγωμεν, Ἀποτάσσομαί σοι, Σατανᾶ, ὡς ἐκεῖ μέλλοντες, κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην ταύτην, ἀπαιτεῖσθαι τὴν φωνήν, καὶ φυλάζωμεν αὐτήν, ἵνα σῶαν τὴν παρακαταθήκην ταύτην ἀποδῶμεν τότε.

^u Ephraem. de Abrenunt. Baptismi, p. 150. (p. 92. B, edit. Colon. 1547, 8vo.) Hanc renuntiationem angeli in hora baptismatis scribunt: Hæc a nobis omnibus Christianis confessio exigetur judicii tempore. Scriptum enim est, 'Quia ex verbis tuis justificaberis;' et rursum Dominus dicit, 'Ex ore tuo te judico, serve nequam.'

judgment. For ‘by thy words shalt thou be justified, and by thy words shalt thou be condemned.’ And Christ will say to every wilful transgressor of it, ‘Out of thine own mouth will I condemn thee, O thou wicked servant.’ ” As nothing, therefore, could be more useful than this part of the Church’s discipline, in requiring such professions and promises of every man before they entered the service of Christ, as it was usual for masters to do, before they bargained^w with slaves and took them into their family ; so nothing could be more material than the continued impressions of this vow upon men’s minds, to keep them under a quick sense of their obligations ; on which the whole conduct of their lives so much depended, and their eternal interest at the day of judgment.

SECT. XIV.—*Whether public and particular Confession of Sins was required of Men at their Baptism.*

There is one thing more remains to be inquired into, under this head, that is, Whether any public or particular confession of sins was required of men at their baptism, besides what was implied in the general renunciation of Satan, and all his works and service ? Now, this is plainly resolved by St. Chrysostom in the negative. For, discoursing of the difference between God’s choosing his servants, and the choice which earthly princes and masters make of their soldiers and slaves, he makes the difference chiefly to consist in this : “that before men were allowed to enter the lists in any of the famous exercises of the theatre, a public crier must first lead them about by the hand before all, and cry out, saying, ‘Does any one accuse this man?’ though there the engagement was only of the body, and not of the soul. But in God’s choice of us, it is quite otherwise ; for, though our engagement depends not upon strength of arms, but on the philosophy and virtue of our souls, yet the ruler and governor thereof acts quite contrary. He does not take a man, and lead him about, and say, ‘Does any one accuse him?’ but he cries out, ‘Though all men and devils should rise up

^w Chrysostom. (Bened. vol. ii. p. 142. D 3.) Καθάπερ ἡμεῖς οἰκέτας ἀγοράζοντες αὐτοὺς πωλουμένους πρότερον ἐρωτῶμεν, εἰ βούλονται ἡμῖν δουλεύειν, οὕτω καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ποιεῖ, κ. τ. λ.

against him, and accuse him of secret and horrible crimes, I do not reject, I do not abhor him; but I deliver him from his accuser, and absolve him from his iniquity, and so I lead him to the combat.' Nor is this the only admirable thing, that he forgives our sins, but that he does not reveal nor disclose them: he neither makes open proclamation of them^x, nor compels those that come to him to publish their own offences; but requires them to give account, and confess their sins, to him alone. He does not, like earthly judges, oblige criminals to make a public confession before all men, in hopes of pardon; but he forgives sins upon our private testimony, without any other witnesses." This is undeniable evidence that no public confession was required of men for their private offences, when they came to baptism. And therefore, when Gregory Nazianzen^y speaks of confession of sins made at baptism, he is to be understood either of a general confession, or such a parti-

^x Chrysostom. Hom. xxi. ad Popul. Antioch. (Bened. vol. ii. p. 239. E.) Οἱ μέλλοντες εἰς τὸ θέατρον ἔλκεσθαι ἐκεῖνο, οὐ πρότερον καθίσιν εἰς τοὺς ἀγῶνας, ἕως ἂν αὐτοὺς ὁ κήρυξ λαβὼν ὑπὸ τοῖς ἀπάντων ὀφθαλμοῖς περιάγῃ, βοῶν καὶ λέγων, Μή τις τούτου κατηγορεῖ; καὶ τοι γε οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκεῖ ψυχῆς ἀλλὰ σωμάτων τὰ παλαίσματα. . . . ἐνταῦθα δὲ οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον, ἀλλ' ἅπαν τὸ ὑναντίον, οὐκ ἐν χειρῶν συμπλοκαῖς ὄντων ἡμῖν τῶν παλαισμάτων, ἀλλ' ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ ψυχῆς καὶ ἀρετῇ διανοίας· τὸ ὑναντίον ὁ ἀγωνοθέτης ποιεῖ· οὐ γὰρ λαβὼν αὐτὸν περιάγει, καὶ λέγει, Μή τις τούτου κατηγορεῖ; ἀλλὰ βοᾷ, Κἂν ἄνθρωποι πάντες, κἂν δαίμονες μετὰ τοῦ διαβόλου συστάντες αὐτοῦ κατηγορῶσι τὰ ἔσχατα καὶ ἀπόρρητα δεινὰ, οὐκ ἐκβάλλω, οὐδὲ βδελύσσομαι· ἀλλὰ τῶν κατηγορῶν αὐτὸν ἀπαλλάξας, καὶ τῆς πονηρίας ἐλευθερώσας, οὕτως ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἄγω· . . . οὐ τοῦτο δὲ μόνον ἐστὶ τὸ θαυμαστὸν, ὅτι ἀφίησιν ἡμῖν τὰ ἁμαρτήματα, ἀλλ' ὅτι αὐτὰ οὐδὲ ἐκκαλύπτει, οὐδὲ ποιεῖ φανερά καὶ δῆλα, οὐδὲ ἀναγκάζει παρελθόντας εἰς μέσον ἐξειπεῖν τὰ πεπλημμελημένα, ἀλλ' αὐτῷ μόνῳ ἀπολογήσασθαι κελεύει, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐξομολογήσασθαι. Καὶ τοι γε ἐκ τῶν ἔξωθεν δικαστῶν εἴπῃ τινὶ τῶν ἀλόντων ληστῶν ἢ τυμβωρύχων, εἴπεῖν τὰ πεπλημμελημένα, καὶ ἀφεθῆναι τῆς κολάσεως, πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ ἂν κατεδέξαντο τοῦτο, τῆς σωτηρίας ἐπιθυμία, τῆς αἰσχύνης καταφρονοῦντες· ἐνταῦθα δὲ οὐ τοῦτό ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀφίησιν τὰ ἁμαρτήματα, καὶ οὐκ ἀναγκάζει παρόντων τινὶ αὐτὰ ἐκπομπεύειν, ἀλλ' ἐν μόνον ζητεῖ, ὅπως αὐτὸς, ὁ τῆς ἀφέσεως ἀπολαύων, μάθοι τῆς δωρεᾶς τὸ μέγεθος.

^y Nazianz. Orat. xl. de Bapt. (1630, vol. i. p. 657. A 4.) Μὴ ἀπαξιώσης ἐξαγορεῦσαί σου τὴν ἁμαρτίαν· εἰδὼς ὅπως Ἰωάννης ἐβάπτισεν, ἵνα τὴν ἐκεῖθεν αἰσχύνην, τῇ ἐνταῦθα φύγῃς (ἐπειδὴν μέρος καὶ τοῦτο τῆς ἐκεῖσε κολάσεως) καὶ δείξῃς ὅτι τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ὄντως μεμίσηκας, παραδειγματίσας αὐτὴν καὶ θριαμβεύσας, ὥς ἀξίαν ὑβρεως.

cular confession as men voluntarily imposed upon themselves, to testify, more eminently, the sincerity of their repentance: which, some think, was done at John's baptism (Matt. iii. 6,) and in the baptism of those mentioned, Acts xix. 18; where it is said, that "many who believed, came and confessed, and showed their deeds:" though this was not imposed upon men by any necessary law or rule of the Church. In case of public scandalous crimes, they were obliged, particularly, to promise and vow the forsaking of them; but for private crimes no particular confession was required to be made, save only to God, with a general renunciation of all sin, in which every private crime was supposed to be included^z.

CHAPTER VIII.

OF THE USE OF SPONSORS, OR SURETIES IN BAPTISM.

SECT. I.—*Three Sorts of Sponsors in the Primitive Church: First, for Children.*

NEXT to the conditions and promises required of men in their baptism, we must examine the office and business of sponsors, or sureties, who had always some concern in these obligations. And here it is to be observed, that there were three sorts of sponsors, made use of in the primitive Church:—1. For children, who could not renounce, or profess, or answer, for themselves. 2. For such adult persons as, by reason of sickness or infirmity, were in the same condition with children, incapacitated to answer for themselves. 3. For all adult persons in general; for the Church required sponsors also for those who were otherwise qualified to make their own responses. Now, the office of sponsors was diversified a little in its nature, according to these distinctions. They who were sureties, or sponsors, for children, were obliged, first, to answer, in their names, to all the interrogatories that were usually put in bap-

^z Vid. Augustin. Serm. cxvi. de Tempore, tom. x. opp. pp. 851, 852, edit. Basil. 1569.

tism, and then to be guardians of their Christian education. Some will also needs have it, that they were obliged to give them a perfect maintenance, and take them, as it were, for their own children, by adoption, in case their parents failed, and left them destitute in their minority.

SECT. II.—*Parents commonly Sponsors for their own Children.*

But this I take to be a mistake; for whoever were sponsors for children, if ever they became destitute, the burden devolved upon the Church in general, and not upon any others. Which will be evidenced by these two considerations: 1st, That parents were commonly sponsors for their own children: and, in that case, there can be no dispute where the obligation of maintenance lay so long as they were alive; for they were obliged to maintain their own children by a natural law, not because they were sponsors, but because they were parents to them. It was not, indeed, absolutely necessary, that parents should be sponsors for their own children, though some, in St. Austin's days, were inclined to think so; which he reckons an error^a, and shows that, in many cases, there was a necessity it should be otherwise. But yet, in most cases, the parents were sponsors for their own children; as appears from St. Austin, who speaks of parents, in all ordinary cases, offering their own children to baptism, and making the proper responses for them^b. And the extraordinary cases, in which they were presented by others, were commonly such cases, where the parent could not, or would not, do that kind of office for them; as, when slaves^c were presented to baptism by their masters; or children whose parents were dead, were brought by the charity of any who

^a Aug. Epist. xxiii. ad Bonifac. (Bened. vol. ii. p. 266. C 6.) Illud autem nolo te fallat, ut existimes reatus vinculum, ex Adam tractum, aliter non posse rumpi, nisi parvuli ad percipiendam Christi gratiam a parentibus offerantur.

^b Ibid. Quid est illud, quod, quando ad baptismum offeruntur, parentes pro eis, tamquam fidedictores, respondent, etc.

^c Ibid. (p. 266. D 2.) Videas, multos non offerri a parentibus, sed etiam a quibuslibet extraneis, sicut a dominis servuli aliquando offeruntur. Et nonnumquam, mortuis parentibus suis, parvuli baptizantur, ab eis oblatis, qui illis hujusmodi misericordiam præbere potuerunt. Aliquando etiam quos crudeliter parentes exposuerunt, nutriendos a quibuslibet, nonnumquam a sacris virginibus colliguntur, et ab eis offeruntur ad baptismum.

would show mercy on them; or children exposed by their parents, which were sometimes taken up by the holy virgins of the Church, and by them presented unto baptism. These are the only cases mentioned by St. Austin, in which children seem to have had other sponsors, and not their parents; which makes it probable that, in all ordinary cases, parents were sureties for their own children. Which may be collected also from the author of the Hypognostics^d, under the name of St. Austin, who speaks of “infants being presented to baptism by the hands of their parents, and some of them dying in their arms before the priest could baptize them.” Whilst parents, therefore, were sureties for their own children, they were obliged to maintain them; but this not by the law of sureties, but by the law of nature: and if they failed, this duty devolved upon the whole Church.

SECT. III.—*Other Sureties not bound to maintain the Children for whom they were Sponsors.*

Secondly, In other cases, where strangers became sureties for children, the burden of maintenance did never devolve upon them by any law of suretiship, except they were obliged, by some antecedent law, to take care of them. In case a master was sponsor for his slave, he was obliged to maintain him, because he was, antecedently, in the nature of a father to him, and this obligation arose, not from his suretiship, but from his being his master. But in other cases it was not so; for sometimes children that were exposed, were taken up, and presented to baptism by mere strangers; and in that case, the burden of maintenance fell upon the Church, and not upon the sponsors. “And in some cases,” as St. Austin^e informs us,

^d Aug. Hypognostic. cont. Pelag. lib. vi. c. vii. (Bened. vol. x. app. p. 48. C 7.) Novimus etiam parvulos, quibus usus liberi arbitrii non est, ut de bonis aut malis eorum meritis judicemus, parentum manibus ad gratiam sacri baptismatis deportatos, et quum in uno eorum, per manus sacerdotis, mysterium fidei adimpleretur, aliquotiens alterum in parentum manibus factum exanimem, fraudatum gratia Salvatoris.

^e Ibid. Epist. xxiii. ad Bonifac. (vol. ii. p. 266.) Aliquando etiam, quos crudeliter parentes exposuerunt, nutriendos a quibuslibet, nonnumquam a sacris virginibus colliguntur, et ab eis offeruntur ad baptismum.

“such children were presented unto baptism by the sacred virgins of the Church, who had no other maintenance but what they themselves received from the Church.” And, in that case, it is evident the children’s maintenance must be derived from the same fountain as the virgins’ was, that is, from the public stock of the Church. So that, in all cases, the Church was charged with this care, and not the sponsors, except there was some antecedent obligation: and there was good reason for this. “For,” as St. Austin^f observes, “children were presented to baptism, not so much by those in whose hands they were brought (though by them, too, if they were good and faithful men), as by the whole society of saints. The whole Church was their mother, she brought forth all and every one, by this new birth; and, therefore, if any were to be charged with maintenance, it was but reasonable that the Church should maintain her own children.” So that they who lay so much stress upon sponsors’ undertaking for children, as if they thereby undertook to give them maintenance too, have no grounds for their assertion; since it appears, from the best light that we have, to have been otherwise in the practice of the primitive Church. I have not said this to excuse sponsors from any duty that properly belongs to them; but only to take off the force of an unreasonable objection, which some have made against the present use of sponsors in baptism, as if they were of a different sort from those of the ancient Church, because they are not under this particular obligation; which appears not to have any other foundation but the bare surmise of those who make the objection.

SECT. IV.—*But only to answer for them to the several Interrogatories in Baptism.*

Two things, indeed, were anciently required of sponsors as their proper duty: 1. To answer, in their names, to all the interrogatories of baptism. This seems to be intimated by

^f Aug. Epist. xxiii. ad Bonifac. (Bened. vol. ii. p. 266. A 5.) Offeruntur quippe parvuli ad percipiendam spiritalem gratiam, non tam ab eis, quorum gestantur manibus, (quamvis et ab ipsis, si et ipsi boni fideles sunt,) quam ab universa societate sanctorum et fidelium. . . . Tota hoc ergo mater ecclesia, quæ in sanctis est, facit: quia tota omnes, tota singulos, parit.

Tertullian ^g, where he speaks of the promises which the sponsors made in baptism, and of the danger there was of their failing to fulfil them, either by their own mortality, or by the untoward disposition of the party. But if any one thinks these promises related only to what the sponsors promised for themselves, and not in the name of the child, he may be informed more clearly from others. Gennadius ^h tells us, "these promises for infants, and such as were incapable of learning, were made after the usual manner of interrogatories in baptism." And St. Austin ⁱ more particularly acquaints us with the form then used, which was, "Doth this child believe in God? Doth he turn to God?" which is the same as renouncing the devil, and making a covenant with Christ. In other places ^j, he tells us more expressly, "that the sponsors answered for them, that they renounced the devil, his pomps, and his works." And disputing against the Pelagians, he proves, by this argument, that children were under the power of Satan, and the guilt of original sin, and needed pardon; "because, if a Pelagian himself brought a child to baptism, he must answer for him ^k, because he could not answer for himself, that he renounced the devil, that he turned to God; and that, among other things,

^g Tertul. de Bapt. c. xviii. (Oberthür, vol. ii. p. 55.) Quid enim necesse est, sponsores etiam periculo ingeri? Quia et ipsi, per mortalitatem, destituere promissiones suas possint, et proventu malæ indolis falli.

^h Gennad. de Eccles. Dogmat. c. lii. (apud Aug. tom. iii. opp. p. 204, edit. Basil. 1569.) Si vero parvuli sunt, vel hebetes, qui doctrinam non capiant, respondeant pro illis, qui eos offerunt, juxta morem baptizandi.

ⁱ Aug. Epist. xxiii. ad Bonifac. (Bened. vol. ii. p. 266. G.) Interrogamus eos a quibus offeruntur, et dicimus, Credit in Deum? de illa ætate, quæ utrum sit Deus, ignorat: respondent, 'Credit;' et ad cetera sic respondent singula, quæ quærentur. . . . mihi sine dubitatione respondet, quod 'credat in Deum, et quod se convertat ad Deum.'

^j Ibid. Serm. cxvi. de Tempore. (Bened. vol. v. app. p. 441.) Fidejussores pro ipsis respondent, quod abrenuntient diabolo, pompis et operibus ejus.

^k Ibid. de Peccator. Meritis, lib. i. c. xxxiv. (Bened. vol. x. p. 35.) Vellem, aliquis istorum, qui contraria sapiunt, mihi baptizandum parvulum adferret. . . . Ipse certe mihi fuerat responsurus pro eodem parvulo quem gestaret, quia pro se ille respondere non posset. Quomodo ergo dicturus erat eum renuntiare diabolo, cujus in eo nihil esset? Quomodo converti ad Deum, a quo non esset aversus? Credere, inter cetera, remissionem peccatorum, quæ illi nulla tribueretur? Ego quidem si contra hæc eum sentire existimarem, nec ad sacramenta cum parvulo intrare permetterem.

he believed the remission of sins : all which would only be fallaciously said, if children had no concern in them. And he professes he would not admit any child to baptism, whose sponsors, he had reason to believe, did not make these promises and responses sincerely for him.” Of the form and practice, then, there is no dispute : only it seemed a great difficulty to Bishop Boniface, and, as such, he proposed it to St. Austin¹, “ How it could be said, with truth, that a child believed, or renounced the devil, or turned to God, who had no thought or apprehension of these things ; or if any, yet secret and unknown to us ? If any one should ask us concerning a child, ‘ whether he would prove chaste, or a thief, when he became a man ? ’ we should, doubtless, in that case, answer, ‘ We know not.’ Or, if the question was, ‘ whether a child, in his infancy, thought good or evil ? ’ we should make the same answer, ‘ We know not.’ Since, therefore, no one would promise either for his future morals, or his present thoughts, how is it that when parents present their children as sponsors in baptism, they answer and say, ‘ The children do those things which that age does not so much as think of ; as, that they believe in God, and are turned unto him,’ ” &c. To this, St. Austin answers, “ that the child is only said to believe, because he receives the sacrament of faith and conversion, which entitles him to the name of a believer. For the sacraments^m, because of the resemblance between them

¹ Aug. Epist. xxiii. ad Bonifac. (Bened. vol. ii. p. 266.) Si constituam ante te parvulum, et interrogem, utrum, quum creverit, futurus sit castus, vel fur non sit futurus,—sine dubio respondebis, Nescio. Et utrum in eadem parvula ætate constitutus, cogitet aliquid boni vel mali,—dices, Nescio. Si itaque de moribus ejus futuris nihil audes certi promittere et de ejus præsentis cogitatione ; quid est illud, quod quando ad baptismum offeruntur, pro eis parentes, tamquam fidedictores, respondent, et dicunt illos facere, quod illa ætas cogitare non potest,—aut si potest, occultum est ? Interrogamus enim eos, a quibus offeruntur, et dicimus, Credit in Deum ? de illa ætate, quæ, utrum sit Deus, ignoret ; respondent, ‘ Credit ; ’ et ad cetera sic respondent singula, quæ quærentur. Unde miror parentes in istis rebus tam fidenter pro parvulo respondere, ut dicant, ‘ eum tanta bona facere, quæ ad horam qua baptizatur, baptizator interrogat,’ tamen eadem hora si subjiciam, ‘ Erit castus qui baptizatur, aut non erit fur,’ nescio utrum audeat dicere aliquis, ‘ Aliud horum erit, aut non erit : ’ sicut mihi sine dubitatione respondet, quod credat in Deum, et quod se convertat ad Deum.

^m Ibid. (p. 267. E 7.) Nonne semel immolatus est Christus in se ipso, et tamen in sacramento, non solum per omnes Paschæ solemnitates, sed omni die

and the things represented by them, do carry the name of the things represented. Christ was but once offered in himself; and yet he is offered not only on the annual solemnity of the Passover, but every day for the people; and no one tells a lie, that says, 'He is offered.' As, therefore, the sacrament of Christ's body, after a certain manner, is called his body, and the sacrament of his blood is called his blood; so the sacrament of faith is faith. And, upon this account, when it is answered, 'that an infant believes, who has not yet any knowledge or habit of faith,' the meaning of the answer is, 'that he has faith because of the sacrament of faith, and is converted to God because of the sacrament of conversion;' for these answers appertain to the celebration of the sacrament." So that, according to St. Austin, when an infant is said to have faith, the meaning is only that he receives the sacrament of faith; which faith he is bound to embrace, when he comes to understand it. In the meantime, he is called a believer, because he receives the sacrament of faith, and is entered into the covenant of God by his sponsors, who supply that part for him which he cannot perform in his own person. This was the first duty of sponsors toward children.

SECT. V.—*And to be Guardians of their Spiritual Life for the Future.*

The other was, that they were to be guardians of their spiritual life for the future; and to take care, by good admonitions, and good instructions, that they performed their part of the covenant they were now engaged in. St. Austinⁿ makes

populis immolatur; nec utique mentitur, qui interrogatus eum responderit immolari? Si enim sacramento quandam similitudinem earum rerum, quarum sacramenta sunt, non haberent, omnino sacramenta non essent. Ex hac autem similitudine plerumque etiam ipsarum rerum nomina accipiunt. Sicut ergo secundum quemdam modum sacramentum corporis Christi, corpus Christi est, sacramentum sanguinis Christi, sanguis Christi est; ita sacramentum fidei fides est. Ac per hoc quum respondetur parvulus credere, qui fidei nondum habet effectum, respondetur, fidem habere propter fidei sacramentum, et convertere se ad Deum propter conversionis sacramentum, quia et ipsa responsio ad celebrationem pertinet sacramenti.

ⁿ Aug. Serm. cxvi. de Tempore. (Bened. vol. v. app. p. 441.) Non solum exemplis, sed etiam verbis, eos ad omne opus bonum admonere debetis: præcipue tamen, qui filios aut filias excipere religioso amore desiderant, et ante-

sponsors themselves concerned in this covenant with God, and, therefore, presses it as a duty upon them, that they should not only by their examples, but by their words and instructions, teach them the great duties of chastity, humility, sobriety, and peace, forasmuch as they had answered in their stead, that they renounced the devil, his pomps, and his works. And in another place^o, he more particularly specifies their obligations, that “they should admonish them to live chastely, and preserve their virginity to marriage; to refrain their tongues from evil-speaking and perjury; not to accustom their mouths to filthy and lascivious songs; not to be proud nor envious; nor to retain anger nor hatred in their hearts; nor to observe divination or soothsaying; nor to hang phylacteries, or diabolical characters, upon their own bodies, or their relations; to keep and hold the Catholic faith; to frequent the church; to hear the Scriptures read with attention; to entertain strangers, and wash their feet, according to what was said to them in baptism; to live peaceably; to be peacemakers among disagreeing brethren; and to honour the priests and their parents with the love of sincere charity.” These were such things as they had promised for children in baptism; and therefore they were bound, by compact with God, to use their utmost endeavours to engage their spiritual pupils to perform them.

quam baptizentur, et posteaquam baptizati fuerint, de castitate, de humilitate, de sobrietate, vel pace, eos admonere vel docere non desinant, et agnoscant se fidejussores esse ipsorum. Pro ipsis enim respondent, quod abrenuntient diabolo, pompis, et operibus ejus.

^o Aug. Serm. clxiii. de Tempore. (Bened. vol. v. app. p. 293.) Hoc admoneo, ut quoties paschalis solemnitas venit, quicumque viri, quæcumque mulieres, de sacro fonte filios spiritaliter exceperunt, cognoscant se pro ipsis fidejussores apud Deum exstitisse; et ideo semper illis sollicitudinem veræ caritatis impendant. Admoneant, ut castitatem custodiant, virginitatem usque ad nuptias servent, a maledicto vel perjurio linguam refrenent, cantica turpia vel luxuriosa ex ore non proferant, non superbiant, non invidiant, iracundiam vel odium in corde non teneant, auguria non observent: phylacteria vel characteres diabolicos nec sibi nec suis aliquando suspendant; præcantatores velut ministros diaboli fugiant, fidem Catholicam teneant, ad ecclesiam frequentius currant, contempta verbositate lectiones divinas attentis auribus audiant, peregrinos excipiant, et secundum quod ipsis in baptismo dictum est, hospitum pedes lavent; pacem et ipsi teneant, et discordes ad concordiam revocare contendunt, sacerdotibus et parentibus honorem amore veræ caritatis impendant.

SECT. VI.—*A Second Sort of Sponsors for such Adult Persons as could not answer for themselves.*

Another sort of sponsors were such as were appointed to make answers for such persons as, by reason of some infirmity, could not answer for themselves. I have observed before, that such adult persons as were suddenly struck speechless, or seized with a frenzy, by the violence of a distemper, might yet be baptized, if any of their friends could testify that they had, beforehand, desired baptism; and, in this case, the same friends became sponsors for them, making the very same answers for them as they did for children. This we learn from Cyril of Alexandria, who assures us, “that when men were seized with extremity of sickness ^p, and it was thought proper, upon that account, to baptize them, there were some appointed to make both the renunciations and confessions in their name.” And so it is in the account which Fulgentius ^q gives of the African negro, who, just before his baptism, fell sick of a fever, which bereaved him of his senses, and made him speechless. He was baptized for all this, having his sponsors to answer in his name, as if it had been for an infant. So that all those canons which ^r speak of baptizing dumb persons in cases of extremity, though they do not expressly require sponsors for them, yet are to be understood as intending them, according to the usual practice of the Church. And if the party happened to recover after such a baptism, it was the sponsor’s duty, not only to acquaint him, as a witness, with what was done for him, but also as a guardian of his behaviour, to induce him to make good the promises which he, in his name, had made for him. For this was the indispensable duty of sureties in all cases whatsoever.

^p Cyril. Alex. in Comment. in Joan. xi. 26. (tom. iv. p. 683.) Ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν ἐσχάτῃ νόσῳ κατειλημμένων, μελλόντων τε διὰ τοῦτο βαπτίζεσθαι, καὶ ἀποτάττονται τινες καὶ συντάττονται, τὴν οἰκίαν, ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀγάπης, κιχρῶντες φωνὴν τοῖς νόσῳ πεπεδημένοις.

^q Fulgent. de Bapt. Æthiopis, c. vii. (Bibl. Max. P. vol. ix. p. 176.) Factum est, ut confessionem tempore præterito redditam, quia non potuit in hora baptismi reddere propter infirmitatem corporis, adjutorio fraternæ redderet caritatis. — Vid. Gennad. de Eccles. Dogmat. c. lii. citat. supra sub lit. (h).

^r See chap. v. sect. ii.

SECT. VII.—*The Third Sort of Sponsors for all Adult Persons in general.*

The third sort of sponsors were for such sort of adult persons as were able to answer for themselves ; for these also had their sponsors, and no persons anciently were baptized without them. These are spoken of, not only by Dionysius^s, and the author of the Apostolical Constitutions^t, but by many other more unquestionable writers. Victor Uticensis tells us^u of one Muritta, a deacon, who was sponsor for Elpidiphorus at Carthage. And Palladius^x says, “ Evagrius Ponticus performed the same office for Rufinus, the great statesman, and *præfectus-prætorio* under Arcadius.” St. Austin often mentions them ; but then he also acquaints us, “ that it was no part of their office to make responses for their pupils in baptism, as it was in the case of infants and sick persons, who could not answer for themselves ; for, though the Church accepted it^y in the case of infants, by reason of their disability, yet she would not allow adult persons to answer by proxy, who were able to answer for themselves, there being something of natural reason in that saying in the gospel, ‘ He is of age ; let him speak for himself.’ ” The most rustic

^s Dionys. Eccles. Hierarch. c. ii. (Venet. vol. i. p. 168.) ‘Ο τούτων ἀγαπήσας τῶν ὄντως ὑπερκοσμίων τὴν ἱερὰν μετουσίαν, ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τινὰ τῶν μεμνημένων, πείθει μὲν αὐτὸν ἡγήσασθαι αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν ἱεράρχην ὁδοῦ· αὐτὸς δὲ ὀλικῶς ἐπακολουθήσειν ἐπαγγέλλεται τοῖς παραδοθησομένοις, καὶ ἀξιοῖ τῆς τε προσαγωγῆς αὐτοῦ, καὶ συμπάσης τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ ἐξῆς ζωῆς τὴν ἐπιστάσιαν ἀναδέξασθαι. Τὸν δὲ, τῆς μὲν ἐκείνου σωτηρίας ἱερῶς ἐρῶντα, πρὸς ἃ τὸ τοῦ πράγματος ὕψος ἀντιμετροῦντα τὸ ἀνθρώπινον, φρίκη μὲν ἄφνω καὶ ἀμηχανία περιῦσταται· τελευτῶν δὲ ὁμῶς, ποιήσῃ τὸ αἰτηθὲν ἀγαθοειδῶς ὡμολόγησε, καὶ παραλαβὼν αὐτὸν ἄγει πρὸς τὸν τῆς ἱεραρχίας ἐπὶ ὄντιμον.

^t Constitut. Apostol. lib. iii. c. xvi. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 322. D 6.) Τὸν μὲν ἄνδρα ὑποδέχεσθω ὁ διάκονος· τὴν δὲ γυναῖκα, ἡ διάκονος.

^u Vict. de Persecut. Vandal. lib. iii. (Bibl. Patr. tom. vii. p. 613.) Hic dudum fuerat apud nos in ecclesia Fausti baptizatus, quem venerabilis Muritta diaconus de alveo fontis susceperat generatum.

^x Pallad. Histor. Lausiac. c. xii. (Bibl. Patr. Gr.-Lat. tom. ii. p. 915.) ‘Αποδέχεται τὸν ‘Ρουφῖνον ὁ ἅγιος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀχράντου βαπτίσματος.

^y Aug. de Bapt. lib. iv. c. xxiv. (Bened. vol. ix. p. 141. A 5.) Cum alii pro infantibus respondent, ut impleatur erga eos celebratio sacramenti, valet utique ad eorum consecrationem, qui ipsi respondere non possunt. At si pro eo qui respondere potest, alius respondeat, non itidem valet.

capacities and meanest understandings, even in the weaker sex, would not ordinarily excuse them from doing this in their own persons; unless, as Gennadius^z says, “they were so heavy and dull, as not to be capable of learning, in which condition their sponsors were required to answer for them as for little children, from whom they differed so little in understanding.”

SECT. VIII.—*Whose Duty was not to answer in their Names, but only to admonish and instruct them before and after Baptism.*

But in ordinary cases, this was no office of the sponsors, when men were in a capacity to answer for themselves. Their only business was to be curators and guardians of their spiritual life: to which purpose, it was incumbent on them to take care of their instruction in morals, as well before as after baptism. Upon this account, the deaconesses were usually employed in the private instruction of women, to teach them how to make their responses in baptism. And this was one qualification required in deaconesses, by some ancient canons^a, that they should be persons of such good understanding, as to be able to instruct the ignorant and rustic women how to make their responses to the interrogatories which the minister should put to them in baptism; and how to order their conversation afterward, as has been observed in another place^b.

SECT. IX.—*This Office chiefly imposed upon Deacons and Deaconesses.*

And by some ancient rules, this office was chiefly imposed upon deaconesses to be sponsors for women, as the deacons were obliged to be for men. For so the author of the Apostoli-

^z Gennad. de Eccles. Dogmat. c. lii. Si vero parvuli sunt vel hebetes, qui doctrinam non capiunt, respondeant pro illis, qui eos offerunt juxta morem baptizandi.

^a Conc. Carth. IV. c. xii. Viduæ vel sanctimoniales, quæ ad ministerium baptizandarum mulierum eliguntur, tam instructæ sint ad officium, ut possint apto et sano sermone docere imperitas et rusticas mulieres, tempore quo baptizandæ sunt, qualiter baptizatori interrogatæ respondeant, et qualiter, accepto baptismo, vivant.

^b Book ii. c. xxii. sect. ix.

cal Constitutions seems to represent it, when he orders^c a deacon to be susceptor for a man, and a deaconess for a woman, in baptism. And we find the sacred virgins often mentioned as concerned in this office. St. Austin, as we heard before, speaks of them^d as presenting exposed children to baptism, though they had no children of their own, nor intended to have any. And in the Life of Epiphanius^e, we read, “that as one Lucian was his godfather in baptism, so Bernice, a sacred virgin, was godmother to his sister.” Whence it appears, that at first the sacred virgins and monastics were thought as proper persons as any, to take this weighty office upon them, though afterward, in the French Church, by a canon^f of the Council of Auxerre, monks are prohibited from being sponsors in baptism. And so the prohibition stands in the Romish Church to this day.

SECT. X.—*What Persons prohibited from being Sponsors.*

But, anciently, there was no prohibition of any sorts of men from performing this charitable office, save only of such as unqualified themselves, by going contrary to the rules of the Christian religion. Fathers, as we heard before, were frequently sponsors for their own children: and I know of no prohibition of this before the time of Charles the Great, when the Council of Mentz^g made a decree against it, forbidding fathers to be susceptors to their own sons or daughters at the

^c Constitut. Apostol. lib. iii. c. xvi. Vid. cit. sub lit. anteced. (t).

^d Aug. Epist. xxiii. ad Bonifac. (Bened. vol. ii. p. 266. D 7.) Aliquando, quos crudeliter parentes exposuerunt, nutriendos a quibuslibet, nonnumquam a sacris virginibus colliguntur, et ab eis offeruntur ad baptismum. Quæ certe proprios filios non habuerunt ullos, nec habere disponunt.

^e Vit. Epiphan. n. viii. (Colon. 1682. vol. ii. p. 324.) Μετὰ τὴν ἀπόλυσιν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου εἰσῆλθεν ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ἐν τῷ φωτιστηρίῳ· καὶ ἐκέλευσεν εἰσελθεῖν Ἐπιφάνιον καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀδελφὴν, καὶ Λουκιανὸν μετ’ αὐτῶν, ὃς καὶ πατὴρ αὐτῷ ἐγενήθη ἐπὶ τοῦ ἁγίου φωτίσματος. . . . Μετὰ δὲ τὰς ξ’ ἡμέρας ἔλαβεν Ἐπιφάνιος Λουκιανὸν καὶ Βερνίκην τὴν ἁγίαν παρθένον, ἣτις ἐγένετο μήτηρ τῆς ἀδελφῆς Ἐπιφανίου, καὶ εἰσήνεγκεν αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ.

^f Conc. Antissiodor. can. xxv. Non licet abbati filium de baptismo suscipere; nec monachis commatres habere.

^g Conc. Mogunt. an. 1313, can. lv. Nullus proprium filium vel filiam de fonte baptismatis suscipiat.

font in baptism. Anciently, also, presbyters and deacons were allowed to be sponsors, though this is also now prohibited in some provincial Councils of the Romish Church by Cardinal Borromæo^h, in the last age. But the only persons whom the ancients excluded from this office were, catechumens, energumens, heretics, and penitents; that is, persons who either were yet never in full communion with the Church, as being themselves unbaptized; or else such as had forfeited the privileges of their baptism and Church-communion by their errors, or crimes, or incapacity to assist others, who need assistance themselves. And by some canonsⁱ, persons who were never confirmed were excluded from being sponsors, both in baptism and confirmation.

SECT. XI.—*But One Sponsor required, and that a Man for a Man, and a Woman for a Woman.*

From what has been said, the reader will easily observe that, anciently, no more but one sponsor was required, and that was a man for a man, and a woman for a woman; for we never read of more than one, in all the accounts of the ancients, and one of the same sex for adult persons. In the case of infants, there was no regard had to the difference of sex; for a virgin might be sponsor for a man-child, and a father for his own children, whether they were male or female: and one sponsor was sufficient in any case. Some rules forbid more than one, either in baptism or confirmation; as that decree of Leo^k, cited by Gratian, which says, “No more than one, whether man or woman, shall be admitted as surety for a child in baptism; and the like to be observed in confirmation.” Which rule was renewed and confirmed by the Council of Metz^l, but upon a reason which is something peculiar; for they conclude,

^h Borrom. Synod. Diœces. ii. decret. xviii.

ⁱ Conc. Mogunt. ap. Gratian. de Consecrat. distinct. iv. c. cii. In baptisate, vel chrismate, non potest alium suscipere in filiolum, qui non est ipse vel baptizatus vel confirmatus.

^k Gratian. de Consecrat. distinct. iv. c. ci. Non plures ad suscipiendum de baptismo infantem accedant quam unus, sive vir sive mulier. In confirmatione quoque, id ipsum fiat.

^l Conc. Metens. c. xii. cit. a Vicecom.

“that because there is but one God, one faith, one baptism, therefore an infant ought only to have one sponsor, whether man or woman, at his baptism.” Which I mention, not for the excellency of the reason, but only to show what conformity it bears to the ancient practice.

SECT. XII.—*When first it became a Law that Sponsors might not marry a Spiritual Relation.*

Some, perhaps, will here be desirous to know the original of that practice in the Romish Church, which is the occasion of so many dispensations in matrimonial causes, arising from the prohibition of sponsors, or godfathers, marrying within the forbidden degrees of spiritual relation. Now, that which seems to have given the first tendency towards this, was a law of Justinian, still extant in the Code ; wherein he forbids^m “any man to marry a woman, whether she be a slave or free, for whom he had been godfather in baptism when she was a child ; because nothing does induce a more paternal affection, or juster prohibition of marriage, than this tie, by which their souls are, in a divine manner, united together.” Now, this law extended no further than to prohibit marriage in this immediate relation. And it could not affect very many, whilst parents were commonly sponsors for their own children, and the sacred virgins, or the deaconesses, or the clergy, for others ; and men were sponsors for men, and women for women. But, afterwards this was improved a little further ; for the Council of Trulloⁿ forbids the godfather not only to marry the infant, but the mother of the infant, for whom he

^m Justin. Cod. lib. v. tit. iv. de Nuptiis, leg. xxvi. Ea persona omnimodo ad nuptias venire prohibenda, quam aliquis, sive alumna sit, sive non, a sacrosancto suscepit baptismate, quum nihil aliud sic inducere potest paternam affectionem et justam nuptiarum prohibitionem, quam hujusmodi nexus, per quem, Deo mediante, animæ eorum copulatæ sunt.

ⁿ Conc. Trull. can. liii. (Labbe, vol. vi. p. 1167.) Ἐπειδὴ μείζων ἢ κατὰ πνεῦμα οἰκειότης τῆς τῶν σωμάτων συναφείας· ἔγνωμεν δὲ ἐν τισι τόποις τινὰς ἐκ τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ σωτηριώδους βαπτίσματος παῖδας ἀναδεχομένους, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ταῖς ἐκείνων μητέρας χηρευούσαις γαμικὸν συναλλάσσοντας συνοικέσιον· ὀρίζομεν ἀπὸ τοῦ παρόντος μηδὲν τοιοῦτο πραχθῆναι· εἰ δὲ τινες μετὰ τὸν παρόντα φωραθεῖεν τοῦτο ποιοῦντες, προτοτύπως μὲν οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἀφιστάσθωσαν τοῦ παρανόμου τούτου συνοικεσίου· ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τοῖς τῶν πορνεύόντων ἐπιτιμίαις ὑποβληθήτωσαν.

answers ; and orders them that have done so, first to be separated, then to do the penance of fornicators. This prohibition was extended to more degrees in the following ages ; and grew so extravagant, that the Council of Trent thought it a matter worthy of their reformation ; though still, by their rules, this spiritual relation^o was extended to more degrees than either the laws of Justinian, or the Canons of Trullo, had prohibited. For they forbid marriage not only between the sponsors and their children, but also between the sponsors themselves ; and the father and mother of the baptized is not to marry a sponsor ; nor may the baptizer marry the baptized, nor the father or mother of the baptized ; because of the spiritual relation that is contracted between them. But they forbid above two sponsors to appear for a child ; and if more than two appear, they are not bound by this law of spiritual relation, though the canon law^p had determined otherwise in former ages. Yet, after all their regulations about this matter, there remain a thousand difficulties to exercise the pens of the Roman casuists, which the reader that is curious, may find referred to by Soteallus and Barbosa^q, in their Declarations and Remissions on the Council of Trent.

SECT. XIII.—*Why the Names of the Sponsors ordered to be registered in the Books of the Church.*

There is one thing, indeed, ordered by that council, which

^o Conc. Trident. Sess. xxiv. de Reformat. Matrimon. c. ii. Docet experientia, propter multitudinem prohibitionum, multoties in casibus prohibitis ignoranter contrahi matrimonia, in quibus vel non sine magno peccato perseveratur, vel ea non sine magno scandalo dirimuntur. Volens itaque sancta synodus huic incommodo providere, et a cognationis spiritualis impedimento incipiens, statuit, ut unus tantum, sive vir, sive mulier, juxta sacrorum canonum instituta, vel ad summum unus et una, baptizatum de baptismo suscipiant : inter quos ac baptizatum ipsum, et illius patrem et matrem, nec non inter baptizantem et baptizatum, baptizatque patrem ac matrem, tantum spiritualis cognatio contrahatur. . . . Quod si alii ultra designatos baptizatum tetigerint, cognationem spiritualem nullo pacto contrahant, constitutionibus, in contrarium facientibus, non obstantibus.

^p Sext. Decretal. lib. iv. tit. iii. (legend. sine dubio, tit. xi.) de Cognat. Spirit. c. iii. Si plures accesserint, spiritualis cognatio inde contrahitur, etc. (Not. In edit. Colon. 1717, 4to, quæ ad manus mihi est, hæc citata verba non invenio.—*Grischov.*)

^q Can. Conc. Trident. cum Remissionibus Barbosa, Colon. 1621.

was anciently of good use, though not for the purpose for which they appointed it: that is, that not only the names of the baptized, but also the names of the sponsors, should be registered in the books of the Church. The Council of Trent^r orders it, only that men might know what persons were forbidden to marry by this spiritual relation; but, anciently, it had a much better use, that the Church might know who were sponsors; and that they might be put in mind of their duty, by being entered upon record, which was a standing memorial of their obligations. This custom we find mentioned in the author under the name of Dionysius, where he describes the ceremony of admitting catechumens, together with their sponsors. The bishop first explains to the catechumen the laws and rules of a divine life and conversation, and then asks him, Whether he purposes so to live? Which when he has promised, he lays his hand upon his head, and orders the priests to register^s both the man and his sponsor. Afterward he speaks of reciting their names out of these registers, when men were presented by their sponsors immediately to be baptized. And thus much of the use of sponsors in the primitive Church.

CHAPTER IX.

OF THE UNCTION AND THE SIGN OF THE CROSS IN BAPTISM.

SECT. I.—*Of the first Original of Unction in Baptism.*

WE find in some of the ancient ritualists, but not in all, mention made of an unction preceding baptism, and used by way

^r Conc. Trident. l. c. Parochus antequam ad baptismum conferendum accedat, diligenter ab iis, ad quos spectabit, sciscitetur, quem vel quos elegerint, ut baptizatum de sacro fonte suscipiant: et eum vel eos tantum ad illum suscipiendum admittat, et in libro eorum nomina describat; doceatque eos, quam cognationem contraxerint, ne ignorantia ulla excusari valeant.

^s Dionys. de Hierarch. Eccles. c. ii. (Venet. vol. i. p. 168.) 'Ιεράρχης μαρτύρεται μὲν αὐτῷ τὴν ὀφειλομένην ὀλικὴν γενέσθαι προσέλευσιν, ὥς παντελείῳ καὶ ἀμώμῳ ὄντι Θεῷ καὶ τὴν ἔνθεον αὐτῷ πολιτείαν ὑφηγησάμενος, καὶ προσερωτήσας, Εἰ οὕτω πολιτεύσαιο μετὰ τὴν ὁμολογίαν, ἐπιτίθῃσιν αὐτοῦ τῇ κεφαλῇ τὴν χεῖρα καὶ σφραγισάμενος, ἀπογράψασθαι κελεύει τοῖς ἱερεῦσι τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὸν ἀνάδοχον.

of preparation for it. They who first describe it, speak of it as used either immediately after the confession of faith, as the author^a of the Constitutions; or else between the renunciation and the confession, as Cyril of Jerusalem^b describes it; but there is no mention of this unction, either in Justin Martyr or Tertullian. For though Tertullian speaks of an unction among the ceremonies of baptism, yet, as Daillé^c

^a Constitut. Apostol. lib. vii. c. xli. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 445.) Μετὰ τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν ταύτην, κατ' ἀκολουθίαν ἔρχεται εἰς τὴν τοῦ ἐλαίου χρίσιν.

^b Cyril. Catech. Mystag. ii. nn. iii. iv. (Paris. 1640. p. 231.) Εἶτα ἀποδυθέντες ἐλαίῳ ἡλείφεσθε ἐπορκιστῶ, ἀπ' ἁκρῶν τριχῶν κορυφῆς ἕως τῶν κάτω, καὶ κοινωνοὶ ἐγένεσθε τῆς καλλιελαίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.—(p. 232. B.) Μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τὴν ἁγίαν τοῦ θεοῦ βαπτίσματος ἐχειραγωγεῖσθε κολυμβήθραν, ὡς ὁ Χριστὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ ἐπὶ τὸ προκείμενον μνῆμα· καὶ ἠρωτᾷτο ἕκαστος, εἰ πιστεύει εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος· καὶ ὡμολογήσατε τὴν σωτήριον ὁμολογίαν, καὶ κατεδύετε τρίτον εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ πάλιν ἀνεδύετε, κ. τ. λ.

^c Dall. de Confirmat. lib. ii. c. xi. (Genev. 1659. p. 181.) Sunt apud hunc (auctorem Constitutionum) quæ nusquam in superiorum temporum monumentis deprehendimus, nonnulla; quale illud est, quod baptizandi oleo unguuntur, antequam tingantur; quodque tincti, non oleo, sed μύρω, id est, unguento, chrismantur; quorum neutrum hactenus in ullo vetustiorum observavimus. Nam ubi hic noster de diaconissarum ministerio agit, id in primis tradit, quum mulieres baptizantur, diaconum earum modo frontem linere sancto oleo; tum diaconissam eas perungere. Deinde totum baptismi ordinem sequenti capite (lib. iii. c. xv.) enarrans, Σὺ μὲν οὖν, inquit, ὦ ἐπίσκοπε, ἐκείνῳ τῷ τύπῳ χρίσεις τὴν κεφαλὴν τῶν βαπτιζομένων εἴτε ἀνδρῶν εἴτε γυναικῶν τῷ ἁγίῳ ἐλαίῳ εἰς τύπον τοῦ πνευματικοῦ βαπτίσματος· ἔπειτα ἢ σὺ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, ἢ ὑπὸ σε πρεσβύτερος, τὴν ἱερὰν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς εἰπὼν καὶ ἐπονομάσας ἐπὶ κλησιν Πατρὸς, καὶ Υἱοῦ, καὶ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, βαπτίσεις αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ ὕδατι· καὶ τὸν μὲν ἄνδρα ὑποδεχέσθω ὁ διάκονος· τὴν δὲ γυναῖκα ἡ διάκονος, &c. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ὁ ἐπίσκοπος χρίετω τοὺς βαπτισθέντας τῷ μύρῳ. Hæc ille: in quibus duas, ut dixi, vides unctiones; priorem ex oleo ante tinctionem sive lotionem; posteriorem post lotionem, ἐκ τοῦ μύρου, ex unguento. Atqui unam hactenus audiveramus, eamque post tinctionem, et quidem, ut videtur, ex simplici oleo: certe nusquam in ea describenda, τοῦ μύρου, id est, unguenti ex pluribus compositi, occurrit mentio. Fac memineris Tertulliani, qui totum baptismi ritum accuratissime descripsit. Nihil præter ista apud eum occurrit. Ergo circa hæc tempora, id est, paullo post quarti sæculi initia, facta videtur illa mutatio, nempe ut quum primum ex oleo simplici inungerentur, de sacro lavacro egressi: tum oleo balsamum addi placuerit ex Mosaico typo; quod hujusmodi unguentum significandæ regiæ ac sacerdotali dignitati (in quam per baptismum inaugurantur credentes) aptius quam simplex oleum videretur. Pax Constantini principatu, una cum magnis opibus, facile Christianis hujusmodi consilia exornandæ suorum initiationis suggessit. Sed et priorem ex oleo unctionem, tametsi hac ex balsamo de novo instituta, retinere tamen placuit;

rightly observes, "it was not this unction preceding baptism, but the unction which followed after it in confirmation, accompanied with imposition of hands; which belongs to another subject." For it is plain, from Tertullian, that neither of these were given before baptism: but when men^d were come out of the water, then they were anointed with the holy unction, and had imposition of hands, in order to receive the Holy Ghost. Whence I think Daillé's conjecture very just and reasonable, that the unction, preceding baptism, is of later date, and was not as yet adopted among the ceremonies of baptism, in the time of Tertullian.

SECT. II.—*Of the Difference betwixt this and Chrism in Confirmation.*

But the writers of the following ages speak distinctly of two unctions, the one before, the other after, baptism: which they describe by different names and different ceremonies, to distinguish them one from the other. The first they commonly call *χρίσιν μυστικοῦ ἐλαίου*, 'the unction of the mystical oil;' and the other, *χρίσιν μύρου*, or *χρίσμα*, 'the unction of chrism.' They both agree in this, that the bishop only consecrated them, whether for the use of baptism or confirmation. The author of the Constitutions gives us a form of consecration to be used by the bishop in sanctifying oil for this unction before baptism, where he prays^e to God, "that he would sanctify the oil in the name of the Lord Jesus, and grant it spiritual grace, and efficacious power, that it might be subservient to the remission of sins, and the preparation of men to make their profession in baptism; that such as were

ut aliquid baptismo dignitatis etiam ipsa conferret. Itaque in baptismi anteriora submota est, ut tinctioni præiret, et ad eam pararet; loco vero, quo ipsa prius fuerat, tinctionem nova exciperet ex unguento nobiliori unctio, etc.

^d Tertul. de Bapt. c. vii. (Oberthür, vol. ii. p. 45.) Exinde egressi de lavacro perungimur benedicta unctione de pristina disciplina, qua ungi oleo de cornu in sacerdotium solebant.

^e Constitut. Apostol. lib. vii. c. xliii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 439.) Ἐπικαλεῖται . . . Θεὸν . . . ἵνα ἀγιάσῃ τὸ ἐλαίον τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, καὶ δώσῃ χάριν πνευματικὴν, καὶ δύναμιν ἐνεργητικὴν, ἅφεσιν τε ἁμαρτιῶν, καὶ προπαρασκευὴν ὁμολογίας βαπτίσματος· ὥστε τὸν χριόμενον ἀπολυθέντα πάσης ἀσεβείας, ἄξιον γενέσθαι τῆς μνήσεως κατ' ἐντολὴν τοῦ μονογενοῦς.

anointed therewith, being freed from all impiety, might become worthy of the initiation, according to the command of his only-begotten Son." And this power of consecration is reserved to the bishop in all the canons of the ancient councils; of which more when we come to speak of confirmation. In the meantime, I observe, 1. That these two went by different names. The author of the Constitutions calls the first^f mystical oil; and the other, mystical chrism; and has a distinct form of consecration for each of them. And the same distinction in name is observed by Cyril of Jerusalem^g, and the authors under the name of Justin Martyr^h and Dionysiusⁱ. 2. They differed in the time of administering them. For the one was given before the party went into the water; the other, after he came out of it again. Which is clear from all the forementioned authors, and from St. Ambrose, who speaks of an unction with oil^k before baptism. As also the author of the Recognitions, under the name of Clemens Romanus^l, who tells persons that were to be baptized, that they were first to

^f Constitut. Apostol. lib. vii. c. xliii. inscriptio sic habet: Περὶ χρίσματος τοῦ μυστικοῦ ἐλαίου εὐχαριστία. — Id. c. xliv. in inscriptione: Περὶ τοῦ μυστικοῦ μύρου εὐχαριστία.

^g Cyril. Catech. Mystag. ii. n. iii. (Paris. 1640. p. 231.) Ἐἴτα ἀποδυθέντες ἐλαίῳ ἡλείφεσθε ἐπορκιστῶ, κ. τ. λ. — Catech. iii. n. ii. (p. 235.) Ὑμεῖς δὲ μύρῳ ἐχρίσθητε, κοινωνοὶ καὶ μέτοχοι τοῦ Χριστοῦ γενόμενοι. — N. iii. (p. 235. C 7.) "Ὡς περὶ ὁ Χριστὸς μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα, καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐπιφοίτησιν, ἐξελθὼν κατηγωνίσαστο τὸν ἀντικείμενον· οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς, μετὰ τὸ ἱερὸν βάπτισμα καὶ τὸ μυστικὸν χρίσμα, ἐνδεδυμένοι τὴν πανοπλίαν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, ἵστασθε πρὸς τὴν ἀντικειμένην δύναμιν.

^h Justin. Resp. ad Orthod. quæst. cxxxvii. (Bened. 1742. p. 501. E 7.) Χριόμεθα δὲ τῷ παλαιῷ ἐλαίῳ, ἵνα γινώμεθα χριστοί· τῷ δὲ μύρῳ, πρὸς ἀνάμνησιν τοῦ τὴν χρίσιν τοῦ μύρου ἐνταφιασμὸν ἑαυτοῦ λογιζομένου.

ⁱ Dionys. de Eccles. Hierarch. c. ii. (Venet. vol. i. p. 169. C.) Καὶ τελείως ἀπαμφιεσάντων αὐτὸν τῶν λειτουργῶν, κομίζουσι μὲν οἱ ἱερεῖς τὸ τῆς χρίσεως ἅγιον ἔλαιον· ὁ δὲ τῆς χρίσεως διὰ τοῦ σφραγίσαι τρεῖς ἀπαρξάμενος, τὸ λοιπὸν τοῖς ἱερεῦσι τὸν ἄνδρα χρίσαι πανσώμως παραδούς, αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὴν μητέρα τῆς νιοθεσίας ἔρχεται, κ. τ. λ. . . . ἐπὶ τὸν ἱεράρχην αὐθις ἀπάγουσιν· ὁ δὲ τῷ θεουργικωτάτῳ μύρῳ τὸν ἄνδρα σφραγισάμενος, μέτοχον ἀποφαίνει λοιπὸν τῆς ἱεροτελεστικωτάτης εὐχαριστίας.

^k Ambros. de Sacrament. lib. i. c. ii. (Bened. fol. vol. ii. p. 350.) Venimus ad fontem . . . unctus es, quasi athleta Christi, quasi luctamen hujus sæculi luctaturus.

^l Clem. Recognit. lib. iii. c. lxvii. (Coteler. vol. i. p. 531.) Baptizabitur autem unusquisque vestrum . . . perunctus primo oleo per orationem sanctificato.

be anointed with oil, consecrated by prayer. 3. They differed in respect to the persons concerned in the administration. For the unction before baptism was often done by a deacon or deaconess; but that after baptism, by the bishop himself most commonly, or at least by a presbyter, in some peculiar cases. The author of the Constitutions^m, speaking particularly of the unction before the baptism of women, orders the bishop to anoint the head; the deacon, the forehead; and the deaconesses, the other parts of the body. But the chrism, after baptism, is reserved to the bishop only. Lastly, they differed in the design and intent of them; for the design of the first unction was to prepare them for baptism, and enter them on their combat with Satan, as champions of Christ: the other was to consummate and confirm their baptism with the consignation or seal of the Holy Spirit.

SECT. III.—*The Design of this Unction, and the Reason of it.*

Cyril of Jerusalem, speaking of the former unctionⁿ, says, “Men were anointed from head to foot with this exorcised or consecrated oil; and this made them partakers of the true olive-tree, Jesus Christ; for they, being cut out of a wild olive-tree, and ingrafted into a good olive-tree, were made partakers of the fatness of the good olive-tree. Therefore, that exorcised oil was a symbol of their partaking of the fatness of

^m Constitut. Apostol. lib. iii. c. xv. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 322. B 6.) Πρῶτον μὲν ἐν τῷ φωτίζεσθαι γυναικας, ὁ διάκονος χρίσει μὲν μόνον τὸ μέτωπον αὐτῶν τῷ ἁγίῳ ἐλαίῳ, καὶ μετ’ αὐτὸν ἡ διάκονος ἀλείψει αὐτάς. . . . ἀλλὰ μόνον ἐν τῇ χειροθεσίᾳ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτῆς χρίσει ὁ ἐπίσκοπος. — Ibid. c. xvi. Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ὁ ἐπίσκοπος χρίετω τοὺς βαπτισθέντας τῷ μύρῳ.

ⁿ Cyril. Catech. Mystag. ii. n. iii. (Paris. 1640. p. 231. D 5.) Εἴτα ἀποδυνθέντες, ἐλαίῳ ἠλείφεσθε ἐπορκιστῶ, ἀπ’ ἄκρων τριχῶν κορυφῆς ἕως τῶν κάτω· καὶ κοινωνοὶ ἐγίνεσθε τῆς καλλιελαιίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· ἐκκοπέντες γὰρ ἐκ τῆς ἀγριελαιίου, ἐνεκεντρίζεσθε εἰς τὴν καλλιέλαιον, καὶ κοινωνοὶ ἐγίνεσθε τῆς πιότητος τῆς ἀληθινῆς ἐλαίας· τὸ οὖν ἐπορκιστὸν ἔλαιον σύμβολον ἦν τῆς κοινωνίας τῆς πιότητος Χριστοῦ, φυγαδευτήριον τυγχάνον παντὸς ἵχνους ἀντικειμένης ἐνεργείας· ὥσπερ γὰρ τὰ ἐμφυσήματα τῶν ἁγίων, καὶ ἡ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπικλήσις, ὥσπερ σφοδρότατη φλόξ καίει καὶ ἐκδιώκει δαίμονας· οὕτω καὶ τὸ ἐπορκιστὸν τοῦτο ἔλαιον, ἐπικλήσει Θεοῦ καὶ εὐχῇ, δύναμιν τηλικαύτην λαμβάνει, ὥστε οὐ μόνον καῖον τὰ ἵχνη τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων ἀποκαθαίρει, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάσας ἀοράτους τοῦ πονηροῦ ἐκδιώκει τὰς δυνάμεις.

Christ, and an indication of the flight and destruction of the adverse power. For, as the insufflations of the saints, and invocation of God, do, like a vehement flame, burn and put the devils to flight; so this exorcised oil, by prayer and invocation of God, gains such a power, as not only to burn up and purge away the footsteps of sin, but also to repel all the powers of the invisible wicked one, the devil." St. Ambrose compares it to the anointing of wrestlers before they enter their combat. "Thou camest to the font," says he, "and wast anointed^o as a champion of Christ, to fight the fight of this world." The author, under the name of Justin Martyr, distinguishing between the two unctions, says, "Men^p were first anointed with the ancient oil, that they might be christs, that is, the anointed of God: but they were anointed with the precious ointment (after baptism) in remembrance of him, who reputed the anointing of himself with ointment to be his burial." The author of the Constitutions, likewise, uses the same distinction: "Thou shalt, first of all^q, anoint him with the holy oil; then baptize him with water; and afterward sign him with the ointment: that the anointing with oil may be the participation of the Holy Spirit; and the water may be the symbol of death; and the signing with ointment may be the seal of the compact made with God. But if there be neither oil nor ointment, water is sufficient both for the unction, and the seal, and the confession of him with whom we die." So that this was only a ceremony of baptism, which might be omitted without any detriment to the substance, or essential part of it. To these may be added the testimony of St. Chrysostom, who says^r, "Every person, before he was baptized, was anointed, as

^o Ambros. de Sacram. lib. i. c. ii. (Bened. fol. vol. ii. p. 350.) Venimus ad fontem; ingressus es . . . unctus es, quasi athleta Christi, quasi luctamen hujus sæculi luctaturus.

^p Justin. Resp. ad Orthodox. quæst. cxxxvii. Vid. sub anteced. lit. (h).

^q Constitut. Apostol. lib. vii. c. xxii. p. 425. B. Χρίσεις δὲ πρῶτον ἐλαίῳ ἁγίῳ· ἔπειτα βαπτίσεις ὕδατι καὶ τελευταῖον σφραγίσεις μύρῳ· ἵνα τὸ μὲν χρίσμα μετοχὴ ᾗ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ σύμβολον τοῦ θανάτου, τὸ δὲ μύρον σφραγὶς τῶν συνθηκῶν· εἰ δὲ μήτε ἔλαιον ᾗ, μήτε μύρον, ἀρκεῖ ὕδωρ καὶ πρὸς χρίσιν, καὶ πρὸς σφραγίδα, καὶ πρὸς ὁμολογίαν τοῦ ἀποθανόντος, ἥτοι συναποθνήσκοντος.

^r Chrysostom. Hom. vi. in Coloss. (Benedict. 1734. vol. xi. p. 369. E.) Ἀλεί-

wrestlers entering the field : and this, not as the high-priest was anointed of old, only on the head, or right hand, or ear, but all over his body ; because he came not only to be taught, but to exercise himself in a fight or combat." This is the account which they give of this unction preceding baptism.

SECT. IV.—*The Sign of the Cross frequently used in the Ceremonies of Baptism. First, in the Admission of Catechumens ; and, secondly, in the time of Exorcism.*

Dr. Cave^s and some other learned persons are of opinion, that, together with this unction, the sign of the cross was made upon the forehead of the party baptized. And there is no question to be made of this, though all the passages they refer to, are not direct proofs of it. For many of them relate to the sign of the cross in the unction of chrism, or confirmation : as, particularly, that unction which Tertullian speaks of, and the sign of the cross accompanying it, was not the unction before baptism, but that which followed in confirmation ; as I have showed before, in the beginning of this chapter. Therefore, to understand this matter exactly, we are to distinguish, at least, four several times, when the sign of the cross was used, during the preparation or consummation of the ceremonies of baptism. 1. At the admission of catechumens to the state of catechumenship, and the general name of Christians. 2. In the time of exorcism and imposition of hands, while they were passing through the several stages of catechumens. 3. At the time of this unction before baptism. 4. And, lastly, at the unction of confirmation, which was then, usually, the conclusion of baptism, both in adult persons and infants. And many of the passages which speak of the sign of the cross in baptism, do plainly relate to this, as an appendage of baptism, and closely joined to it, as the last ceremony and consummation of it. The use of this sign in the

φεται, ὥσπερ οἱ ἀθληταὶ εἰς στάδιον ἐμβησόμενοι . . . οὐ καθάπερ οἱ ἱερεῖς τὸ παλαιὸν τὴν κεφαλὴν μόνον, μᾶλλον δὲ μειζόνως· ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ τὴν κεφαλὴν, τὸ οὖν τὸ δεξιὸν, τὴν χεῖρα, ἵνα καὶ πρὸς ὑπακοὴν καὶ ἔργα ἀγαθὰ αὐτὸν διεγείρῃ· οὗτος δὲ τὸ πᾶν· οὐ γὰρ διδαχθησόμενος ἔρχεται μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀθλήσων καὶ γυμνασθησόμενος.

^s Cave, Prim. Christ. part i. c. x.

admission of catechumens, I have already showed before from St. Austin, and the Life of Porphyrius, bishop of Gaza^t. And the frequent use of it in exorcism, and imposition of hands and prayer, during their catechetical exercises, has also been noted^u, in treating of them, from St. Austin and St. Ambrose; which I, therefore, need not here repeat.

SECT. V.—*Thirdly, in this Unction before Baptism.*

The third use of it was in this unction before baptism. For so the author under the name of Dionysius, describing the ceremony of anointing the party, before the consecration of the water, says, “The bishop begins the unction by thrice signing him^x with the sign of the cross, and then commits him to the priests to be anointed all over the body, whilst he goes and consecrates the water in the font.” St. Austin also may be understood of this, when he says^y, “The cross is always joined with baptism.” And by this we may interpret several passages in Cyprian, as where he tells Demetrian, “They only escape who are born again, and signed with the sign of Christ. And what that sign is, and on what part of the body it is made, the Lord signified in another place, saying, ‘Go through the midst of Jerusalem, and set a mark upon their foreheads^z.’” And so again, in his book of the Unity of the Church^a speaking of Uzziah’s leprosy, he says, “He was marked

^t Book x. chap. i. sect. iii.

^u Book x. chap. ii. sect. viii.

^x Dionys. Hierarch. Eccles. (Venet. 1755. vol. i. p. 169. C.) ‘Ο δὲ τρις χρίσεως διὰ τοῦ σφραγίσαι τρις ἀπαρξάμενος, τὸ λοιπὸν τοῖς ἱερεῦσι τὸν ἄνδρα χρίσαι πανσώμως παραδούς, αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὴν μητέρα τῆς υἱοθεσίας ἔρχεται, καὶ τὸ ταύτης ὕδωρ ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἐπικλήσει καθαγιάσας καὶ τρισὶ τοῦ παναγεστάτου μύρου σταυροειδέσι χύσει τελειώσας, κ. τ. λ.

^y Aug. Serm. ci. de Tempore, p. 290. Semper cruci baptismum jungitur.

^z Cyprian. ad Demetrian. (Fell, Oxon. 1682. p. 194.) (p. 134, Amstelod. 1700.) Evadere eos solos posse, qui renati et signo Christi signati fuerint, alio in loco Deus loquitur; quando, ad vastationem mundi et interitum generis humani angelos suos mittens, gravius in ultimo comminatur, dicens, ‘Vadite et cædite, et nolite parcere oculis vestris. Nolite misereri senioris, aut juvenis, et virginis: et parvulos et mulieres interficite, ut perdeantur. Omnem autem, super quem signum scriptum est, ne tetigeritis.’ Quod autem sit hoc signum, et qua in corporis parte positum, manifestat alio in loco Deus, dicens: ‘Transi per mediam Hierusalem, et notabis signum super frontes virorum,’ etc.

^a Ibid. de Unitat. Eccles. p. 116. (p. 84, edit. Amstelod.) Lepre varietate

for his offences against the Lord in that part of his body, where those are signed who obtain his mercy." Which seems plainly to refer to the sign of the cross made in baptism. The author of the Apostolical Constitutions is very express in this matter; for, explaining the meaning of the several parts and ceremonies used in baptism, he says^b, "The water is to represent Christ's burial; the oil, to represent the Holy Ghost; the sign of the cross, to represent the cross; and the ointment or chrism, the confirmation of men's professions." And, not improbably, St. Jerome might refer to this, though his words be not so restrained to this time of unction, when he says, "he was a Christian, born of Christian parents, and carried the banner of the cross^c in his forehead." Some add also those words of Cyprian^d, "Let us guard our foreheads, that we may preserve the sign of God without danger." And those of Pontius^e, in his life, where, speaking of the Christian confessors who were branded by the heathen in the forehead, and sent as slaves into the mines, he says, "they were marked in the forehead a second time;" alluding to the sign of the cross, which, as Christians, they had received before. But these passages do not necessarily relate to baptism, but are only general expressions that may refer to the use of the sign of the cross upon any other occasion: it being usual, in those times, to sign themselves upon the forehead, in the commonest action of their lives, "upon every motion," as Tertullian expresses it^f, "at their

in fronte maculatus est, ea parte corporis notatus, offenso Domino, ubi signantur, qui Dominum promerentur.

^b Constitut. Apostol. lib. iii. c. xvii. Τὸ ὕδωρ ἀντὶ ταφῆς, καὶ τὸ ἔλαιον ἀντὶ Πνεύματος ἁγίου, ἡ σφραγὶς ἀντὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ, τὸ μύρον βεβαίωσις τῆς ὁμολογίας.

^c Hieron. Epist. cxiii. Præfat. in Job. tom. iii. (p. 690. G, edit. Paris. 1643.) Ego Christianus, et de parentibus Christianis natus, et vexillum crucis in mea fronte portans.

^d Cyprian. Epist. l. al. lviii. p. 125. (p. 258, edit. Fell. Amstelod. 1700.) Muniatur frons, ut signum Dei incolume servetur.

^e Pontius, Vit. Cyprian. p. 4. (p. 5.) Quis martyras tantos exhortatione divini sermonis erigeret? quis denique tot confessores, frontium notatarum secunda inscriptione signatos, et ad exemplum martyrii superstites reservatos, incentivo tubæ cœlestis animaret?

^f Tertul. de Coron. Milit. c. iii. Vid. Cyril. Catech. iv. n. x. (Paris. 1640. p. 28.) Μὴ τοίνυν ἐπαισχυνθῶμεν τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ· ἀλλὰ κὰν ἄλλος ἀποκρύπτῃ, σὺ φανερῶς ἐπὶ μετώπῳ σφραγίζου, ἵνα οἱ δαίμονες, τὸ σημεῖον

going out, and coming in; at their going to bath, or to bed, or to meals, or whatever their employment or occasions called them to." Yet thus far it may be argued from them, that they who used it so commonly upon all other occasions, would hardly omit it in this solemn unction of baptism. And, therefore, these allegations may be allowed to be a sort of collateral evidence of the practice.

SECT. VI.—*Fourthly, in the Uction of Confirmation.*

Lastly, it was always used in the unction of confirmation. And that being then an appendage to baptism, what was done in it, was many times said to be done in baptism. And so both the unction and sign of the cross, used in confirmation, are ascribed to baptism; and, upon that account, sometimes mistaken for the former unction and consignation preceding baptism. There was no unction before baptism in the time of Tertullian; but there was one immediately after it, which, together with the imposition of hands, had also the sign of the cross joined with it. And all these were properly ceremonies of confirmation, which came after baptism, and are not to be confounded with the former. Tertullian^g says, "The flesh is washed, that the soul may be cleansed; the flesh is anointed, that the soul may be consecrated; the flesh is signed, that the soul may be guarded: the flesh is overshadowed by imposition of hands, that the soul may be illuminated by the Spirit: the

ιδόντες τὸ βασιλικὸν, μακρὰν φύγῳσι τρέμοντες· ποίει δὲ τοῦτο τὸ σημεῖον, ἐσθίων καὶ πίνων, καθήμενος, κοιταζόμενος, ἐξανιστάμενος, λαλῶν, περιπατῶν, ἀπαξαπλῶς ἐν παντὶ πράγματι.—Id. Catech. xiii. n. xix. (p. 138.) Ἐπὶ μετώπου μετὰ παρρησίας δακτύλοις ἢ σφραγίς, καὶ ἐπὶ πάντων ὁ σταυρὸς γενέσθω· ἐπὶ ἄρτων βιβρωσκομένων, καὶ ἐπὶ ποτηρίων πινομένων, ἐν εἰσόδοις, ἐν ἐξόδοις, πρὸ τοῦ ὕπνου κοιταζομένοις, καὶ διανισταμένοις, ὁδεύουσι, καὶ ἡρεμοῦσι.—Chrysostom. Hom. xxi. ad Popul. Antioch. (Benedict. vol. ii. p. 244. C 5.) Μετὰ τοῦ ῥήματος τούτου καὶ τὸν σταυρὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου διατύπωσον· οὕτω γὰρ οὐ μόνον ἄνθρωπος ἀπαντῶν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ὁ διάβολος βλάψαι τι δυνήσεται, μετὰ τούτων σε ὁρῶν τῶν ὀπλων πανταχοῦ φαινόμενον.

^g Tertul. de Resurrect. c. viii. (Oberthür, vol. ii. p. 537.) Caro abluitur, ut anima emaculetur. Caro ungitur, ut anima consecratur. Caro signatur, ut et anima muniatur. Caro manus impositione adumbratur, ut et anima Spiritu illuminetur. Caro corpore et sanguine Christi vescitur, ut et anima de Deo saginetur.

flesh is fed by the body and blood of Christ, that the soul may receive nourishment, or fatness from God." Here he describes all things in order, as they were done after baptism to the eucharist. There was an unction, and a signing with the sign of the cross, and imposition of hands, and then the eucharist. So that this sign of the cross plainly relates to the unction which came after baptism, and was a usual ceremony of imposition of hands, or confirmation. And thus we are to understand that other passage in Tertullian^h where he says, "The devil apes the ceremonies of the divine sacraments in his idol-mysteries. He baptizes those that believe in him: he promises them expiation of sins in his laver, as now it is in the mysteries of Mithra: he signs his soldiers in the forehead; he celebrates, also, the oblation of bread," &c. Where, most probably, signing in the forehead relates to the sign of the cross in confirmation, which comes between baptism and the eucharist. And so in Pope Leoⁱ, "All that are regenerated in Christ, the sign of the cross makes them kings; and the unction of the Spirit consecrates them priests:" meaning in the same sense as St. Peter says, "All Christians are a royal priesthood." Which privileges are commonly, by the ancients, ascribed to the unction in confirmation; as here by Leo, who makes the sign of the cross an attendant of this unction after baptism. St. Austin's words are a little^k more general; but yet learned men think^l they refer to the sign of the cross in

^h Tertul. de Præscript. c. xl. (Oberth. vol. ii. p. 476.) Diabolus ipsas quoque res sacramentorum divinorum in idolorum mysteriis æmulatur. Tinguunt et ipse quosdam, utique credentes et fideles suos: expiationem delictorum de lavacro repromittit, et sic adhuc initiat [si adhuc memini] Mithræ; signat illic in frontibus milites suos; celebrat et panis oblationem, etc.

ⁱ Leo, Serm. iii. in Anniversario Die suæ Adsumptionis, p. 3. Omnes in Christo regeneratos crucis signum efficit reges; Sancti vero Spiritus unctio consecrat sacerdotes.

^k Aug. Enarrat. Psalm. cxli. p. 671. (p. 1636. tom. viii. opp. edit. Basil. 1569.)

^l Dall. de Confirmat. lib. ii. c. xxiv. (Genev. 1659. p. 294.) Neque hic omittendus est alius quidam Augustini locus, ex quo id ipsum, quod ex Prudentio supra observavimus, discimus; in fronte fieri illo ævo solitam chrismationem. 'Multa sacramenta aliter atque aliter accipimus: quædam, sicut nostis, ore accipimus; quædam per totum corpus accipimus. Quia vero in fronte erubescitur . . . ipsam ignominiam quodammodo [crucem], et quam pagani derident, in loco pudoris nostri constituit.'

confirmation, when he says, "Several sacraments, or sacred rites, are received in different ways: some, you know, are received in the mouth (meaning the eucharist); others in the whole body (meaning baptism), wherein the whole body is washed with water; others in the forehead, as the sign of the cross:" where, because he distinguishes the sign of the cross, as a sacrament, in the large sense of the word, both from baptism and the eucharist, it seems most reasonable to suppose that he intended the use of it in confirmation. Which, therefore, the Greeks often call σφραγίς, 'the sign or seal' of the Holy Ghost^m; and sometimes the sign of the cross is more distinctly called σταυροειδής σφραγίς, 'the sign made in the form of the cross,' which was used not only in baptizing and confirming, but also in the ordination of priests, as I have had occasion elsewhereⁿ to show out of Chrysostom and Dionysius^o, and in the consecration of the waters of baptism; which is the next thing that comes now in order to be considered.

CHAPTER X.

OF THE CONSECRATION OF THE WATER IN BAPTISM.

SECT. I.—*The Consecration of the Water, made by Prayer.*

IMMEDIATELY after the unction, the minister proceeded to consecrate the water; or the bishop, if he were present, consecrated it, while the priests were finishing the unction: for so the author under the name of Dionysius represents it. "While the priests," says he^a, "are finishing the unction, the bishop

^m Conc. General. Constantinop. I. can. vii. (Labbe, vol. ii. p. 951. B 5.) . . . καὶ σφραγιζομένους, ἥτοι χριομένους πρῶτον τῷ ἁγίῳ μύρῳ τό, τε μέτωπον, καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς, καὶ τὰς ῥίνας, καὶ τὸ στόμα, καὶ τὰ ὦτα καὶ σφραγίζοντες αὐτοὺς λέγομεν, Σφραγίς δωρεᾶς Πνεύματος ἁγίου.

ⁿ Book iv. chap. vi. sect. xii.

^o Chrysostom. Hom. lv. in Matth. (Bened. vol. vii. p. 551. B 7.) Κἂν ἀναγεννηθῆναι δέη, σταυρὸς παραγίνεται κἂν τραφῆναι τὴν μυστικὴν ἐκείνην τροφήν, κἂν χειροτονηθῆναι, κἂν ὁτιοῦν ἕτερον ποιῆσαι, πανταχοῦ τοῦτο τῆς νίκης ἡμῖν παρίσταται σύμβολον. — Dionys. de Hierarch. Eccles. c. v. (p. 364, edit. Antverp. 1634.) Ἐκάστῳ αὐτῶν ἡ σταυροειδὴς ἐνσημαίνεται πρὸς τοῦ τελούντος ἐραρχοῦ σφραγίς.

^a Dionys. de Hierarch. Eccles. c. ii. See page 565, note (s).

comes to the mother of adoption [so he calls the font], and by invocation sanctifies the water in it; thrice pouring in some of the holy chrism, in a manner representing the sign of the cross." This invocation, or consecration of the water by prayer, is mentioned by Tertullian: for he says ^b, "The waters are made the sacrament of sanctification by invocation of God. The Spirit immediately descends from heaven; and, resting upon them, sanctifies them by himself; and they, being so sanctified, imbibe the power of sanctifying." And Cyprian ^c declares, "that the water must first be cleansed and sanctified by the priest, that it may have power, by baptism, to wash away the sins of man." And so the whole Council of Carthage ^d, in the time of Cyprian, says, "The water is sanctified, by the prayer of the priest, to wash away all sin." Optatus has respect to this, when, speaking of the name of *Piscis*, Ἰχθὺς, the technical name that was given to Christ, from the several initial letters of his titles, which signifies 'a fish,' he says, "This is the Fish ^e [meaning Christ], which is brought down upon the waters of the font, in baptism, by invocation and prayer." St. Austin often mentions this invocation in his Books of Baptism. "That water ^f is not profane and adulterated, over which the name of God is invoked, though the invocation be made by profane and adulterous men." In another place ^g, he says, "this invocation was used both in consecrating

^b Tertul. de Bapt. c. iv. (Oberth. vol. ii. p. 43.) Aquæ sacramentum sanctificationis consequuntur, invocato Deo. Supervenit enim statim Spiritus de coelis, et aquis superest, sanctificans eas de semetipso, et ita sanctificatæ vim sanctificandi combibunt.

^c Cypr. Epist. lxx. ad Januar. (Oxon. 1682. p. 190.) (p. 300, edit. Fell. Amstelod. 1700.) Oportet mundari et sanctificari aquam prius a sacerdote, ut possit baptismo suo peccata hominis qui baptizatur, abluere.

^d Conc. Carth. ap. Cypr. p. 233. (p. 161, n. xviii. edit. Amstelod.) Aqua, sacerdotis prece sanctificata, abluit delicta.

^e Optat. lib. iii. cont. Parmen. (p. 52, Paris. 1702.) Hic est Piscis, qui in baptismo per invocationem fontalibus undis inseritur.

^f Aug. de Bapt. lib. iii. c. x. (Bened. vol. ix. p. 113.) Non est *aqua profana et adultera*, super quam nomen Dei invocatur, etiamsi a profanis et adulteris invocetur.

^g Ibid. lib. v. c. xx. (p. 154. G 8.) Si ergo ad hoc valet, quod dictum est in Evangelio, 'Deus peccatorem non audit,' ut per peccatorem sacramenta non celebrentur; quomodo exaudit homicidam deprecantem, vel super aquam bap-

the waters of baptism, and the oil for unction, and the eucharist, and in giving imposition of hands. And the sacraments were valid, thought it were a sinner or a murderer that made the prayer." And again, answering the objections of the Cyprianists and Donatists, "that a wicked man, or a heretic, could not sanctify the water," he says^h, "Every error in the prayer of consecration does not destroy the essence of baptism, but only the want of those evangelical words [he means the form of baptizing in the name of the Trinity, instituted by Christ], without which baptism cannot be consecrated. For, otherwise, if the water were not consecrated, when the minister uses any erroneous words in his prayer, then not only wicked men, but many good brethren in the Church, did not sanctify the water. For many of their prayers were daily corrected, when they were rehearsed to those that were more learned; and many errors were found in them contrary to the Catholic faith. Yet they that were baptized, when such prayers were said over the water, were not baptized again." This is a plain evidence that prayers of consecration were then generally used both among the Catholics and Donatists; though neither the use nor the orthodoxy of them were reckoned to be of absolute necessity to the very being and essence of baptism, which might consist with great errors in such prayers. It were easy to add many other testimonies of this ancient practice out ofⁱ St. Am-

tismi, velsuper oleum, vel super Eucharistiam, vel super capita eorum quibus manus imponitur? Quæ omnia tamen et fiunt et valent etiam per homicidas.

^h Aug. de Bapt. lib. vi. c. xxv. (p. 175. F 8.) Si non sanctificatur aqua, quum aliqua erroris verba per imperitiam precator effundit, multi non solum mali, sed etiam boni fratres, in ipsa ecclesia, non sanctificant aquam. Multorum enim preces emendantur quotidie, si doctioribus fuerint recitatæ, et multa in eis reperiuntur contra Catholicam fidem. Numquid si manifestetur aliquos baptizatos quum illæ preces dictæ super aquam fuissent, jubebuntur denuo baptizari? Quid ita? Quia plerumque precis vitium superat precantis affectus: et quia certa illa Evangelica verba, sine quibus non potest baptismus consecrari, tantum valent, ut per illa sic evacuentur, quæcumque in prece vitiosa contra regulam fidei dicuntur, quemadmodum dæmonium Christi nomine excluditur.

ⁱ Ambros. de Sacram. lib. i. c. v. (Paris. 1836. vol. iv. p. 121.) Ubi primum ingreditur sacerdos, exorcismum facit, secundum super creaturam aquæ, invocationem postea et precem defert, ut sanctificetur fons, et adsit præsentia Trinitatis æternæ.—Id. de Spirit. Sanct. lib. i. c. vii. (vol. iv. p. 43.) Habes in evangelio, 'Quia Angelus secundum tempus descendebat in natatoriam, et

brose, St. Basil^k, Theodoret^l, Gregory Nyssen^m, Theophilus of Alexandriaⁿ, Victor Uticensis^o, and some others. But I think it needless to repeat them all at length, after such full evidence from St. Austin and those writers that came before him.

SECT. II.—*An ancient Form of this Prayer in the Constitutions.*

Only I shall add two or three observations more concerning this prayer of consecration, which may give a little light to some usages, and some doctrines also, of the ancient Church. And first we find, that as they had forms for other parts of the divine service, so they had a form for this consecration-prayer, or benediction of the water, though that not so universal and invariable as the form of baptism. For St. Austin observes, that the one never varied; but the other was subject to some errors and corruptions, by reason of the liberty that was left to human composures. One of these forms is now extant in the Constitutions, which it will not be amiss here to insert. It goes under the title of ‘thanksgiving over the mystical water.’ The priest blesses^p and praises the Lord God Almighty,

movebatur aqua, et qui prior descendisset in natatoriam, sanus fiebat.’ Quid in hoc typo angelus, nisi descensionem Sancti Spiritus, nuntiabat, quæ nostris futura temporibus aquas, sacerdotalibus invocata precibus, consecraret?

^k Basil. de Spirit. Sanct. c. xxvii. Εὐλογοῦμεν τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦ βαπτίσματος.

^l Theodoret. in 1 Cor. vi. 2. (Sirmond. 8vo. vol. iii. p. 144.) Τῇ ἐπικλήσει τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος ἁγιάζεται τῶν ὑδάτων ἡ φύσις, καὶ χορηγεῖται τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων ἡ ἄφεσις.

^m Nyssen. de Bapt. Christi, (Paris. 1638. vol. iii. p. 371. A 4.) Κατὰ δὲ τὴν ὁμοίαν ἀκολουθίαν τῶν λογισμῶν, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ οὐδὲν ἄλλο τυγχάνον ἢ ὕδωρ, ἀνακαινίζει τὸν ἄνθρωπον εἰς τὴν νοητὴν ἀναγέννησιν, τῆς ἁνωθεν χάριτος εὐλογούσης αὐτό. — Id. advers. eos qui Bapt. differunt, tom. ii. p. 219. B. Λογισάμενος δὲ σωφρόνως, ὅτι πᾶς τόπος τοῦ κοινοῦ δεσπότου καὶ πᾶν ὕδωρ ἐπιτήδειον εἰς τὴν τοῦ βαπτίσματος χρείαν, μόνον ἐὰν εὖρη πίστιν τοῦ λαμβάνοντος, καὶ εὐλογίαν τοῦ ἁγιάζοντος ἱερέως.

ⁿ Theophilus (Ep. Pasch. i. Bibl. Patr. tom. iii. p. 87.—tom. v. p. 846. E, ed. Lugdun. 1677) dicit, Spiritum Sanctum non operari ea, quæ in anima sunt, nec ad irrationabilia pervenire. Quod adferens non recogitat, aquas in baptismo mysticas adventu Sancti Spiritus consecrari.

^o Vict. Utic. de Persecut. Vandal. lib. ii. p. 602. (tom. vii. p. 683, Bibl. Patr. Lugd. 1677.) Pergit comitante officio clericorum ad fontem. Ubi fixis genibus cum ingenti gemitu, pulsans singultibus cælum, crispantem benedixit alveum fontis, et cum completa surrexisset oratione, etc.

^p Constitut. Apostol. lib. vii. c. xlv. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 439.) Περὶ τοῦ μυσ-

the Father of the only-begotten God, giving him thanks, for that he sent his Son to be incarnate for us, that he might save us ; that he took upon him, in his incarnation, to be obedient in all things ; to preach the kingdom of heaven, the remission of sins, and the resurrection of the dead. After this, he adores the only-begotten God ; and for him gives thanks to the Father, that he took upon him to die for all men upon the cross, leaving the baptism of regeneration as a type or symbol of it. He further praises God the Lord of all, that, in the name of Christ and by the Holy Spirit, not rejecting mankind, he showed himself at divers times, in divers providences, towards them ; giving Adam a habitation in a delicious paradise ; then laying upon him a command, in his providence, upon the transgression of which he expelled him in his justice : but, in his goodness, did not wholly cast him off, but disciplined his posterity in divers manners ; for whom, in the end of the world, he sent his Son, to be made man, for the sake of men, and to take upon him all the affections of men, sin only excepted.—After this thanksgiving, the priest is to call upon God, and say, ‘ Look down from heaven, and sanctify this water ; give it grace and power, that he that is baptized therein, according to the command of

τικοῦ ὕδατος εὐχαριστία . . . Εὐλογεῖ καὶ δοξάζει τὸν δεσπότην Θεόν, τὸν παντοκράτορα, τὸν Πατέρα τοῦ μονογενοῦς Θεοῦ, εὐχαριστῶν ὁ ἱερεὺς, ὅτι ἀπέστειλεν ἐνανθρωπῆσαι τὸν Υἱὸν αὐτοῦ δι’ ἡμᾶς, ἵνα ἡμᾶς σώσῃ· ὅτι ἠνέσχετο τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως ὑπήκοον αὐτὸν γενέσθαι ἐν πᾶσι, κηρύττει βασιλείαν οὐρανῶν, ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν. Ἐπὶ τούτοις προσκυνεῖ αὐτὸν τὸν μονογενῆ Θεὸν μετ’ αὐτὸν, καὶ δι’ αὐτὸν εὐχαριστῶν αὐτῷ, τῷ ἀναδέξασθαι αὐτὸν τὸν ὑπὲρ πάντων θάνατον διὰ τοῦ σταυροῦ, οὗ τύπον ἔδωκε τὸ βάπτισμα τῆς παλιγγενεσίας· δοξάζει τε, ὅτι ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ Θεός, ὁ τῶν ὅλων Κύριος, ἐν ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι οὐκ ἀπέρριψε τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος· ἀλλὰ διαφόροις καιροῖς διαφόρους προνοίας ἐποιήσατο· τότε Ἀδὰμ αὐτῷ ἐν παραδείσῳ, πρῶτον μὲν τρυφῆς λόγῳ τὸν παράδεισον οἰκητήριον δούς· ἔπειτα προνοίας λόγῳ ἐντολὴν ποιησάμενος· ἁμαρτόντα δὲ, δικαιοσύνη ἐξώσας· ἀγαθότητι δὲ μὴ ἀπορρίψας εἰς τὸ παντελές, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐξ αὐτοῦ κατὰ διαδοχὴν διαφόρως παιδεύσας· δι’ ὃν ἐπὶ τὸ τέλος τοῦ αἰῶνος ἀπέστειλε τὸν Υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, ἄνθρωπον γενέσθαι δι’ ἀνθρώπους, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἀνθρώπινα πάθη ἀναδέξασθαι χωρὶς ἁμαρτίας· αὐτὸν οὖν καὶ νῦν παρακαλείτω ὁ ἱερεὺς πρὸς τῷ βαπτίσματι· καὶ λεγέτω, ὅτι Κάτιδε ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ἁγίασον τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦτο· ὃς δὲ χάριν καὶ δύναμιν, ὥστε τὸν βαπτιζόμενον, κατ’ ἐντολὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, αὐτῷ συσταυρωθῆναι, καὶ συναποθανεῖν, καὶ συνταφῆναι, καὶ συναναστῆναι εἰς νίθησιν, τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ, τῷ νεκρωθῆναι μὲν τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ, ζῆσαι δὲ τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ.

Christ, may be crucified with him, and die with him, and be buried with him, and rise again with him to that adoption which comes by him ; that, dying unto sin, he may live unto righteousness.” Any one that will compare the form in our liturgy with this ancient form, will find a great resemblance between them, both in the thanksgiving, and the particular prayer of consecration.

SECT. III.—*The Sign of the Cross used in this Consecration.*

Secondly, I observe, that together with this prayer, it was usual to make the sign of the cross also, not as before, upon the person to be baptized, but as a circumstance of the consecration. This we learn not only from Dionysius^a, but from St. Austin^r, who says, “the water of baptism was signed with the cross of Christ.” And St. Chrysostom^s says, “they used it in all their sacred mysteries ; when they were regenerated in baptism ; when they were fed with the mystical food in the eucharist ; when they were ordained : that symbol of victory was always represented in the action, whatever religious matter they were concerned in.” To which we may add the author under the name of St. Austin^t, who runs over all the solemn consecrations of the Church, and tells us, “the symbol of the cross was used in every one ; in catechizing of new converts ; in consecrating the waters of baptism ; in giving imposition of hands in confirmation ; in the dedication of churches and altars ; in consecrating the eucharist ; and in promoting priests and Levites to holy orders.”

^a Dionys. de Hierarch. Eccles. c. ii. (Venet. 1755. vol. i. p. 169.) Τὸ ὕδωρ ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἐπικλήσεσι καθαγιάσας, καὶ τρισὶ τοῦ παναγεστάτου μύρου σταυροειδέσι χύσεσι τελειώσας.

^r Aug. Homil. xxii. ex L. tom. x. p. 175. (p. 478. B, edit. Basil. 1569.) Baptismus, id est, salutis aqua, non est salutis, nisi in Christi nomine consecrata : qui pro nobis sanguinem fudit, cruce ipsius aqua signetur.

^s Chrysost. Hom. liv. (Bened. vol. vii. p. 551. B 6.) Πάντα δι’ αὐτοῦ τελεῖται τὰ καθ’ ἡμᾶς· καὶ ἀναγεννηθῆναι δέη, σταυρὸς παραγίνεται· καὶ τραφῆναι τὴν μυστικὴν ἐκείνην τροφήν· καὶ χειροτονηθῆναι, κ. τ. λ.

^t Aug. Hom. lxxv. de Diversis. Hujus crucis mysterio rudes catechizantur : eodem mysterio fons regenerationis consecratur : ejusdem crucis signo per manus impositionem baptizati dona gratiarum accipiunt. Cum ejusdem crucis caractere basilicæ dedicantur, altaria consecrantur, altaris sacramenta cum interpositione dominicorum verborum conficiuntur : Sacerdotes et Levitæ per hoc idem ad sacros ordines promoventur.

SECT. IV.—*The Effects and Change wrought by this Consecration, the same as in the Bread and Wine in the Eucharist.*

Thirdly, I observe concerning the effects of this consecration, that the very same change was supposed to be wrought by it in the waters of baptism, as by the consecration of bread and wine in the eucharist. For they supposed not only the presence of the Spirit, but also the mystical presence of Christ's blood, to be here after consecration. Julius Firmicus^u speaking of baptism, bids men here seek "for the pure waters, the undefiled fountain, where the blood of Christ, after many spots and defilements, would whiten them by the Holy Ghost." Gregory Nazianzen^x and Basil^y say, upon this account, "that a greater than the temple, a greater than Solomon, a greater than Jonas, is here;" meaning Christ, by his mystical presence and the power of his blood. St. Austin says^z, "Baptism, or the baptismal water, is red, when once it is consecrated by the blood of Christ; and this was prefigured by the waters of the Red Sea." Prosper^a is bold to say, "that in baptism we are dipped in blood; and therefore, martyrs are twice dipped in blood: first, in the blood of Christ, at baptism; and then in their own blood, at martyrdom." St. Jerome^b uses the same bold metaphor, explaining those words of Isaiah, "Wash ye, make ye clean," "Be ye baptized in my blood by the laver of regeneration." And again^c, speaking of the

^u Firmic. de Error. Profan. Relig. c. xxviii. Quære fontes ingenuos, quære puros liquores, ut illic te, post multas maculas, cum Spiritu Sancto Christi sanguis incandidet.

^x Nazianz. Orat. xl. de Bapt. (1630. vol. i. p. 657. B 4.) Ἰδοὺ πλεῖον Σολομῶντος ὧδε, παρὰ τοῖς τελείως λογιζομένοις.

^y Basil. de Bapt. lib. i. c. ii. (Benedict. fol. vol. ii. p. 632. B 2.) Μείζον τοῦ ἱεροῦ ὧδε . . . μείζον τοῦ Σολομῶντος ὧδε· καὶ μείζον τοῦ Ἰωνᾶ ὧδε.

^z Aug. Tract. xi. in Joan. p. 41. (Bened. vol. iii. pt. ii. p. 377. C.) Significabat Mare Rubrum baptismum Christi. Unde rubet baptismus Christi, nisi Christi sanguine consecratus?

^a Prosper, de Promissis, lib. ii. c. ii. (Bened. vol. ii. p. 87.) In cocco bis tincto martyria sancta rutilant: semel baptismo Christi sanguine tinguntur, atque suo effusionis cruore denuo sunt retincti.

^b Hieron. in Iesa. i. 16. (Bened. vol. iii. p. 16.) Lavate vos, purificate vos.] Baptizemini in sanguine meo per lavacrum regenerationis.

^c Id. in Iesa. liii. 7. Hoc testimonium quum legens non intelligeret, inter-

Ethiopian eunuch, he says, "He was baptized in the blood of Christ, about whom he was reading." After the same manner, Cæsarius says ^d, "The soul goes into the living waters, consecrated and made red by the blood of Christ." And Isidore ^e says, "What is the Red Sea, but baptism consecrated in the blood of Christ?" Others tell us, that we are hereby made partakers of the body and blood of Christ, and eat his flesh, according to what is said in St. John's gospel, "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you." Upon which words Fulgentius ^f founds the necessity of baptism: "Forasmuch as it may be perceived, by any considering man, that the flesh of Christ is eaten, and his blood drunk, in the laver of regeneration." Hence Cyril of Alexandria says ^g, "We are partakers of the spiritual Lamb, in baptism;" and Chrysostom ^h, "that we thereby put on Christ; not only his divinity, or only his humanity, that is, his flesh, but both together;" and Nazianzen ⁱ, "that, in baptism, we are anointed and protected by the precious blood of Christ, as Israel was by the blood upon the door-posts in the

pretante Philippo super passione et nomine Salvatoris, intellexit: et statim baptizatus in Agni sanguine, quem legebat, vir meruit appellari, et apostolus gentis Æthiopum missus est.

^d Cæsar. Arelat. Homil. vi. de Paschat. Bibl. Patr. tom. ii. p. 276. Ingre-ditur anima vitales undas velut rubras, sanguine Christi consecratas.

^e Isidor. Hispal. in Exod. xix. Quid Mare Rubrum, nisi baptismum Christi sanguine consecratum?

^f Fulgent. de Bapt. Æthiop. c. xi. (Bibl. Max. Patr. vol. ix. p. 177.) Quis-quis secundum mysterii veritatem considerare poterit, in ipso lavacro sanctæ regenerationis hoc fieri videbit. . . . Quod etiam sanctos patres indubitanter credidisse ac docuisse cognoscimus.

^g Cyril. in Exod. xii. lib. ii. (tom. i. p. 270.) 'Ο εὐνοῦχος ἀνεπυνθάνετο τοῦ Φιλίππου, τῆς περὶ Χριστοῦ προφητείας . . . μέτοχος ἦδη τοῦ νοετοῦ προ-βάτου διὰ τῆς ἐρεύνης ἀνεδεικνύετο· ἡξίου γὰρ εὐθὺς καὶ βαπτίζεσθαι, καὶ δὴ καὶ βεβάπτισται.

^h Chrysostom. Serm. xxvii. de Cruce. (Bened. vol. ii. p. 823. A 9.) "Ἀκουε Παύλου λέγοντος· "Οσοι εἰς Χριστὸν ἐβαπτίσθητε, Χριστὸν ἐνεδώσασθε· Χριστὸν δὲ ὅταν ἀκούσης, μὴ τὸν Θεὸν λογίσῃ μόνον, μηδὲ τὴν ἑνσαρκον οἰκονομίαν μόνην, ἀλλὰ τὸ συναμφότερον.

ⁱ Nazianz. Orat. xl. de Bapt. (Bened. 1778. vol. ii. p. 701. B 3.) Εἰ δὲ προ-καταλάβοις σεαυτὸν τῇ σφραγίδι, καὶ τὸ μέλλον ἀσφαλίσαι τῷ καλλίστῳ τῶν βοηθημάτων καὶ στεῤῥοτάτῳ, σημειωθείς καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα, τῷ χρίσματι καὶ τῷ Πνεύματι, ὡς Ἰσραὴλ πάλαι τῷ νυκτερινῷ καὶ φυλακτικῷ τῶν πρωτοτόκων αἵματι [καὶ χρίσματι] τί σοι συμβήσεται;

night." St. Chrysostom^k says again, "that they that are baptized, put on a royal garment, a purple dipped in the blood of the Lord." Philo-Carpathius says^l, "The spouse of Christ, his Church, receives, in baptism, the seal of Christ, being washed in the fountain of his most holy blood." Optatus^m, as we have heard before, says, "Christ comes down by the invocation, and joins himself to the waters of baptism." Nay, Chrysostomⁿ, in one of his bold rhetorical flights, scruples not to tell a man that is baptized, "that he immediately embraces his Lord in his arms: that he is united to his body; nay, compounded, or consubstantiated with that body which sits above, whither the devil has no access." Some tell us, as Isidore^o, "that the water of baptism is the water that flowed out of Christ's side at his passion." And others, as Laurentius Novariensis^p, "that it is water, mixed with the sacred blood of the Son of God." Others tell us^q, "that the water is transmuted or changed in its nature, by the Holy Ghost, to a sort of divine and ineffable power." So Cyril of Alexandria, who frequently uses the word μεταστοιχείωσις, 'transelementation,' both when he speaks of the water in baptism, and the bread and wine in the eucharist, or of any other changes that are wrought in the mysteries of the Christian religion. Cyril

^k Chrysostom. Hom. lx. ad Illuminandos, tom. i. p. 796. (p. 704, edit. Francof.) "Ὅταν τὸ ἱμάτιον τὸ βασιλικὸν ἀπολάβητε, ὅταν τὴν πορφύραν περιβάλησθε τὴν αἵματι βαφεῖσαν δεσποτικῇ.

^l Philo, in Cantic. iv. 12. Fons signatus 'sponsa' dicitur, quia in baptismate signaculum Jesu Christi accepit, ex ejus sacratissimi sanguinis fonte perlota.

^m Optat. lib. iii. (Paris. 1702. p. 52.) Hic est Piscis, qui in baptismate per invocationem fontalibus undis inseritur, ut quæ aqua fuerat, a pisce etiam piscina vocitetur.

ⁿ Chrysost. Hom. vi. in Coloss. (Benedict. vol. xi. p. 370. C.) Οὐ ξύλον ὄρεος, οὐδὲ πηγὴν, ἀλλὰ αὐτὸν εὐθέως περιλαμβάνεις τὸν δεσπότην, ἀνακεράννυσαι τῷ σώματι, ἀναφύρη τῷ σώματι τῷ ἄνω κειμένῳ, κ. τ. λ.

^o Isidor. de Offic. Eccles. lib. ii. c. xxiv. (Col. 1616. p. 411. D 3.) Aqua est, quæ, tempore passionis, Christi de latere profluxit.

^p Laurent. Novar. Hom. i. de Pœnitentia. (Bibl. Patr. tom. ii. p. 127.) Adsparges me aqua, Filii tui sacro sanguine mixta. . . Abluitur Adam corpore Christi, etc.

^q Cyril. in Joan. iii. 5, p. 147. Διὰ τῆς τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐνεργείας τὸ αἰσθητὸν ὕδωρ πρὸς θείαν τινὰ καὶ ἄρρήτον ἀναστοιχειοῦται δύναμιν. — Vid. Albertinum de Eucharistia, lib. ii. c. ii. p. 418, where he has collected all the passages that speak of this transelementation.

of Jerusalem and Gregory Nyssen have the same observation upon the change that is wrought in the oil, after consecration, which they make to be the same with that of the bread and wine in the eucharist. "Beware," says Cyril^r, "that you take not this ointment to be bare ointment. For as the bread in the eucharist, after the invocation of the Holy Spirit, is not mere bread, but the body of Christ, so this holy ointment, after invocation, is not bare or common ointment, but it is a gift of God, that makes Christ and the Holy Spirit to be present in the action." In like manner, Gregory Nyssen makes the same change to be in the mystical oil, and in the altar itself, and in the ministers by ordination, and in the waters of baptism, as in the bread and wine in the eucharist after consecration. "Do not contemn," says he^s, "the divine laver, nor despise it as a common thing, because of the use of water: for great and wonderful things are wrought by it. This altar, before which we stand, is but common stone in its own nature,

^r Cyril. Catech. Mystag. iii. n. iii. (Paris. 1640. p. 235. A 5.) "Ορα μὴ ὑπονόησης ἐκεῖνο τὸ μύρον ψιλὸν εἶναι· ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ ἄρτος τῆς εὐχαριστίας, μετὰ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, οὐκ ἔτι ἄρτος λιτὸς, ἀλλὰ σῶμα Χριστοῦ· οὕτω τὸ ἅγιον τοῦτο μύρον οὐκ ἔτι ψιλόν, οὐδ' ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις κοινόν, μετ' ἐπίκλησιν, ἀλλὰ Χριστοῦ χάρισμα, καὶ Πνεύματος ἁγίου παρουσία τῆς αὐτοῦ θεότητος ἐνεργητικὸν γινόμενον.

^s Nyssen. de Bapt. Christi. (Paris. 1638. vol. iii. pp. 369, 370.) Μὴ καταφρονήσης τοῦ θείου λουτροῦ, μηδὲ ὡς κοινόν αὐτὸ ἐξευτελίσης, διὰ τὴν χρῆσιν τοῦ ὕδατος· τὸ γὰρ ἐνεργοῦν μέγα, καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνου θαυμαστά γίνεται τὰ τελούμενα· ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον τοῦτο τὸ ἅγιον, ᾧ παρεστήκαμεν, λίθος ἐστὶ κατὰ τὴν φύσιν κοινός, οὐδὲν διαφέρων τῶν ἄλλων πλακῶν, αἱ τοὺς τοίχους ἡμῶν οἰκοδομοῦσι, καὶ καλλωπίζουσι τὰ ἐδάφη· ἐπειδὴν δὲ καθιερώθη τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ θεραπείᾳ, καὶ τὴν εὐλογίαν ἐδέξατο, ἔστι τράπεζα ἁγία, θυσιαστήριον ἄχραντον, οὐκέτι παρὰ πάντων ψηλαφώμενον, ἀλλὰ μόνον τῶν ἱερέων, καὶ τούτων εὐλαβομένων· ὁ ἄρτος πάλιν ἄρτος ἐστὶ τέως κοινός· ἀλλ' ὅταν αὐτὸν τὸ μυστήριον ἱερουργήσῃ, σῶμα Χριστοῦ λέγεται τε καὶ γίνεται· οὕτως τὸ μυστικὸν ἔλαιον, οὕτως ὁ οἶνος, ὀλίγου τινὸς ἄξια ὄντα πρὸ τῆς εὐλογίας· μετὰ τὸν ἁγιασμόν τὸν τοῦ Πνεύματος, ἐκάτερον αὐτῶν ἐνεργεῖ διαφόρως· ἡ αὐτὴ δὲ τοῦ λόγου δύναμις καὶ τὸν ἱερέα ποιεῖ σεμνὸν καὶ τίμιον, τῇ καινότητι τῆς πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς κοινότητος χωριζόμενον· χθὲς γὰρ καὶ πρόωγόν εἰς ὑπάρχων τῶν πολλῶν καὶ τοῦ δήμου ἀθρόου, ἀποδείκνυται καθηγεμῶν, πρόεδρος, διδάσκαλος εὐσεβείας, μυστηρίων λανθανόντων μυσταγωγός· καὶ ταῦτα ποιεῖ, μηδὲν τοῦ σώματος ἢ τῆς μορφῆς ἀμειφθείς· ἀλλ' ὑπάρχων κατὰ τὸ φαινόμενον ἐκεῖνος, ὃς ἦν, ἀοράτῳ τινὶ δυνάμει καὶ χάριτι τὴν ἀόρατον ψυχὴν μεταμορφωθείς πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον

differing nothing from other stones wherewith our walls are built. But, after it is consecrated to the service of God, and has received a benediction, it is a holy table, an immaculate altar; not to be touched by any but the priests, and that with the greatest reverence. The bread also is, at first, but common bread: but when once it is sanctified by the holy mystery, it is made and called the body of Christ. So the mystical oil, and so the wine, though they be things of little value before the benediction, yet, after their sanctification by the Spirit, they both of them work wonders. The same power of the word makes a priest become honourable and venerable, when he is separated from the community of the vulgar by a new benediction. For he who before was only one of the common people, is now immediately made a ruler and president, a teacher of piety, and a minister of the secret mysteries. And all these things he does without any change in his body or shape: for, to all outward appearance, he is the same that he was; but the change is in his invisible soul, by an invisible power and grace." Pope Leo^t goes one step further, and tells us, "that baptism makes a change not only in the water, but in the man that receives it: for, thereby, Christ receives him, and he receives Christ; and he is not the same, after baptism, that he was before; but the body of him that is regenerated is made the flesh of him that was crucified." From all which, it is easy to observe, that, in all these cases, the change which they speak of is not made in the substance of the things, but in the qualities only: the water is not the blood of Christ substantially and really, but only symbolically and mystically: nor is a man changed into the flesh of Christ thereby, any other way than as he is made a living member of his mystical body, participating of that Spirit whereby he rules and governs his Church, as the head of it. So that when the ancients speak of a divine change, or 'transelementation' (for as yet the word 'transubstantiation' was not known) in the bread and wine in the eucharist, they are to be interpreted, as here we do in baptism, of a change in qualities and powers,

^t Leo, Serm. xiv. de Passione, p. 62. Susceptus a Christo, Christumque suscipiens, non idem post lavacrum, qui ante baptismum fuit, sed corpus regenerati fit caro Crucifixi.

and not in substance: since all the words they used to express that change, are equally verified in the waters of baptism after consecration.

SECT. V.—*How far these Prayers of Consecration reckoned necessary in the Church.*

I must further observe, to avoid all mistakes, that when the ancients speak of an absolute necessity of invocation of God to consecrate the waters of baptism, they then do not mean any new forms of prayer instituted by the Church, but the very form of baptism instituted by Christ, which they rightly suppose to be an invocation of the Holy Trinity: in which sense, no baptism can be duly performed without an invocation to consecrate the water, though it may be performed in times of exigency, without the additional^u prayers of the Church.

CHAPTER XI.

OF THE DIFFERENT WAYS OF BAPTIZING, BY IMMERSION, TRINE IMMERSION, AND ASPERSION IN THE CASE OF CLINIC BAPTISM.

SECT. I.—*All Persons anciently divested, in order to be Baptized.*

HAVING thus far considered all things preceding the very act of baptizing, we are now to inquire into the manner how that was usually performed; whether by dipping and total immersion; or by aspersion and sprinkling, which is now the more general practice of the Church. There is no question made, but that either of these ways does fully answer the primary end of baptism—which is to purify the soul, and not the body,

^u Vid. Albertin. de Eucharistia, lib. i. c. v. p. 18. Respexisse veteres ad hæc evangelica verba, 'in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti,' dubium esse non potest, quum nullæ sint aliæ preces ad aquæ consecrationem a Domino institutæ. Ad hanc generalem implicitamque invocationem, in primæva evangelii simplicitate, aquæ sanctificationi hominisque sanctificationi abunde sufficientem, amplificarunt et dilatarunt, preces primo concipientes pro aquæ sanctificatione, deinde etiam alias pro baptismum suscipiente, cum variis additamentis exoticorum rituum.

by washing away sin. But yet the ancients thought, that immersion, or burying under water, did more lively represent the death, and burial, and resurrection of Christ, as well as our own death unto sin, and rising again to righteousness. And the divesting, or unclothing, the person to be baptized, did also represent the putting off the body of sin, in order to put on the new man, which is created in righteousness and true holiness. For which reason, they observed the way of baptizing all persons naked and divested, by a total immersion under water ; except in some particular cases of great exigency, wherein they allowed of sprinkling ; as in the case of clinic baptism, or where there was a scarcity of water. That persons were divested, in order to be baptized, is evident, partly, from what has been said before of the unction, which was administered not only on the head, but on the other parts of the body ; partly, from express testimonies which affirm it : and also from the manner of baptizing by immersion, which necessarily presupposes it. St. Chrysostom, speaking of baptism, says, “ Men were as naked as Adam in Paradise, but with this difference ; Adam was naked^a because he had sinned ; but, in baptism, a man was naked, that he might be freed from sin. The one was divested of his glory, which he once had ; but the other put off the old man, which he did as easily as his clothes.” St. Ambrose^b says, “ Men came as naked to the font as they came into the world.” And thence he draws an argument, by way of allusion, to rich men, telling them, “ how absurd it was, that a man who was born naked of his mother, and received naked by the Church, should think of going rich into heaven.” Cyril of Jerusalem takes notice of this circumstance^c, together with the reasons of it, when

^a Chrysostom. Hom. vi. in Coloss. (Benedict. vol. xi. p. 369. D 5.) Ἐνταῦθα γυμνότης, καὶ ἐκεί γυμνότης· ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖ μὲν ἀμαρτήσας ἐγυμνώθη, ἐπειδὴ ἡμαρτεν· ἐνταῦθα δὲ, ἵνα ἀπαλλαγῇ, γυμνοῦται· ἀπεδύσατο τότε τὴν δόξαν, ἣν εἶχεν ἐκεῖνος· ἀποδύεται νῦν τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον οὗτος, καὶ πρὶν ἢ ἐπιβῆναι, οὕτως εὐκόλως ἀποδύεται, ὥσπερ τὰ ἱμάτια.

^b Ambros. Serm. xx. (tom. v. p. 153, edit. Paris. 1642.) Nudi in sæculo nascimur, nudi etiam accedimus ad lavacrum : ut nudi quoque et expediti ad cæli januam properemus. Quam autem incongruum et absurdum est, ut quem nudum mater genuit, nudum suscipit ecclesia, dives intrare velit cœlum !

^c Cyril. Catech. Mystag. ii. n. ii. p. 284. (Paris. 1640. p. 231. B 6.) Εὐθὺς

he thus addresses himself to persons newly baptized: "As soon as ye came into the inner part of the baptistery, ye put off your clothes; which is an emblem of putting off the old man with his deeds. And, being thus divested, ye stood naked, imitating Christ, that was naked upon the cross; who, by his nakedness, spoiled principalities and powers, publicly triumphing over them on the cross. Oh, wonderful thing! Ye were naked in the sight of men, and were not ashamed: in this truly imitating the first man, Adam, who was naked in Paradise, and was not ashamed." So also Amphilochius, in the Life of St. Basil^d, speaking of his baptism, says, "he arose with fear, and put off his clothes, and with them the old man." And Zeno Veronensis^e, reminding persons of their baptism, bids them rejoice; "for they went down naked into the font; but rose again, clothed in a white and heavenly garment; which if they did not defile, they might obtain the kingdom of heaven." Athanasius, in his invectives against the Arians, among other things, lays this to their charge; "that, by their persuasions, the Jews and Gentiles broke into the baptistery; and there offered such abuses to the catechumens, as they stood with their naked bodies^f, as was shameful and

οὖν εἰσελθόντες (εἰς τὸν ἐσώτερον οἶκον) ἀπεδύεσθε τὸν χιτῶνα· καὶ τοῦτο ἦν εἰκὼν τοῦ τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀποδύεσθαι σὺν ταῖς πράξεσιν· ἀποδυθέντες γυμνοὶ ἦτε, μιμούμενοι καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τὸν ἐπὶ σταυροῦ γυμνωθέντα Χριστὸν, καὶ τῇ γυμνότητι ἀπεκδυσάμενον τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ἐξουσίας, καὶ μετὰ παρρησίας ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ θριαμβεύσαντα· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τοῖς μέλεσι τοῖς ὑμετέροις ἐνεφώλεον αἱ ἀντικείμεναι δυνάμεις, οὐκ ἔτι φορεῖν ὑμῖν ἔξεστι τὸν παλαιὸν ἐκεῖνον χιτῶνα· οὐ τοῦτον πάντως λέγω τὸν αἰσθητὸν, ἀλλὰ τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον, τὸν φθειρόμενον ἐν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις τῆς ἀπάτης· ὃν μὴ εἶη πάλιν ἐνδύσασθαι τῇ ἁπαξ τοῦτον ἀποδυσαμένην ψυχῇ, ἀλλὰ λέγειν κατὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ ᾠσμάτι τῶν ᾠσμάτων τοῦ Χριστοῦ νύμφην, Ἐξεδυσάμην τὸν χιτῶνά μου, πῶς ἐνδύσομαι αὐτόν; Ὡ θαυμασίον πρᾶγματος· γυμνοὶ ἦτε ἐν ὄψεσι πάντων, καὶ οὐκ ὥσχύνεσθε. Ἀληθῶς γὰρ μίμημα ἐφέρετε πρωτοπλάστου Ἀδὰμ, ὃς ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ γυμνὸς ἦν, καὶ οὐκ ὥσχύνετο.

^d Amphiloch. Vit. Basil. c. v. Καὶ δὲ ἀναστὰς ἐντρομος, ἐκδιδύσκεται τὰ ἱμάτια, καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς ἀληθῶς τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον.

^e Zeno, Invitat. ii. ad Bapt. (Bibl. Max. Patr. tom. ii. p. 442.) Gaudete: in fontem quidem nudi demergitis, sed æthereæ veste vestiti, mox candidati inde surgitis; quam qui non polluerit, regna cœlestia possidebit.

^f Athan. Epist. ad Orthodox. (Colon. 1686. vol. i. p. 946. A 4.) (p. 113. F, edit. Paris. 1698.) Εἰς δὲ τὸ ἅγιον βαπτιστήριον, (φεῦ τῆς τόλμης) οἱ Κυριοκτόνοι Ἰουδαῖοι, καὶ οἱ ἄθεοι ἐθνικοὶ ἀφυλάκτως εἰσερχόμενοι, τοιαῦτα

abominable to relate." And a like complaint is brought against Peter, bishop of Apamea, in the Council of Constantinople, under Mennas^g; that he cast out the *neophytes*, or 'persons newly baptized,' out of the baptistery, when they were without clothes and shoes. All which are manifest proofs that persons were baptized naked, either in imitation of Adam in Paradise, or our Saviour upon the cross; or to signify their putting off the body of sin, and the old man with his deeds.

SECT. II.—*No Exception in this Case either with respect to Women or Children.*

And this practice was then so general, that we find no exception made, either with respect to the tenderness of infants, or the bashfulness of the female sex; save only where the case of sickness or disability made it necessary to vary from the usual custom. St. Chrysostom is an undeniable evidence in this matter; for, writing about the barbarous proceedings of his enemies against him on the great Sabbath, or Saturday before Easter, among other tragical things which they committed, he reports this for one, that "they came armed into the church; and, by violence, expelled the clergy, killing many in the baptistery; with which the women^h, who at that time were divested, in order to be baptized, were put into such a terror, that they fled away naked; and could not stay, in the fright, to put on such clothes as the modesty of their sex required." And that so it was in the case of children also, is evident from the custom of immersion, which continued in the Church for many ages: as also from what is particularly said of infants in the *Ordo*

αἰσχροῖα διεπράττοντο καὶ ἐλάλουν γυμνοῦντες ἑαυτοὺς, ὥς αἰσχύνεσθαι καὶ λέγειν αὐτά. — (Not. Hic nihil de nudis catechumenis.—Grischov.)

^g Conc. Constant. act. i. Quum essemus in baptisterio neophytarum, sine tunicis et calceamentis existentium, venit episcopus noster Petrus, et ejecit nos foras una cum neophytis, etc.

^h Chrysostom. Epist. i. ad Innocent. (Bened. vol. iii. p. 518. E 1.) Ἀθρόον στρατιωτῶν πλῆθος αὐτῷ τῷ μεγάλῳ σαββάτῳ, πρὸς ἐσπέραν λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας ἐπειγομένης, ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἐπεισελθόντες, τὸν κλῆρον ἅπαντα τὸν σὺν ἡμῖν πρὸς βίαν ἐξέβαλον, καὶ ὅπλοις τὸ βῆμα περιεστοίχιστο· καὶ γυναῖκες τῶν εὐκτηρίων οἰκῶν, πρὸς τὸ βάπτισμα ἀποδυσάμεναι κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν καιρὸν, γυμναὶ ἔφυγον ὑπὸ τοῦ φόβου τῆς χαλεπῆς ταύτης ἐφόδου· οὐδὲ τὴν πρέπουσαν γυναιξὶν εὐσχημοσύνην συγχωρούμεναι περιθέσθαι.

*Romanus*ⁱ, and Gregory's *Sacramentarium*; that, "after the priest has baptized them with three immersions, they are to be clothed, and brought to the bishops to be confirmed." For this clothing supposes that they were unclothed before, in order to be baptized.

SECT. III.—*Yet Matters were so ordered, as that no Indecency might be committed.*

But yet that no indecency might appear in so sacred an action, two things were especially provided for by ancient rules. 1. That men and women were baptized apart. To which purpose the baptisteries were commonly divided into two apartments, the one for the men, the other for the women; as I have had occasion to show from St. Austin^k, in another place^l. Or else the men were baptized at one time; and the women at another; as Vossius^m observes out of the *Ordo Romanus*, Gregory's *Sacramentarium*, Albinus Flaccus, and other writers. 2. There was anciently an order of deaconesses in the Church; and one main part of their business was to assist at the baptism of women; where, for decency's sake, they were employed to divest them, and so to order the mat-

ⁱ Gregor. Sacram. de Bapt. Infant. Baptizat eum sacerdos sub trina mersione, etc. et vestitur infans.—Id. Ordo Roman. cap. de Die Sabbati S. Paschæ. Quum vestiti fuerint infantes, pontifex confirmet eos. Vid. Athanas. de Parabol. Evangel. quæst. xcii. cit. infra sub lit. (t).

^k Aug. de Civit. Dei, lib. xxii. c. viii. (Bened. vol. vii. p. 665. F 2.) Admonetur in somnis appropinquante Pascha, ut in parte feminarum observanti baptisterium, quæcumque illi baptizata primitus occurrisset, signaret ei locum signo Christi.

^l Book viii. chap. vii. sect. i.

^m Voss. de Bapt. Disput. i. pp. 35, 36. Alia ratione consulebatur muliebri verecundiæ. Nam viri separatim a feminis baptizabantur. . . . Ordo Romanus, cap. de Sabbato Sancto: 'Deinde presbyteri, aut diaconi etiam, si necesse fuerit, et acolythi, induentes se vestibus mundis, vel candidis, ingrediuntur in fontem intro in aquam, et baptizantur primum masculi, deinde feminae.'—Idem colligi potest ex Gregorii Magni Sacramentario: in quo ordo ad catechumenum faciendum talis præscribitur: 'Quum venerint ad ecclesiam, recitantur eorum nomina, et stent masculi ad dextram, feminae vero ad sinistram.' Postea oratio commemoratur; prius, quæ super masculos, exinde quæ super femellas, habetur.—Similiter Albinus Flaccus, lib. de Divin. Offic. de Sabbato S. Paschæ: 'Post horam denique tertiam, Sabbato præparantur ad ecclesiam, qui baptizandi sunt, simul cum patrinis et matrinis, et ordinantur ab acolytho, masculi ad dexteram, feminae ad sinistram.'

ter, that the whole ceremony, both of unction and baptizing, might be performed in such a manner, as became the reverence that was due to so sacred an action : of all which I have given sufficient proofs in a former bookⁿ, which I need not here repeat.

SECT. IV.—*Baptism usually performed by Immersion.*

Persons, thus divested or unclothed, were usually baptized by immersion, or dipping of their whole bodies under water, to represent the death, and burial, and resurrection of Christ together ; and therewith to signify their own dying unto sin, the destruction of its power, and their resurrection to a new life. There are a great many passages in the Epistles of St. Paul, which plainly refer to this custom : “ We are buried with him by baptism : that like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life.”—Rom. vi. 4. So again, Col. ii. 12 : “ Buried with him in baptism, wherein ye are also risen with him, through the faith of the operation of God, who raised him from the dead.” And as this was the original apostolical practice, so it continued to be the universal practice of the Church for many ages, upon the same symbolical reasons as it was first used by the apostles. The author of the Apostolical Constitutions says^o, “ Baptism was given to represent the death of Christ ; and the water, his burial.” St. Chrysostom proves the resurrection from this practice ; “ For,” says he, “ our being baptized and immersed in the water^p, and our rising again out of it, is a symbol of our descending into hell or the grave, and of our returning from thence. Wherefore St. Paul calls baptism our ‘ burial ;’ ‘ for,’ says he, ‘ we are buried with

ⁿ Book ii. chap. xxii. sect. viii.

^o Constitut. Apostol. lib. iii. c. xvii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 321.) “Εστι τοίνυν τὸ μὲν βάπτισμα εἰς τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Ἰησοῦ διδόμενον· τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ, ἀντὶ ταφῆς.

^p Chrysostom. Hom. xl. in 1 Cor. (Bened. vol. x. p. 379. C 10.) Τὸ γὰρ βαπτίζεσθαι καὶ καταδύεσθαι, εἴτα ἀνανεύειν, τῆς εἰς ᾗδου καταβάσεώς ἐστι σύμβολον, καὶ τῆς ἐκεῖθεν ἀνόδου· διὸ καὶ τάφον τὸ βάπτισμα ὁ Παῦλος καλεῖ λέγων, Συνετάφημεν οὖν αὐτῷ διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος εἰς τὸν θάνατον· ἀπὸ τούτου καὶ τὸ μέλλον ἀξιόπιστον ποιεῖ, τῶν σωμάτων λέγω τὴν ἀνάστασιν· τοῦ γὰρ σῶμα ἀναστῆσαι πολλῷ μείζον τὸ ἁμαρτήματα ἀφανίσει.

Christ by baptism unto death.' ” And, in another place^q, “ When we dip our heads in water, as in a grave, ‘ our old man is buried ;’ and when we rise up again, the new man rises therewith.” Cyril of Jerusalem makes it an emblem of the Holy Ghost’s effusion upon the apostles : “ for, as he that goes down into the water^r, and is baptized, and surrounded on all sides by the water ; so the apostles were baptized all over by the Spirit. The water surrounds the body externally : but the Spirit incomprehensibly baptizes the interior soul.” The fourth Council of Toledo keeps to the former reason^s : “ The immersion in water is, as it were, the descending into the grave ; and the rising out of the water, a resurrection.” And so St. Ambrose^t explains it : “ Thou wast asked, ‘ Dost thou believe in God the Father Almighty ?’ and thou didst answer, ‘ I believe :’ and then thou wast immersed in water, that is, buried.” It appears, also, from Epiphanius and others, that almost all heretics who retained any baptism, retained immersion also. Epiphanius^u says, “ The Ebionites received baptism,

^q Ibid. in Joan. iii. 5. Hom. xxv. p. 656. (Hom. xxiv. p. 157. B.) Καθάπερ ἐν τινι τάφῳ, τῷ ὕδατι καταδύντων ἡμῶν τὰς κεφαλὰς, ὁ παλαιὸς ἄνθρωπος θάπτεται, καὶ καταδύς κάτω κρύπτεται ὅλος καθάπαξ· εἶτα ἀνανευόντων ἡμῶν, ὁ καινὸς ἀνεισι πάλιν.

^r Cyril. Catech. xvii. n. xiii. (Bened. p. 271. D 7.) “Ὡςπερ γὰρ ὁ ἐνδύνων ἐν τοῖς ὕδασι, καὶ βαπτίζομενος πανταχόθεν ὑπὸ τῶν ὑδάτων περιβάλλεται· οὕτω καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐβαπτίσθησαν ὁλοτελῶς· ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ὕδωρ ἔξωθεν περιχεῖται· τὸ δὲ Πνεῦμα καὶ τὴν ἐνδοθεν ψυχὴν βαπτίζει ἀπαραλείπτως.

^s Conc. Tolet. IV. c. vi. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 1707. A.) In aquis mersio quasi ad infernum descensio est : et rursus ab aquis emersio resurrectio est.

^t Ambros. de Sacram. lib. ii. c. vii.—Tertul. de Bapt. c. ii. (Oberth. vol. ii. p. 41.) Homo in aquam demissus et inter pauca verba tinctus, non multo vel nihilo mundior resurgit.—Paulin. Epist. xii. ad Severum :—

‘ Mira Dei pietas ! peccator mergitur undis.’

—Nyssen. de Bapt. Christi. (Paris. 1638. vol. iii. p. 372.) ‘Επὶ τὸ συγγενὲς τῆς γῆς στοιχεῖον τὸ ὕδωρ ἐρχόμενοι, ἐκείνῳ ἑαυτοὺς ἐγκρύπτομεν, ὡς ὁ Σωτὴρ τῇ γῇ· καὶ τρίτον τοῦτο ποιήσαντες, τὴν τριήμερον ἑαυτοῖς ἀναστάσεως χάριν ἐξεικονίζομεν.—Athanas. Quæst. Paul. Epist. (Bened. Patav. 1777. vol. ii. p. 273.) de Parabolis, quæst. xciv. (tom. ii. p. 422.) (quæst. xcii. p. 327, edit. Paris. 1698.) “Ὡςπερ ὁ Χριστὸς ἀπέθανε, καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀνέστη, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν τῷ βαπτίσματι θνήσκοντες ἀνιστάμεθα· τὸ γὰρ καταδύσαι τὸ παιδίον ἐν τῇ κολυμβήθρᾳ τρίτον καὶ ἀναδύσαι, τοῦτο δηλοῖ τὸν θάνατον καὶ τὴν τριήμερον ἀνάστασιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

^u Epiphani. Hæres. xxx. n. ii. (Colon. 1689. vol. i. p. 126. A 7.) Προσέθετο

at it was practised in the Church; but they added to it a quotidian baptism, immersing themselves in water every day." So the Marcionites were guilty of many errors, in other respects, about baptism: they would baptize no persons but either virgins^x, or widows, or unmarried men: they repeated their baptism three times^y: and introduced some other errors about it. But still the baptisms which they administered, were in this respect conformable to those of the Church, that they baptized by a total immersion; as Tertullian^z witnesses of them. Other heretics, as the Valentinians, to their baptism by water, added another baptism by fire^a; which is mentioned by Tertullian. But yet we find no charge brought against them for their first baptism, as if it were administered in any other way than by a total immersion. The only heretics against whom this charge is brought, were the Eunomians, a branch of the Arians; of whom it was reported by Theodoret^b, that they baptized only the upper parts of the body, as far as the breast. And this they did in a very preposterous way, as Epiphanius^c relates, τοὺς πόδας ἄνω, καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν κάτω, 'with their heels upward, and their head downward.' Which

γὰρ τὸ παρατηρεῖσθαι ἄπτεσθαί τινων τῶν ἀλλοεθνῶν, καθ' ἐκάστην δὲ ἡμέραν, εἴ ποτε γυναικὶ συναφθείη, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἀναστῇ, βαπτίζεσθαι ἐν τοῖς ὕδασιν· εἴ που δὲ ἂν εὐποροίη, ἢ θαλάσσης, ἢ ἄλλων ὑδάτων. — Ibid. num. xvi. Βάπτισμα δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ λαμβάνουσι, χωρὶς ὧν καθ' ἡμέραν βαπτίζονται.

^x Tertul. cont. Marcion. lib. i. c. xxix. (Oberthür, vol. i. p. 332.) Non tinguatur apud illum caro, nisi virgo, nisi vidua, nisi cœlebs, nisi divortio baptismum mercata.

^y Epiphan. Hæres. xlii. n. iii. vol. i. p. 304. C. Οὐ μόνον παρ' αὐτῷ ἐν λουτρὸν δίδοται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἕως τριῶν λουτρῶν, κ. τ. λ.

^z Tertul. cont. Marcion. lib. i. c. xxviii. (p. 332.) Lavat hominem, numquam apud se coinquinatum: et in hoc totum salutis sacramentum, carnem mergit exsortem salutis.

^a Ibid. Carm. cont. Marcion. lib. i. c. vii. (vol. ii. p. 679.)

Namque Valentino Deus est insanus, et ævo
Triginta tribuit cœlos, patremque profundum,
Bis docuit tingui, transducto corpore, flamma.

^b Theodoret. Hæret. Fab. lib. iv. c. iii. (Sirmond. 8vo. vol. iv. p. 356.) Βαπτίζοντες δὲ μέχρι τῶν στέρνων τῷ ὕδατι δεύουσιν τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις μερίοις τοῦ σώματος, ὡς ἐναγέσι, προσφέρειν τὸ ὕδωρ ἀπαγορεύουσιν.

^c Epiphan. Hæres. lxxvi. Anomæorum, (vol. i. p. 992.) "Ὅτι κατὰ κεφαλῆς τοὺς ἀναβαπτιζομένους βαπτίζει, καὶ τοὺς πόδας ἄνω, καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν κάτω.

sort of men are called *Histopedes*, or *Pederecti*. Whence the learned Gothofred^d conjectures, that in one of the laws of Theodosius, where it is now read, *Eunomiani spadones*, it should be, *Eunomiani histopedes*; which signifies, ‘men hanged up by the heels;’ as he proves from Pausanias, Pollux, Hesychius, Harpocraton, and others. So that these were the only men, among all the heretics of the ancient Church, that rejected this way of baptizing by a total immersion in ordinary cases.

SECT. V.—*Yet Aspersio or Sprinkling allowed in some extraordinary Cases.*

Indeed, the Church was so punctual to this rule, that we never read of any exception made to it in ordinary cases, no, not in the baptism of infants; for it appears, from the *Ordo Romanus*, and Gregory’s *Sacramentarium*, that infants, as well as others, were baptized by immersion: and the rules of the Church, except in cases of danger, do still require it. But, in two cases, a mitigation of this rule was allowed:—1. In case of sickness, and extreme danger of life. Here that excellent rule, “I will have mercy and not sacrifice,” was always allowed to take place. Therefore, that which the ancients called clinic baptism, that is, ‘baptism by aspersio, or sprinkling upon a sick-bed,’ was never disputed against as an unlawful or imperfect baptism; though some laws were made to debar men who

^d Gothofr. in Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. v. de Hæreticis, leg. xvii. Dudum est, quum in ea Theodosii Magni constitutione vox illa ‘spadones’ de menda suspecta mihi videri cœpit. Et sane, ut optima, ita elegantissima, Codicis Theodosiani editio Parisiensis ad marginem illius legis ex MS. exhibet; ‘Hispadones,’ pro quo vulgata ‘Spadones,’ detracto ‘Hi.’ Qua simili ἀφαιρέσει et ‘Spania,’ alias pro ‘Hispania:’ ‘stericæ’ mulieres pro ‘histericis:’ ‘Thynia’ pro ‘Bithynia,’ Isidoro aliaque his similia. Ea vero lectio ad veram tandem deduxisse me videtur: legam enim ‘Histapodes’ vel ‘Histopodes,’ Eunomiani scilicet, quum et alias de baptismatis iteratione inter hæreticos censeantur, (quod ostendit Epiphanius) . . . illo sane vel maxime inter alia notabiles erant, quod quos e Catholicis vel hæreticis Arianis etiam, ad sectam suam concedentes, rebaptizarent, ‘capite demerso (κατωκάρα dicunt Græci), pedibus sursum versis,’ et una immersione baptizabant. . . . Ἰστημι vel ἰστάω in voce ἰστόποδες vel ἰστάποδες non significat ‘stare,’ insistere pedibus, verum ‘erigi’ in pedes: unde et ἰστός παρὰ τὸ στήσαι: et ἰστός, ὀρθὸν ξύλον, ‘erectum lignum.’ . . . Vide Pausaniam, Pollucem, Dionysium, Eustathium, Hesychium, Harpocratonem, et Etymologicum.

were so baptized, from ascending to the dignities of the Church; for if men, by neglect, deferred their baptism to a sick-bed, the Church, in her prudence and discipline (because this delay was a fault she always declaimed against), thought fit to deny such men the privilege of ordination: as I have had occasion to show in a more proper place^e. But yet she did not, at any time, attempt to annul such baptisms, or judge them imperfect as to what concerned the essence or substance of the action. This very question was moved by some, together with that of heretical baptism, in the time of Cyprian. But Cyprian, who determined against the validity of heretical baptism, makes no scruple in this case; but offers arguments to prove such clinic baptism, by aspersion, to have all the necessary conditions of a true baptism. For, though this was the case of Novatian, who had not been washed, but only sprinkled upon a sick-bed, yet Cyprian^f had no objection against his Christianity upon that

^e Book iv. chap. iii. n. xi.

^f Cyprian. Epist. lxi. ad Magnum. (Fell, Oxon. 1682. p. 185.) (p. 297, Amstelod. 1700.) Quæstisti, fili carissime, quid mihi de illis videatur, qui in infirmitate et languore gratiam Dei consequuntur, an habendi sint legitimi Christiani, eo quod aqua salutari non loti sunt, sed perfusi. Qua in parte nemini verecundia et modestia nostra præjudicat, quo minus unusquisque quod putat, sentiat, et quod senserit, faciat. Nos, quantum concipit mediocritas nostra, æstimamus, in nullo mutilari et debilitari posse beneficia divina, nec minus aliquid illic posse contingere, ubi plena et tota fide et dantis et sumentis accipitur, quod de divinis muneribus hauritur. Neque enim sic in sacramento salutari delictorum contagia, ut in lavacro carnali et sæculari sordes cutis et corporis abluuntur, ut aphronitris, et ceteris quoque adjumentis, et solio et piscina opus sit, quibus ablui et mundari corpusculum possit. Aliter pectus credentis abluatur, aliter mens hominis per fidei merita mundatur. In sacramentis salutaribus, necessitate cogente, et Deo indulgentiam suam largiente, totum credentibus conferunt divina compendia. . . . Unde apparet, adspersionem quoque aquæ, instar salutis lavacri obtinere; et quando hæc in ecclesia fiunt, ubi sit et dantis et accipientis fides integra, stare omnia et consummari ac perfici posse majestate Domini, et fidei veritate. . . . Quod quidam eos, salutari aqua et fide legitima Christi gratiam consequutos, non Christianos sed clinicos vocant, non invenio, unde hoc nomen adsumant; nisi forte, qui plura et secretiora legerunt apud Hippocratem vel Soranum, κλινικοὺς istos deprehenderunt. Ego enim, qui clinicum de evangelio novi, scio paralytico illi, et debili per longæ ætatis curricula in lecto jacenti, nihil infirmitatem suam obfuisse, quo minus ad firmitatem coelestem plenissime perveniret: nec tantum indulgentia dominica excitatum de grabato esse, sed ipsum grabatum suum, reparatis et vegetatis viribus, sustulisse. Et idcirco, quantum fide concipere et sentire nobis datur, mea sententia hæc est; ut

account; but declares, “that as far as he was able to judge, all such baptisms were perfect where there was no defect in the faith of the giver or the receiver; for the contagion of sin was not washed away, as the filth of the body is, by a carnal and secular washing; there was no need of a lake, or other such like helps, to wash and cleanse it; the heart of a believer was otherwise washed; the mind of a man was cleansed by the merit of faith. In the sacraments of salvation, when necessity requires, God grants his indulgence by a short way of performing them.” This lawfulness of aspersion, in such cases, he proves, from those words of God in Ezekiel (xxxvi. 25); “I will sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be clean; from all your filthiness, and from all your idols, will I cleanse you.” And from several other texts (Num. xix. 19; viii. 7; and ix. 9), where the water of sprinkling is called ‘the water of purification.’ Whence he concludes, that the sprinkling of water was as effectual as washing: and what the Church did, in this case, in compliance with necessity and men’s infirmities, was neither displeasing to God, nor detrimental to the party baptized; who received a full and complete sacrament by the power of God, and the truth of his own faith together; and, therefore, he blames those who nicknamed these men ‘clinics,’ instead of Christians. It further appears, from the canons which speak of these^g, that they were only denied orders, not the name of Christians. The Council of Neocæsarea allows them, in time of great exigency, or in case of great merit, to be ordained, as Novatian was, for his pregnant parts, and the hopes which the Church had conceived of him, as Eusebius^h,

Christianus judicetur legitimus, quisquis fuerit in ecclesia, lege et jure fidei divinam gratiam consequutus, etc.

^g Conc. Neocæsar. c. xii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1484.) Ἐὰν νοσῶν τις φωτισθῇ, εἰς πρεσβύτερον ἄγεσθαι οὐ δύναται. Οὐκ ἐκ προαιρέσεως γὰρ ἡ πίστις αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ’ ἐξ ἀνάγκης· εἰ μὴ τάχα διὰ τὴν μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτοῦ σπουδὴν καὶ πίστιν, καὶ διὰ σπάνιν ἀνθρώπων.

^h Euseb. lib. vi. c. xliii. (Aug. T. 1747. p. 273. B.) Καταλιπὼν γὰρ ὁ λαμπρὸς οὗτος τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐν ᾗ πιστεύσας κατηξιώθη τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου κατὰ χάριν τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, τοῦ ἐπιθέντος αὐτῷ χεῖρας εἰς πρεσβυτερίου κλῆρον· ὃς διακωλυόμενος ὑπὸ παντὸς τοῦ κλήρου, ἀλλὰ καὶ λαϊκῶν πολλῶν, (ἐπεὶ μὴ ἐξὸν ἦν τὸν ἐπὶ κλίνης διὰ νόσον περιχυθέντα, ὥσπερ καὶ οὗτος, εἰς κλῆρόν τινα γενέσθαι,) ἤξιωσε συγχωρηθῆναι αὐτῷ τοῦτον μόνον χειροτονῆσαι.

out of the Epistle of Cornelius, informs us. The Council of Laodiceaⁱ appoints such, if they recover, to learn the Creed; but says not a word of rebaptizing them. And it appears from the Council of Auxerre^k, that these clinics were allowed to be baptized at any time when necessity required, without staying for a solemn festival; so that many things were indulged to them which were not allowed by the ordinary rules of the Church. 2. Another case in which sprinkling was accepted instead of immersion, was in times of difficulty, when a sufficient quantity of water could not be procured. As when a martyr was to be baptized in prison; or was to baptize any other under such a confinement. Thus, we read in the ancient Acts of St. Lawrence, referred to by Walafrius Strabo^l, how one Romanus, a soldier, was baptized by him in a pitcher of water: and again, how one Lucillus was baptized by the same martyr^m, only by pouring water upon his head. But as both these were extraordinary cases, they only show us how far the Church could dispense with this rule upon reasons of necessity or charity; not what was her standing and ordinary practice. Some learned personsⁿ think Tertullian alludes to the allowance of sprinkling in extraordinary cases; when speaking of men's pretending to be baptized without true repentance, he says^o, "No man would grant such false penitents so much as one aspersion of water." And Gregory Nyssen, perhaps, refers to it, also, in that famous story which he tells of one Archias,

ⁱ Conc. Laodic. can. xlvii. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 1505.) "Ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς ἐν νόσῳ παραλαμβάνοντας, ἐκμανθάνειν τὴν πίστιν, καὶ γινώσκειν, ὅτι θείας δωρεᾶς κατηξιώθησαν.

^k Conc. Antissiodor. can. xviii. Non licet absque paschæ solemnitate ullo tempore baptizare, nisi illos, quibus mors vicina est, quos 'grabatarios' dicunt.

^l Acta Laurent. apud Surium, tom. iv. Unus ex militibus, Romanus nomine, urceum adferens cum aqua opportunitatem captavit, qua eam offerret B. Laurentio, ut baptizaretur.—Strabo, de Rebus Eccles. c. xxvi. (Bibl. Max. Patr. vol. xv. p. 197. A 7.) Notandum, non solum mergendo, verum etiam desuper fundendo, multos baptizatos fuisse, et adhuc posse ita baptizari, si necessitas sit, sicut in passione B. Laurentii quemdam, urceo allato, legimus baptizatum.

^m Ibid. Quum exspoliasset eum, fudit aquam super caput ejus.

ⁿ Vid. Bevereg. Not. in Can. Apost. l. p. 30. Quin etiam ipse quoque Tertullianus huc adludere videtur, ubi ait: 'Quis enim tibi,' etc.

^o Tertul. de Pœnit. c. vi. (Oberth. vol. ii. p. 622.) Quis enim tibi, tam infidæ pœnitentiæ viro, adspersionem unam cujuslibet aquæ commodabit?

“ who, having neglected his opportunity of receiving baptism, was at last suddenly surprised with death at a season when there was no possibility of obtaining it. And then he cried out, in that languishing condition, ‘ Oh, ye mountains ^p and woods, baptize me ; oh, ye trees, and rocks, and fountains, give me this grace :’ and, with these words, being wounded to death, he expired in the hands of his enemies.” This man’s condition he compares to those who have the sudden summons of death upon a sick-bed. They then begin to call for a vessel of water, a priest, and words, to prepare them for baptism : but the violence of their disease prevents them from obtaining it. This seems to imply, that such a sprinkling as men might have upon a sick-bed, in case of extremity, was reputed a saving baptism : and it was an unhappiness in some, that they could not obtain even that at their last hour, which the Church allowed as the last refuge only in such extraordinary cases.

SECT. VI.—*Trine Immersion the general Practice for several Ages ; the Reasons of this.*

But I must observe further, that they not only administered baptism by immersion under water, but also repeated this three times. Tertullian speaks of it as a ceremony ^q generally used in his time : “ We dip not once, but three times, at the naming every person of the Trinity.” The same is asserted by St. Basil ^r, and St. Jerome ^s, and the author under the name of Dionysius ^t, who says likewise, “ that it was done at the distinct

^p Nyssen. de Bapt. (tom. ii. p. 220.) Πισῶν δὲ καὶ πρὸς θάνατον ἐπειγόμενος, ὡς εἶχε δυνάμειος, ἀνεβόα, (καὶ γὰρ ἦν τῶν ἀμνήτων) “Ὁρη καὶ νάπαι βαπτίσατε, δένδρα καὶ πέτραι καὶ πηγαί, δότε τὴν χάριν καὶ ταῖς οἰκτραῖς φωναῖς ταύταις ἐπετελεύτησεν. . . . Παραπλήσιοι δὲ τούτῳ καὶ οἱ παρὰ τῶν νόσων ἀθρώως πιεζόμενοι . . . πάντα ἐν ῥοπῇ καιροῦ ὁξέως ζητεῖται, τὰ σκεύη, τὸ ὕδωρ, ὁ ἱερεὺς, ὁ λόγος, ὁ πρὸς τὴν χάριν προευτρεπίζων.

^q Tertul. cont. Prax. c. xxvi. (Oberthür, vol. ii. p. 278.) Nec semel sed ter, ad singula nomina, in personas singulas tinguimur.

^r Basil. de Spirit. Sanct. c. xxvii. Τὸ δὲ τρίς βαπτίζεσθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον, πόθεν ;

^s Hieron. adv. Lucifer. c. iv. (Bened. fol. vol. iv. p. 294.) Multa alia, quæ per traditionem in ecclesiis observantur, auctoritatem sibi scriptæ legis usurpaverunt : velut in lavacro ter caput mergitare, etc.

^t Dionys. de Hierarch. Eccles. c. ii. (Venet. 1755. vol. i. p. 169.) ‘Ὁ ἱεράρχης ἄνωθεν ἐστηκώς, ἀναβοησάντων πάλιν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἱεράρχου κατὰ τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ τελουμένου τῶν ἱερέων, τρίς μὲν αὐτὸν ὁ ἱεράρχης βαπτίζει,

mention of each person of the blessed Trinity." St. Ambrose is most particular in the description of this rite: "Thou wast asked ^u," says he, "'Dost thou believe in God the Father Almighty?' and thou repliedst, 'I believe;' and wast dipped, that is, buried. A second demand was made, 'Dost thou believe in Jesus Christ our Lord, and in his cross?' thou answeredst again, 'I believe;' and wast dipped. Therefore, thou wast buried with Christ; for he that is buried with Christ, rises again with Christ. A third time the question was repeated, 'Dost thou believe in the Holy Ghost?' and thy answer was, 'I believe.' Then thou wast dipped a third time; that thy triple confession might absolve thee from the various offences of thy former life." Two reasons are commonly assigned for this practice: 1. That it might represent Christ's three days' burial, and his resurrection on the third day. "We cover ourselves in the water," says Gregory Nyssen ^w, "as Christ did in the earth, and this we do three times; to represent the grace of his resurrection, performed after three days." In like manner, Cyril of Jerusalem^x, and the author of *The Questions upon the Scripture*^y, under the name of Athanasius. Thus, likewise, Pope Leo among the Latins^z: "The trine immersion is an imitation of the three days' burial; and the rising again out of the water is an image of Christ rising from the grave."

ταῖς τρισὶ τοῦ τελουμένου καταδύσει καὶ ἀναδύσει τὴν τρισσὴν τῆς θείας Μακαριότητος ἐπιβοήσας ὑπόστασιν.

^u Ambros. de Sacram. lib. ii. c. vii. (Paris. 1836. vol. iv. p. 125.) Interrogatus es, 'Credis in Deum, Patrem omnipotentem?' Dixisti, 'Credo,' et mersisti, hoc est, sepultus es. Iterum interrogatus es, 'Credis in Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum?' Dixisti, 'Credo,' et mersisti. Ideo et Christo es consepultus: qui enim Christo consepelitur, cum Christo resurgit. Tertio interrogatus es, 'Credis et in Spiritum Sanctum?' Dixisti, 'Credo.' Tertio mersisti; ut multiplicem lapsum superioris ætatis absolveret trina confessio.

^w Nyssen. de Bapt. Christi. (Paris. 1638. vol. iii. p. 372. B 5.) "Υδατι ἑαυτοὺς ἐγκρύπτομεν, ὡς ὁ Σωτὴρ τῇ γῇ, καὶ τρίτον τοῦτο ποιήσαντες, τὴν τριήμερον ἑαυτοῖς τῆς ἀναστάσεως χάριν ἐξεικονίζομεν.

^x Cyril. Catech. Mystag. ii. n. iv. (Bened. p. 312. D 4.) 'Ὁμολογήσατε τὴν σωτήριον ὁμολογίαν, καὶ κατεδύετε τρίτον εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ πάλιν ἀνεδύετε· καὶ ἐνταῦθα διὰ συμβόλου τὴν τριήμερον τοῦ Χριστοῦ αἰνιττόμενοι ταφήν.

^y Athan. See page 599, note (t).

^z Leo, Epist. iv. ad Episc. Siculos, c. iii. (Opera, Venet. 1753. vol. i. p. 719.) Sepulturam triduanam imitatur trina demersio, et ab aquis elevatio resurgentis instar est de sepulchro.

2. Another reason was, that it might represent their profession of faith in the holy Trinity, in whose name they were baptized. St. Austin^a joins both reasons together, telling us, “there was a twofold mystery signified in this way of baptizing. The trine immersion was both a symbol of the holy Trinity, in whose name we are baptized; and also a type of the Lord’s burial, and of his resurrection on the third day from the dead; for we are buried with Christ by baptism, and rise again with him by faith.” St. Jerome^b makes this ceremony to be a symbol of the Unity as well as the Trinity: “for,” says he, “we are thrice dipped in water, that the mystery of the Trinity may appear to be but one. We are not baptized in the names of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; but in one name, which is God.” And, therefore, he adds, “that though we be thrice put under water to represent the mystery of the Trinity, yet it is reputed but one baptism.”

SECT. VII.—*The Original of this Practice.*

The original of this custom is not exactly agreed upon, by the ancients. Some derive it from apostolical tradition; others, from the first institution of baptism by our Saviour; whilst others esteem it only an indifferent circumstance or ceremony, that may be used or omitted without any detriment to the sacrament itself, or breach of any divine appointment. Tertullian^c,

^a Aug. Homil. iii. ap. Gratian. de Consecrat. distinct. iv. c. lxxviii. Postquam vos credere promisistis, tertio capita vestra in sacro fonte demersimus. Qui ordo baptismatis duplici mysterii significatione celebratur. Recte enim tertio mersi estis, qui accepistis baptismum in nomine sanctæ Trinitatis. Recte tertio mersi estis, qui accepistis baptismum in nomine Jesu Christi, qui die tertia resurrexit a mortuis. Illa enim tertio repetita demersio typum dominicæ exprimit sepulturæ, per quam Christo consepulti estis in baptismo, et cum Christo resurrexistis in fide: ut peccatis abluti in sanctitate virtutum Christum imitando vivatis.

^b Hieron. lib. ii. in Ephes. iv. (Benedict. fol. 1706. vol. iv. p. 362.) Ter mergimur, ut Trinitatis unum appareat sacramentum. Et non baptizamur in nominibus Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, sed in uno nomine, quod intelligitur Deus. . . . Potest unum baptisma et ita dici, quod licet ter baptizemur propter mysterium Trinitatis, tamen unum baptisma reputetur.

^c Tertul. de Coron. Milit. c. iii. (Oberth. vol. i. p. 206.) (Paris. 1674. p. 102.) Quæramus, an et traditio nisi scripta non debeat recipi. Plane negabimus recipiendam, si nulla exempla præjudicent aliarum observationem, quas sine ullius Scripturæ instrumento, solius traditionis titulo, exinde consuetudinis patrocinio, vindicamus. Denique ut a baptismo ingrediari, aquam adituri,

St. Basil^d, and St. Jerome^e put it among those rites of the Church, which they reckon to be handed down from apostolical tradition. St. Chrysostom seems rather to make it part of the first institution. For he says, “Christ delivered to his disciples^f one baptism in three immersions of the body, when he said to them, ‘Go, teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.’” And Theodoret^g was of the same opinion: for he charges Eunomius as making an innovation upon the original institution of baptism, delivered by Christ and his apostles; in that he made a contrary law, that men should not be baptized with three immersions, nor with invocation of the Trinity, but only with one immersion into the death of Christ. Pope Pelagius brought the same charge against some others in his time^h, who baptized in the name of Christ, only with one immersion; which he condemns as contrary to the Gospel command given by Christ, who appointed every one to be baptized in the name of the Trinity, and that with three immersions, saying to his disciples, “Go, baptize all nations, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.” And this was so far esteemed a divine obligation by the authors of the

ibidem, sed et aliquanto prius in ecclesia sub antistitis manu contestamur, nos renuntiare diabolo, et pompæ, et angelis ejus. Dehinc ter mergitamur, amplius aliquid respondentes quam Dominus in evangelio determinavit.

^d Basil. de Spirit. Sanct. c. xxvii. Vid. supr. sub lit. (r).

^e Hieron. cont. Lucifer. c. iv. Vid. supr. lit. (s).—It. Sozom. lib. vi. c. xxvi. (Cambr. p. 252.) Φασὶ δὲ τινες, πρῶτον τοῦτον Εὐνόμιον τολμῆσαι εἰσηγήσασθαι, ἐν μιᾷ καταδύσει χρῆναι ἐπιτελεῖν τὴν θεῖαν βάπτισιν, καὶ παραχαράξαι τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων, εἰσέτι νῦν ἐν πᾶσι φυλαττομένην, παράδοσιν.

^f Chrysostom. Hom. de Fide. (Bened. vol. ix. p. 855.) Ἐν τρισὶ καταδύσεσι τοῦ σώματος ἐν βάπτισμα τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ μαθηταῖς παρέδωκε.

^g Theodoret. Hæret. Fabul. lib. iv. c. iii. (Sirmond. 8vo. 1772. vol. iv. p. 356.) Αὐτὸς καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου βαπτίσματος ἀνέτρεψε τὸν ἀνέκαθεν παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ ἀποστόλων παραδοθέντα θεσμὸν, καὶ ἄντικρυς ἀντενομοθέτησε, μὴ χρῆναι λέγων τρεῖς καταδύειν τὸν βαπτιζόμενον, μηδὲ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν τῆς Τριάδος ἐπὶ κλησιν· ἀλλ’ ἅπαξ βαπτίζειν εἰς τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

^h Pelag. Epist. ad Gaudent. ap. Gratianum, distinct. iv. c. lxxxii. Multi sunt, qui in nomine solummodo Christi una etiam mersione se adserunt baptizare. Evangelicum vero præceptum, ipso Deo et Domino Salvatore nostro Jesu Christo tradente, nos admonet, in nomine Trinitatis, trina etiam mersione sanctum baptismum unicuique tribuere, dicente Domino discipulis suis, ‘Ite, baptizate omnes gentes in nomine Patris, Filii, et Spiritus Sancti.’

Apostolical Canonsⁱ, that they order every bishop or presbyter to be deposed, who should administer baptism, not by three immersions, but only one, in the name of Christ; because Christ said not, "Baptize into my death," but, "Go, baptize all nations, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost." It is plain all these writers thought this a necessary circumstance from our Saviour's institution. And the Eunomians, who first rejected this, are condemned by Theodoret and Sozomen, as making a new law of baptizing, not only against the general practice, but against the general rule and tradition of the Church.

SECT. VIII.—*When first the Church allowed of any Alteration in it.*

Yet there happened a circumstance in the Spanish Churches, in after ages, which gave a little turn to this affair. For the Arians, in Spain, not being of the sect of the Eunomians, continued for many years to baptize with three immersions. But, then, they abused this ceremony to a very perverse end, to patronize their error about the Son and Holy Ghost being of a different nature, or essence, from the Father. For they made the three immersions to denote a difference, or degrees of divinity in the three Divine Persons. To oppose whose wicked doctrine, and that they might not seem to symbolize with them in any practice that might give encouragement to it, some Catholics began to leave off the trine immersion, as savouring of Arianism, and took up the single immersion in opposition to them. But this was like to prove matter of scandal and schism among the Catholics themselves. And, therefore, in the time of Gregory the Great, Leander, bishop of Seville, wrote to him for his advice and resolution in this case; to which he returned this answer: "Concerning the three immersions in baptism, you^k have judged very truly

ⁱ Can. Apostol. c. xlix. (Labbe, vol. i. p. 36.) Εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος, ἢ πρεσβύτερος, μὴ τρία βαπτίσματα μιᾶς μνήσεως ἐπιτελέσῃ, ἀλλ' ἐν βάπτισμα, τὸ εἰς τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Κυρίου διδόμενον, καθαιρείσθω· οὐ γὰρ εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος, Εἰς τὸν θάνατόν μου βαπτίσατε· ἀλλὰ, Πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος.

^k Gregor. lib. i. epist. xli. ad Leandr. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 1054.) De trina

already, that different rites and customs do not prejudice the holy Church, whilst the unity of faith remains entire. The reason why we use three immersions (at Rome) is to signify the mystery of Christ's three days' burial, that whilst an infant is thrice lifted up out of the water, the resurrection on the third day may be expressed thereby. But if any one thinks this is rather done in regard to the Holy Trinity, a single immersion in baptism does no way prejudice that: for so long as the unity of substance is preserved in Three Persons, it is no harm whether a child be baptized with one immersion or three; because three immersions may represent the Trinity of Persons; and one immersion, the Unity of Godhead. But forasmuch as heretics use to baptize their infants with three immersions, I think you ought not to do so; lest this multiplication of immersions be interpreted a division of the Godhead, and give them occasion to glory, that their custom has prevailed." Yet this judgment of Pope Gregory did not satisfy all men in the Spanish Church: for still many kept to the old way of baptizing by three immersions, notwithstanding this fear of symbolizing with the Arians. Therefore some time after, about the year 633, the fourth Council of Toledo, which was a general council of all Spain, was forced to make another decree to determine this matter, and settle the peace of the Church. For while some priests¹ baptized with

mersione baptismatis, nil responderi verius potest, quam quod ipsi sensistis: quia in una fide nihil officit sanctæ ecclesiæ consuetudo diversa. Nos autem quod tertio mergimus, triduanæ sepulturæ sacramenta signamus, ut dum tertio infans ab aquis educitur, resurrectio tridui temporis exprimatur. Quod si quis forte etiam pro summæ Trinitatis veneratione aestimet fieri, neque ad hoc aliquid obsistit, baptizando semel in aquis mergere: quia dum in tribus Personis una substantia est, reprehensibile esse nullatenus potest, infantem in baptismo in aquam vel ter vel semel immergere, quando et in tribus mersionibus personarum Trinitas, et in una potest divinitatis singularitas, designari. Sed quia nunc huc usque ab hæreticis infans in baptismo tertio mergebatur, fiendum apud vos esse non censeo: ne dum mersiones enumerant, divinitatem dividant: dumque quod faciebant faciunt, se morem nostrum vicisse gloriantur.

¹ Conc. Tolet. IV. c. vi. (Labbe, vol. v. p. 1706.) De baptismi autem sacramento, propter quod in Hispaniis quidam sacerdotes trinam, quidam simplam mersionem faciunt, a nonnullis schisma esse conspicitur, et unitas fidei scindi videtur: nam dum [partes diversæ in baptizandis aliqua contrario modo agunt, ab aliis] patres diverso et quasi contrario modo agunt, alii alios non baptizatos esse contendunt. . . . Quapropter, quia de utroque sacramento,

three immersions, and the others but with one, a schism was raised, endangering the unity of the faith. For the contending parties carried the matter so high, as to pretend, that they who were baptized in a way contrary to their own, were not baptized at all. To remedy which evil, the fathers of this council first repeat the judgment of Pope Gregory, and then immediately conclude upon it, that “though both these ways of baptism were just and unblameable in themselves, according to the opinion of that great man; yet, as well to avoid the scandal of schism as the usage of heretics, they decree, that only one immersion should be used in baptism; lest, if any used three immersions, they might seem to approve the opinion of heretics, whilst they followed their practice. And that no one might be dubious about the use of a single immersion, he might consider, that the death and resurrection of Christ were represented by it: for the immersion in water was, as it were, the descending into hell, or the grave; and the emersion out of the water, was a resurrection. He might also observe the Unity of the Deity, and the Trinity of Persons to be signified by it: the Unity by a single immersion; and the Trinity, by giving baptism in the name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.” Some learned persons^m find fault with this council for changing this ancient

quod fit in sancto baptismo, a tanto viro reddita est ratio, quod utrumque rectum, utrumque irreprehensibile, in sancta Dei ecclesia habeatur; propter vitandum autem schismatis scandalum, vel hæretici dogmatis usum, simplicem teneamus baptismi mersionem; ne videantur apud nos, qui tertio mergunt, hæreticorum approbare assertionem, dum sequuntur et morem. Et ne forte cuiquam sit dubium hujus simpli mysterium sacramenti, videat in eo mortemet resurrectionem Christi significari: nam in aquis mersio, quasi in infernum descensio est; et rursus ab aquis emersio, resurrectio est. Item videat in eo Unitatem divinitatis, et Trinitatem personarum ostendi: Unitatem, dum semel immergimus; Trinitatem, dum [in] nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, baptizamus.

^m Strabo de Offic. Eccles. c. xxvi. (Bibl. Patr. tom. xv. p. 196. H 16. Lugd. 1677.) Quæ singularis mersio, quamvis tum ita Hispanis complacuit, dicentibus, trinam mersionem ideo vitandam, quia hæretici quidam dissimiles in Trinitate substantias dogmatizare ausi sint, ad consubstantialitatem Sanctæ Trinitatis negandam: tamen antiquior usus prævaluit et ratio supra dicta. Si enim omnia deserimus, quæ heretici in suam perversitatem traxerunt, nihil nobis restabit: quum illi in ipso Deo errantes, omnia, quæ ad ejus cultum pertinere visa sunt, suis erroribus quasi propria applicarint. . . . Quid? quod hodie trina immersio ubique obtinet terrarum, ut omnino consuetudo ista mutari non possit sine temerario novitatis studio et scandalo infirmorum.

custom upon so slight a reason, as that of the Arians using it: which, if it were any reason, would hold as well against a single immersion; because the Eunomians, a baser sect of the Arians, were the first inventors of that practice. And, therefore, the exception made by this Spanish council in the seventh century, cannot prejudice the more ancient and general practice of the Church; which, as Strabo observed, still prevailed after this council: and, if Vossius says true, the trine immersion, or, what corresponds to it, the trine aspersion, is the general practice of all Churches upon earth at this day; and such a custom could not well be laid aside, without some charge of novelty, and danger of giving offence and scandal to weaker brethren. I have now gone over the several circumstances and ceremonies accompanying baptism, so far as to make it a complete sacrament, and the instrument of salvation to all worthy receivers, if they happened to die without any further consummation, as sometimes they did, when baptism was administered to them with less solemnity, either in times of sickness, or at some distance from the mother church: in both which cases they had the substance of the sacrament, but not all the ceremonies that were appointed to attend it. They were supposed to be made partakers of Christ's body, and to eat his flesh, and to be washed in his blood, which was drinking it by faith in baptism, as as well as in the eucharist. And, if they survived, they were also admitted immediately to the symbols of Christ's body and blood in the eucharist. But there were some other ceremonies following baptism, to finish, as it were, the solemnity of it: some of which were introductory and preparatory to the eucharist, as the second unction accompanying baptism, which we commonly call imposition of hands, or confirmation. Of which, because it will be necessary to speak a little more distinctly, I shall make it, and the remaining ceremonies of baptism, the subject of another book.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.



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